JINNAH PAPERS

QUEST FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN INDIA

1 October 1943-31 July 1944

SECOND SERIES
Volume X

Editor-in-Chief

Z. H. ZAIDI, S.I.
M. A., LL.B. (Alig.), Ph.D. (London)

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT
CULTURE DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
PAPERS

QUEST FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
IN INDIA
1 October 1943-31 July 1944

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
PAPERS

QUEST FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
IN INDIA
1 October 1943-31 July 1944

SECOND SERIES
Volume X

Editor-in-Chief
Z. H. ZAIDI
M. A., LL.B. (Alig.), Ph.D. (London)
Senior Research Fellow
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT
CULTURE DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

Acknowledgements

Crown copyright records in and microfilms from the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library which were consulted in the course of preparation of this volume have been appropriately referred to therein. The facilities extended by the National Archives of Pakistan and the National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, deserve acknowledgment. The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the Pakistan Foreign Office (Archives Wing), have continued their unstinted support to the Project.

First Edition 2004
© Copyright: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project 2004

ISBN 969-8156-15-1

Published by
Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
Culture Division
Government of Pakistan
Islamabad

Imageset and Printed by
Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press
Islamabad

Distributed by

CONTENTS

		Page
Foreword		vii
Introduction		ix
Abbreviations		xx
All India Muslim League Working Committee		xxi
Chronology of Important Events		xxii
List of Documents and Appendices		xxviii
Documents		1
Appendix I	Bengal Famine Relief Fund 1943	639
Appendix II	All India Muslim League Planning Committee	644
Glossary		754
Index of Persons		757
Index of Subjects		769

ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece
Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Between pages 392 and 393

Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah and Qazi Isa at Quetta Railway Station

Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah with students

Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah

Jinnah, and Liaquat Ali Khan with students of Islamia College, Lahore

Jinnah with Muslim League workers

Jinnah and Gandhi

Jinnah in a rickshaw in Simla

Jinnah being taken along in a procession

Foreword

The present volume, subtitled *Quest for Political Settlement in India,* though tenth in the overall sequence, is the first in the Second Series of the *Jinnah Papers* and covers part of Wavell's viceroyalty from October 1943 to July 1944. Between the Lahore Resolution of 23 March 1940 and the British Government Statement in Parliament of 20 February 1947—two significant landmarks in the annals of the freedom movement in South Asia—, Wavell's viceroyalty is a watershed as it were. For this reason, it has been selected as the central theme for the Second Series.

This volume portrays Jinnah sizing up the new Viceroy, questioning the validity of his concept of India being a geographical unity, and knowing better than to chase the red herring that was the CR Formula. In between, we notice admirable, and somewhat unique, traits of his persona—his empathy and compassion for the famine-stricken in Bengal, the clarity of his vision in planning for the educational uplift and economic emancipation of Muslims, the industrialization of Pakistan areas, his firmness in coping with recalcitrance and in disciplining mavericks, and his efforts at reconciliation among factions within the Muslim League. In retrospect, these and other personal attributes of an indomitable spirit, of a man of steely determination, proved to be the key to the success of his epic struggle for freedom and relentless pursuit of the goal of a sovereign Muslim state in the sub-continent.

The First Series comprising nine volumes covered, in the main, two phases, viz. Jinnah's negotiations with Mountbatten which led eventually to the partition of India and the emergence of Pakistan on 15 August 1947, and his relatively brief stint as Governor-General of the country he had founded. The last two volumes focus on matters relating to the princely states.

The volume contains 612 primary documents, supplemented by two appendices relating to the Bengal Relief Fund and the All India Muslim League Economic Planning Committee. Jinnah's official statements and speeches during the period, though relevant to contemporary political issues, have not been included since they have already been published by Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi in *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam,* 1941 (April 14)-1945, Vol. III, 1996, Lahore, and by Waheed Ahmad in *The Nation's Voice, Unity, Faith and Discipline,* Vol. III, 1997, Karachi. However, where necessary, comprehensive references to these and other relevant publications have been given in the text. Primary documents as well as those included in the appendices have been arranged in chronological order and numbered sequentially. They have been identified in the text by identifying the source/repository notation, followed by the number of the relevant file or volume, and where available, the page number(s).

Most of the documents in the main text have been drawn from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (e.g. *F. 958/64-5*) available with the National Archives of Pakistan as well as from the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* (e.g. *SHC, P & P I/79*) available with the Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi. In addition, a number of stray documents previously held in the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* have been supplied to the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project by other sources. In order to avoid confusion, such documents have been numbered in order of their arrival in the Project (e.g. *SHC (13)*. Supplementary material from contemporary newspapers relevant to the issues in question has also been included. Documents from the *Transfer of Power 1942-47* series and the previous volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been identified by the document number, volume and page number(s) (e.g. No. 62, *TP*, IV, 127 and No. 332, Vol. II, 633) respectively. Appendices to the present volume have been referred to by indicating the Appendix notation followed by the document number.

Material of a repetitive character, requests for financial assistance, employment, redressal of grievances, etc., have been excluded so that the volume does not make mundane reading.

The volumes hitherto published, though not selling as readily as they might, continue none the less to evoke interest among scholars, academics and the intelligentsia. We are extremely grateful to Jinnah's daughter, Madam Dina, keen as ever on the perpetuation of the memory of her illustrious father, and President Pervaiz Musharraf for their continuing interest in the work of the Project. Our thanks are due to Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali as well for his generous support to the Project.

To ensure dissemination of the contents of the *Jinnah Papers* down to the grass roots, potted versions in Urdu have been brought out, from time to time, for free distribution to the Colleges and Secondary Schools in the country. Four Urdu volumes have been published already, and the fifth is ready for the press.

In August last year, one of our colleagues, Editor Athar Husain, died of heart failure. He was a diligent and conscientious member of the editorial team.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
Culture Division
Islamabad
5 April 2004

Introduction

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, once the apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity extolled by Sarojini Naidu "not merely as an ambassador but an embodied symbol" of such unity,[1] was pushed by certain elements, which dominated the Indian National Congress, into breaking ranks with that party in the early twenties. Convinced that the Hindu-dominated organisation was going to be obdurate in its denial of the constitutional safeguards demanded by the Muslims, Jinnah in March 1929 had been led into formulating a charter of constitutional and political safeguards for Muslims, called "Fourteen points,"[2] which by and large formed the basis of the Muslim demands at the Round Table Conferences (1930-2), a few of which were conceded by the British Government and incorporated into the Government of India Act, 1935. However, the studied intransigence of the Congress in refusing to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Muslims led to a parting of the ways and finally to the demand for a Muslim nation-state in the subcontinent by the All India Muslim League.

During the forties of the last century, Jinnah transformed the Muslim League, which had previously been an ineffectual political entity, into a vibrant mass organisation which could stake a credible claim to representing Muslim India as a whole. In the process, he had fashioned a crowd, as it were, into a nation. The historic Pakistan Resolution—a landmark in the contemporary history of South Asia—was adopted at the Lahore session of the AIML on 23 March 1940. During this session, Jinnah declared: "The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation.... The problem in India is not of an inter-communal but ... an international character."[3] It was at this session that the Muslim League resolved that "the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."[4]

The Muslim national movement in India for freedom from colonial rule and for separate statehood spans the period from 1940 to 1947. The incarceration in 1942 of the Congress leadership in consequence of the "Quit India" movement had provided Jinnah with the opportunity of focussing on the consolidation and expansion of the League. In June 1943, he had advised the Muslims against complacency, or being content with League ministries in certain Muslim majority provinces, and urged them to strive resolutely for attaining the goal of Pakistan.[5]

In his *'Id* message in September,[6] he acknowledged the "mass cooperation and support" of the Muslims of India as demonstrated by the cent per cent success of the League candidates in the by-elections held in Bengal[7]

and the North West Frontier Province in March and August, respectively.

The League's organisational structure needed to be streamlined. There were dissensions as well within the party, at both provincial and district levels, due to the selfishness and personal vanity of certain Leaguers. In December 1943, Jinnah appointed a Committee of Action, with Nawab Ismail Khan as Chairman, for "organizing, co-ordinating and unifying the Provincial Leagues and the entire Muslim League organization."[9] He had previously appointed a Civil Defence Committee, in view of the growing communal violence, for "protection of the lives, honour and property of Musalmans."[10]

The burgeoning unity and solidarity of the Muslims was perceived by the Congress as a challenge and threat to the credibility of its claim to represent the political will of the people of India as a whole. It denied the League's claim to be the sole representative body of Indian Muslims capitalising on the presence of nationalist Muslims within its fold as well as on the support of certain marginal Muslim groups, such as Jami'at-ul 'Ulama-i-Hind and Majlis-i-Ahrar, which toed the Congress line by and large. In a speech in April 1944, Jinnah appealed to all Muslims, especially Ahrars, Jami'at ul 'Ulama and other nationalist Muslims, to sink their differences in the name of God and rally round the Muslim League.[11] The Jami'at welcomed Jinnah's appeal for unity among the Musalmans[12] and invited him to their forthcoming annual session in Delhi. Jinnah asked for the past to be buried and exhorted all Muslims to "stand together and accept the creed, policy and programme" of the AIML.[13]

Jinnah took a serious view of the "propaganda to misrepresent the Muslim League... as allies of British imperialism in India, obstructing the path of its freedom."[14] The Congress and nationalist Muslims had ridiculed the demand for Pakistan as a brainchild of the British—a ludicrous accusation that was to be dismissed by Wavell saying that, "On the main problem of Indian unity, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this. You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world,... India is a natural unit."[15]

* * * *

The lightning advance of the Japanese armed forces and the swift fall of Malaya, Burma, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1942 had brought them on India's doorstep. This was followed by the pounding of eastern India by their air force. At a time of such dire peril, the Congress Working Committee, in a characteristically opportunistic

move, demanded that the British quit India. The Quit India movement was spearheaded by Gandhi. His strategy was to pressurize the beleaguered British administration, through mass civil disobedience, into a precipitate declaration of India's independence.[16] The Muslim League decided to dissociate itself from the movement; in its view, the purpose of this "open rebellion" against the British was twofold: "establishing Congress Hindu domination in India" and forcing "the Musalmans to submit and surrender to Congress terms and dictation."[17] The percipient Jinnah was fully aware that a guarantee for the division of India and for Muslim statehood was an indispensable pre-requisite to the transfer of power to an overwhelming Hindu majority. In December 1943, he declared, "the only way, the only honest way, for Great Britain is to divide and quit"[18] India. He later emphasised that he would believe Britain's sincerity only when she "divides India and gives both Muslims and Hindus freedom."[19]

There was a fundamental conflict between the demands of the Congress and the Muslim League. The former advocated a joint struggle for freedom before communal settlement whereas the League wanted an agreement between the two major parties on the division of India prior to the grant of independence. To break the deadlock, in April 1944, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, a prominent Congress leader, came up with a formula[20] which was billed as a viable substitute for Pakistan. It allowed the option of secession from India to districts with contiguous Muslim majority, to be exercised through a general plebiscite. After the secession, these districts could form a separate sovereign state. As a pre-requisite to this process, the Muslim League was to support the Congress demand for Indian independence. The C.R. Formula was purported to have had Gandhi's blessings. Although Jinnah was far from persuaded that the scheme was feasible, he did not reject or accept it himself but offered to place it before the Muslim League Working Committee, provided Gandhi sent it directly to him.[21]

On his release, Gandhi made an abortive attempt to talk Jinnah out of the demand for Pakistan and to have him accept the C.R. Formula instead. Writing to him in Gujarati, their common mother-tongue, he said, "We will meet whenever you choose... . Do not disappoint me."[22] Jinnah responded positively by saying, "I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay."[23] There followed an avalanche of letters, mainly from Hindu organisations and individuals, urging Jinnah to come to an understanding with Gandhi.[24] The talks between Jinnah and Gandhi were scheduled for the month of August 1944.[25]

The much-awaited meeting between the two leaders took place in September. Gandhi wrote to Rajagopalachari, "It was a test of my

patience.... His contempt for your Formula...is staggering."[28] Jinnah declared that the Muslim League demand "was nothing less than Pakistan, as defined in the Lahore Resolution."[29] He spurned the C.R. Formula as offering only a "maimed, mutilated, and moth-eaten Pakistan."[30] The talks proved to be no more than a battle of wits, an exercise in both attrition and futility, between the two leaders who each adhered to his known position. Jinnah, however, did feel that "If we part without coming to an agreement, we shall proclaim bankruptcy of wisdom on our part."[29] The talks broke down, none the less, Jinnah insisting on the right to self-determination for Muslims and Gandhi refusing to concede the right and telling the press, much to his chagrin, that Jinnah "is suffering from hallucination when he imagines that an unnatural division of India could bring either happiness or prosperity."[30]

* * * *

In March 1943, Jinnah had appealed to Muslims of Bengal to "record their verdict of solidarity and faith in Pakistan" by voting for the Muslim League candidates for direct elections to the provincial Legislative Council.[31] Soon thereafter, A. K. Fazlul Haq, who had been expelled from the League[32] in 1941 for violating party discipline, approached Jinnah for reconciliation and return to the League's fold. Jinnah insisted that Fazlul Huq first resign the premiership and retract his allegations as well as the law-suit he had filed against Jinnah.[33] Huq also wrote to Governor Herbert offering to resign if that should facilitate the formation of a more broad-based ministry.[34] Subsequently, when the League had won all six Legislative Council seats,[35] the Governor persuaded Fazlul Huq to redeem his promise to resign.[36] Pending the formation of a new ministry, the Governor assumed power under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, in order to have the provincial budget passed by 31 March to meet the statutory requirement.[37] When Nazimuddin sought Jinnah's guidance regarding the formation of a ministry, he was advised against committing himself "to any formula which will go against the fundamental principles and policy of the League as a price for ministry."[38] However, Nazimuddin was sworn in as Premier[39] and was immediately called upon to address the problem of a disastrous famine which had engulfed Bengal.

In 1942, the province was faced with a growing food crisis[40] precipitated by the Japanese occupation of Burma and cessation of rice imports from that country,[41] cyclone and crop failure. According to M.A.H. Ispahani the food situation was "growing more and more serious each day," in some areas it was most acute.[42] By July 1943, Linlithgow had estimated

the death toll in Bengal to be up to one million, or even more. The Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce set up a Relief Fund for the famine victims. Jinnah appealed to Muslims all over India to contribute "their mite" to the fund and made a donation himself.[43]

The Nazimuddin Ministry had started making serious efforts to cope with the famine. It complained to the Government of India that the foodgrain allocation to Bengal had been far from adequate.[44] The Viceroy, however, thought the situation might be tackled more effectively by imposing Governor's rule in the province.[45] The acting Governor had been alarmed by the fast deteriorating food situation and reported to the Viceroy that "scenes are pretty ghastly... I envisage a large death toll."[46] Ispahani too feared "a horrible crisis," and wrote that "Bengal will be turned into a graveyard."[47] Jinnah urged the Muslim League Ministry to tackle the situation "boldly and fearlessly."[48] The Muslim League Council requested the Government of India as well as the British Government "to adopt immediately more vigorous and effective measures."[49] In a debate in the Central Legislative Assembly, Jinnah accused the Central Government of "gross negligence" in handling the food situation.[50] In June 1944 a Famine Enquiry Commission, chaired by Sir John Woodhead, was appointed by the Government of India.[51]

* * * *

While the Muslim League had its ministries in Bengal, Sind and, later, in the North Western Frontier Province, it could not demonstrate its parliamentary strength in the Punjab, where the Unionist party had held sway since long.[52] The party was born of a marriage of convenience between the interests of Muslim landlords and Hindu Jats. Premiers Sikander Hyat and, later, Khizar Hayat Tiwana could not remain oblivious to the exponentially growing popularity of the Muslim League in the Punjab and had to come to terms with the emerging reality, however reluctantly. In 1937, Sikander Hyat had concluded the Jinnah-Sikander Pact,[53] whereby Muslim Unionist members of the Punjab Assembly joined the Muslim League. Sikander's successor, Khizar Hayat, kept up the pretence of collaboration with the League which itself had split into factions.[54] Wavell, too, was of the view that the Muslim Unionist leaders were "at heart opposed to the demand for Pakistan."[55] With a view to consolidating the League's hold in the Punjab, Jinnah in April 1944 proposed to Khizar that:

i. every member of the ML party in the Punjab Assembly declare that he owed allegiance to the ML party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist or any other party;

ii. the label of the coalition, namely the "Unionist party," be dropped; and
iii. the proposed coalition be renamed as the Muslim League Coalition Party.[58]

Jinnah reasoned that the Jinnah-Sikander Pact was a misnomer in that it had been drawn up by Sikander himself. As the members had signed Muslim League membership forms, Jinnah declared that "they ceased to be members of the Unionist party," which "since 1937 had not been functioning" and "its creed and policy were dead."[59]

Jinnah's attention was also drawn to those Muslim Leaguers who were double-crossing the party in the Punjab suggesting their expulsion from the party, even if the League had to go into opposition, for the sake of a healthier, stronger and cleaner organisation.[60]

Khizar, however, backed out and the negotiations collapsed.[59] He was censured for violation of the party discipline, constitution and rules by the Punjab Muslim League conference at Sialkot, which also required the League members of the Punjab Assembly to owe allegiance solely to the Muslim League and retract their loyalty to the Unionist or any other party.

Disciplinary proceedings initiated by the Committee of Action against Khizar led to his expulsion from the Muslim League for the reason that he owed allegiance primarily to the Unionist party and paid only lip-service to the League.[61]

According to Mumtaz Daultana, Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League, the removal of Khizar had united the party as never before and purged its ranks of hypocrites and traitors.[62] The League Council ratified the decision to oust Khizar from the party.[62] Jinnah disclosed that Khizar had told his non-Muslim colleagues in strict confidence that they could rest assured he was a Muslim Leaguer only nominally and that he had no faith in the League's creed, policy and programme.[63]

* * * *

Punjab was not the only province with doubtful allegiance to the League. The Muslim League leadership in Sind was beset by infighting and factionalism. Serious differences had cropped up between Provincial League President G. M. Sayed and Secretary-General Yusuf Haroon, on the one hand, and Premier Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and his ministers, on the other. There was squabbling among the ministers as well, and the Premier complained to Jinnah, "They are still persisting in their intrigue against one another."[64] M. H. Gazdar in his letter to Jinnah protested against the devious and manipulative means which Yusuf

Haroon had had recourse to for winning the election for Mayor of Karachi.[65] Minister Ayub Khuhro also complained about the resolution adopted by the Sind Muslim League against the Ministry, which had already been released to the press.[66] The resolution slammed the Provincial Ministry for their foodgrain procurement policy, enhancement of land revenue rates and failure to enact tenancy laws. Regretting that prominent Leaguers were reviling each other in public,[67] Jinnah urged[68] them to mend their fences and decided to refer the issue to the League Council.[69]

* * * *

As if the dissensions among the League leaders in Punjab, Sind and other provinces were not enough to exercise Jinnah's mind, he had to contend also with the bitter political rivalry in Kashmir between the Muslim Conference led by Ghulam Abbass and the National Conference headed by Sheikh Abdullah. Jinnah was by no means oblivious to the horrible sufferings of the Kashmir Muslims at the hands of the Dogra regime. He had apprised the Viceroy of the whole situation.[70] Jinnah attempted to resolve the differences between the two main parties during a visit to the State but to no avail.[71]

* * * *

Industrial and economic backwardness of the areas expected to form Pakistan was a cause for concern and anxiety to Jinnah. Realising that Pakistan would not be able to "effectively function as a state without a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction,"[72] the All India Muslim League, at its session in December 1943, authorised Jinnah to appoint a committee to prepare a five-year plan for "economic and social uplift, ... industrialisation in Pakistan zones...,"[73] as well as for free primary education, land reforms and improvement in conditions of labour. Jinnah started scouting around for persons with the necessary expertise for development planning and, by August 1944, had put together a 23-man Planning Committee with Ali Nawaz Jung as Chairman and A.B.A. Haleem as Secretary.[74] In November 1944, Jinnah suggested that the Committee also include in its study such areas in Hindustan as had considerable Muslim population. He laid particular emphasis on the welfare of the masses by declaring, "It is not our purpose to make the rich richer and to accelerate the.. accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few individuals."[75] In the first instance, the Planning Committee produced a draft report on the Pakistan areas in July 1945. However, as the birth of Pakistan began to appear ever more as a distinct possibility, Jinnah

invited foreign investors, initiated a number of economic studies, and promoted the establishment of Muslim enterprises and ventures in various fields, including banking and civil aviation.[50]

At a meeting held at Delhi on 12 December 1943, representing Muslim commercial interests from various parts of India, it was decided to promote and develop a semi-commercial concern to "serve as a nucleus to establish industrial and commercial Muslim organisations in all parts of India" [51] and to assist research and advanced studies in scientific and industrial fields. The set-up was later given the name of Al-Meezan. Planning and coordination of this enterprise was carried out by Mir Laik Ali, an eminent industrialist of Hyderabad Deccan. Due to the apparent non-availability of a suitable Muslim, Jinnah was willing to appoint a Col. Slaughter as Managing Director.[52] When he was not available either, Laik Ali himself offered to fill the slot for the time being.[53]

* * * *

Projection of the views of the Muslim League on various issues and of its policies and programmes was handicapped by the absence of a strong Muslim press. This deficiency was pointed out to Jinnah[54] who himself was no less conscious of the desideratum and took personal interest in the acquisition of printing machinery, etc. enlisting the support of M. A. Hassan Ispahani,[55] Ghulam Mohammed[56] and Liaquat Ali Khan.[57] Mamdot reported progress in the efforts to obtain paper quota and in the acquisition of a weekly paper.[58] Unable to find, among Muslim journalists, an experienced English newspaper editor, he brought in Pothan Joseph for the daily *Dawn* which had started publication since October 1942, and sought assistance in printing and administrative matters from F. W. Bustin, editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*.[59]

* * * *

Jinnah and the Muslim League extended steadfast support to the cause of the Arabs in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration, issued in November 1917 by the Coalition Government of David Lloyd George in Britain, favoured the re-establishment of a Jewish "National Home" in Palestine. The Arabs were implacably opposed to the British policy. In February 1944, Jinnah telegraphed to Churchill: "Any departure from White Paper [of 1939] and definite assurances given to Muslim India by Viceroy Linlithgow on behalf of His Majesty's Government, would be further act [of] flagrant injustice to Arabs and breach of faith" and that its consequences would be "fraught with gravest

danger."[88] Whitehall responded with an assurance to Jinnah that the interests of the Arabs would be kept in view.[89] Later events showed that this promise was "more honoured in the breach than the observance," and Britain, the mandatory power, actually aided and abetted the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine, which was later to be partitioned to allow of the new State of Israel being established in 1948 over vociferous Arab protests.[90]

* * * *

During this period, Jinnah was engaged in frenetic efforts at consolidation of the Muslim League to vindicate his claim to the party being the sole representative body of the Muslims of India. He championed Muslim causes, and checkmated clever Congress moves to call the League's representative status into question with a view to emasculating its demand for a Muslim nation-state in the subcontinent. He kept up his unremitting efforts to mobilise Indian Muslims for the epic struggle for freedom and statehood, which was soon to gain momentum.

Notes

[1]Sarojini Naidu, "Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity", in Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, comp., *Quaid-i-Azam as seen by His Contemporaries*, Lahore, 1976, 169.

[2]Presented by M. A. Jinnah at the All India Muslim League Council Session, 28 March 1929. See F. 1050, 1-3, *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (hereinafter referred to as *QAP*). Also see Sharif al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpratation*, Karachi, 1981, 473-81.

[3]Address by M. A. Jinnah to the AIML 27th Session, 22 March 1940. See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 335 & 337.

[4]Resolution I by AIML at its 27th Session, 23 March 1940, ibid, 341

[5]Address by M. A. Jinnah to the Sind Provincial Muslim League, 13 June 1943. See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, (hereinafter referred to as *Speeches*), Vol. III, Lahore, 1996, 1733-4.

[6]Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 30 September 1943. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. III, Karachi, 1997, 274-5.

[7]M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, telegram, 29 March 1943. Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah Ispahani-Correspondence 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, 334.

[8]See Report by George Cunningham to Marquis of Linlithgow, 24 August 1943, Nicholas Mansergh and E.W.R. Lumby, eds., *The Transfer of Power 1942-7* (hereinafter referred to as *TP*), No. 89, Vol. IV, 186-7.

[9]M. A. Jinnah to Zahur Ahmed, 7 April 1944, No. 248, note 3.

[10]See Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 9 October 1943, No. 9, note 2.

[11]Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 30 April 1944. See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1895

[12]Ahmad Saeed to M. A. Jinnah, telegram, 8 May 1944, No. 328.
The Jami'at however remained adamant in their pro Congress tilt and turned a deaf ear to Jinnah's call. Later, they were to resort "to rank abuse of the Muslim League and personal attacks on League leaders." See M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Saeed, 15 May 1944, No. 341. Also see Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 29 October 1945, F. 810/126, *QAP*.

[13]Speech by M. A. Jinnah at the AIML Council Meeting, 9 November 1942. See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1633-9.

[1]Speech by Archibald Wavell in the Indian Legislative Assembly, 17 February 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, note 2, 398.
[1]See Resolution by All India Congress Committee, 8 August 1942, No. 470, *TP*, II, 621 4.
[1]Resolution No 2 by the AIML Working Committee, 20 April 1942 See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 702-5.
[1]Address by M A Jinnah at the 31st Session of the AIML, 24 December 1943. See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1814
[1]Interview with M. A. Jinnah by Stewart Emeny of the *News Chronicle* 29 February 1944, ibid., 1839.
[2]C Rajagopalachari to M. A Jinnah, 8 April 1944, No 251 & Enclosure
[2]M. A. Jinnah to C. Rajagopalachari, telegram, 2 July 1944, No. 508.
[2]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 17 July 1944, No. 567.
[2]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 24 July 1944, No. 583.
[2]P. C. Ghosh & Others to M A. Jinnah, 29 July 1944, No 601, note 1.
[2]See M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 12 August 1944. F. 98/28, *QAP*.
[2]M. K. Gandhi to C. Rajagopalachari, 9 September 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 831.
Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatama Gandhi*, New York, 2001, 210.
[2]Address by M A Jinnah to AIML Council, 30 July 1944 See F 810, 202-10, *QAP*
[2]News report, 11 September 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 588.
[2]Interview with M K Gandhi by Stuart Gelder, 29 September 1944, ibid , 844.
[2]Message by Jinnah to Muslims of Bengal, 10 March 1943 See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1682.
[2]See Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, note 1, 225.
See note by M. A. Hassan Ispahani, 17 March 1943, ibid., 326-8.
[2]See Marquis of Linlithgow to Leopold Amery, 30 March 1943, No. 627, *TP*, III, note 2, 861.
[2]See note 7 above.
[2]&[2]See note 34 above.
[2]See M. A Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani, 9 April 1943, Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 347-8.
[2]See Leopold Amery to Marquis of Linlithgow, 29 April 1943, No 678, *TP*, III, 931-2
[2]See Government of India, Food Department to Secretary of State, 18 December 1942, No. 282, *TP*, III, 394-5.
[2]E. Penderel Moon, ed., *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal*, London, 1973, 31.
[2]See M A Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 17 December 1942, Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 312-3.
Appeal by M A. Jinnah for contributions to the Famine Fund, 31 August 1943, Appendix I 1.
[2]See Memorandum by Government of India, Food Department on the Bengal food situation, undated, No. 93, *TP*, IV, 196-200.
[2]See Marquis of Linlithgow to Leopold Amery, 4 September 1943, No. 97, *TP*, IV, 208-9.
[2]The Viceroy had repeated the acting Governor's telegram to Secretary of State See Marquis of Linlithgow to Leopold Amery, 20 September 1943, No. 125, *TP*, IV, 284-5.
[2]See M. A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah, 20 September 1943, Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 379-80.
[2]M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani, 25 September 1943, ibid., 382
[2]See Resolution No 10 by the AIML Council, 15 November 1943 Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 697.
[2]See Report on Central Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 18 November 1943, ibid., 315-26.
[2]*The Famine Inquiry Report on Bengal*, published in 1945, contained "a good deal of criticism . . of decisions taken or not taken by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, also of the weakness of Bengal's administrative machine .. ". See No. 393, *TP*, V, para 5, 885. Also see No. 412, *TP*, IV, note 2, 781
[2]The Unionist Party had been founded by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain in 1923 with the objective of striving for the uplift of the backward agricultural and rural classes of the Punjab
[2]M. H. Saiyid to M. Motamedi, 7 July 1944, Enclosure to No. 538, Vol. X, 545-6.
[2]Khizar's cohorts in the League had divided loyalties. Some supported the Pakistan demand,

others were just opportunists and chose to keep sitting on the fence and a few were and remained diehards.

[55]Moon, *Wavell*, 63.

[56]See Statement by M A. Jinnah, 27 April 1944, Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1887 90

[57]Speech by M A. Jinnah at a Conference of Muslim Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, 20 March 1944, ibid., 1865-6.

[58]M A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 12 April 1944, No. 266.

[59]See note 56 above.

[60]See Correspondence between Liaquat Ali Khan and Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Appendix X. 3c, d & e, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 808-16.

[61]Report by Mumtaz Daultana, 28 July 1944, No. 598, Vol. X, 611.

[62]See Resolution No. 6 by AIML Council, 30 July 1944, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 700-1.

[63]Speech by M. A. Jinnah at the Lahore City Muslim League Conference, 30 July 1944, ibid , 548.

[64]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah, 12 April 1944, No. 265.

[65]M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah, 12 May 1944, No. 336.

[66]M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah, 10 July 1944, No. 546.

[67]M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf Haroon, 13 June 1944, No. 461.

[68]M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed, 13 June 1944, No. 460.

[69]M A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, telegram, 12 July 1944, No 551.

[70]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 13 December 1943, No. 68.

[71]See Appeal by M. A. Jinnah to Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, 23 May 1944, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 504-5.

[72]For a detailed coverage of developments in Jammu & Kashmir State, see Introduction to Volume IX, xiv-xxxi.

[73]Resolution No. 2 by the 31st Session, of the AIML, 25 December 1943, Appendix II. 1.

[74&75]Ibid.

[76]M. A. Jinnah to A.B.A. Haleem, 3 August 1944, Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.

[77] Address by M. A. Jinnah to the AIML Planning Committee, 5 November 1944, Appendix II. 53.

[78]See Appendix II.

[79]Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah, 22 December 1943, No. 83.

[80]M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali, 29 May 1944, No. 415.

[81]Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah, 26 July 1944, No. 591.

[82]Abdul Wahid to M. A. Jinnah, 2 May 1944, No. 313.

[83]M. A Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani, 8 April 1944, No. 254

[84]M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohammed, 20 May 1944, No. 376.

[85]M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan, 6 July 1944, No. 527.

[86]Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah, 7 June 1944, No. 445

[87]M. A. Jinnah to F. W. Bustin, 10 April 1944, No. 26.

[88]M. A Jinnah to Winston Churchill, telegram, 17 February 1944, Annex I to No. 181

[89] Evan Jenkins to M. A Jinnah, 12 March 1944, Annex II to No. 181

[90]Also see Introduction to Vol. VI, xxii-xxiv.

Abbreviations

AIML	All India Muslim League
API	Associated Press of India
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BG	British Government
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CP	Central Provinces
DPI	Director Public Instruction
DS	Deputy Superintendent
EAC	Extra Assistant Commissioner
HE	His Excellency
HH	His Highness
HMG	His Majesty's Government
HRH	His (Her) Royal Highness
HEH	His Exalted Highness
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IES	Indian Education Service
JP	Justice of Peace
KB	Khan Bahadur
KS	Khan Sahib
KT	Knight (Templar)
LDSc	Licentiate in Dental Science
ML	Muslim League
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
MS (S)	Manuscript(s)
MSF	Muslim Students Federation
NWR	North Western Railway
PLR	Punjab Law Reports
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PS	Police Station
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
RAF	Royal Air Force
Rs	Rupees
SDO	Sub-Divisional Officer
SHC	*Shamsul Hasan Collection*
Sjt	Shrijut (Hindi for Mr)
TP	*The Transfer of Power, 1942-7*
UP	United Provinces

Note Abbreviations usually given in the dictionaries have not been included.

All India Muslim League Working Committee 1943-44[1]

President	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Secretary	Liaquat Ali Khan
Assam	Abdul Matin Chaudhury
Baluchistan	Qazi Mohammad Isa
Bengal	M. A. H. Ispahani Khwaja Nazimuddin Mohamed Akram Khan
Bihar	Syed Hossain Imam S. M. Lateef-ur-Rahman
Bombay	I. I. Chundrigar
C. P. & Berar	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah
Delhi	Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali (Represented UP in 1944)
Madras	Haji Abdus Sattar H. Essak Sait
N.W.F.P.	Sardar Bakht Jamal Khan Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan
Punjab	Sheikh Karamat Ali Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot Mian Bashir Ahmad (Represented Punjab in 1944)
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro G. M. Sayed
United Provinces	Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan (Raja of Mahmudabad) Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman

[1] See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 216 & 383.

October

5 Hassan Ispahani apprises Jinnah about the food situation in Bengal; stresses the province's desperate need for massive import of foodgrains.

12 In a message to the *Dawn*, Jinnah underscores the importance of the press as "a vital necessity for the progress and the welfare of the nation".

Hassan Ispahani informs Jinnah about the work being done by the Relief Centres established in Bengal by the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce.

20 Archibald Wavell is installed as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

November

7 Churchill contemplates appointing a new governor in Bengal.

13 Jubbulpore Muslim League protest against the Provincial High School Education Board restricting the medium of instruction to Hindi or Marathi only.

14 Addressing the All India Muslim League Council at Delhi, Jinnah holds the British administration in India responsible for the Bengal famine; appeals to the Maharaja of Kashmir to do the duty he owed to the Muslims of the State forming nearly 80 per cent of the population.

18 Jinnah's move in the Indian Legislative Assembly for appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the Bengal famine is voted down.

December

7 Hassan Ispahani accuses Hindu Mahasabha leader V. D. Savarkar of asking his followers to restrict their aid for famine-stricken people to Hindu sufferers only.

13 Jinnah draws Wavell's attention to the grievances of the Muslims of Kashmir and urges him to settle them.

18 In an interview with the British writer, Beverlay Nichols, Jinnah disavows the concept of a united India and asserts that the

solution to the Indian problem lies in the Britain dividing and quitting India.

20 Wavell advises Jinnah to await the appointment of a new prime minister in Kashmir and give him some time to devise administrative reforms.

22 Zamindars of Khairpur State request Jinnah's intercession for securing the return of the heir-apparent.

24 Addressing the All India Muslim League session at Karachi, Jinnah urges Britain to "divide and quit" India.

25 All India Muslim League call upon Jinnah to appoint a planning committee for economic reconstruction and industrialization of Pakistan zones.

27 Jinnah appoints a Committee of Action to organize, coordinate and unify the work of the Muslim League.

January

5 Given the Hindu Mahasabha's avowed aim to establish a Hindu State encompassing the whole of the subcontinent, Jinnah affirms Muslim League's resolve to brook no compromise over the demand for partition of India.

February

17 Emphasizing that India was a natural unit, Wavell exhorts Hindus and Muslims to strive to co-exist peacefully in spite of differing cultures and religions.
Fearing insidious American-Zionist propaganda against the Arabs in Palestine, Jinnah warns Churchill that any retraction of previous assurances to Indian Muslims in that behalf would provoke severe resentment.

20 Responding to a proposal by the Andhra Mahasabha, Jinnah says any meeting between him and Hindu leaders for a constitutional settlement between the two major communities in India is entirely for the latter to decide.

22 Jinnah nominates a 21-member Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

29 In the interest of communal peace in India, Jinnah urges the British Government to divide India into two sovereign States—Pakistan and Hindustan.

March

19 Talks commence between Jinnah and the Punjab Premier Khizar Hayat Tiwana over the proposed disaffiliation of Muslim League MLAs and redesignation of the Unionist parliamentary party as the ML coalition party.

21 Jinnah terms the Jinnah-Sikander Pact a misnomer and observes that the creed and policy of the Unionist Party are dead.

23 Jinnah declares Pakistan to be the only solution to the constitutional and political problem of India.

31 Jinnah puts the political stand-off in India down to Congress obduracy, insisting that the key to the problem lies in the hands of the Hindu leadership.

April

1 Mustafa Gilani tells Jinnah about Unionists in the Punjab suspected to be masquerading as Muslim Leaguers.

3 Jinnah expresses disappointment over the reluctance of the Muslim Ministers in the Punjab to further the interests of their own community.

5 Yusuf Haroon criticizes the Sind Ministry for subservience to the Central Government; calls upon the Sind Ministers to assert their authority or else vacate their offices.

8 C. Rajagopalachari proposes a six-point formula as basis for a political settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League.

12 Sind Premier Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah complains to Jinnah that his Cabinet colleagues have been indulging in intrigue and infighting.

Hassan Ispahani accuses Muslim MLAs in the Punjab of playing a double game and calls for their expulsion from the League.

17 Differences arise between the ML Party in Karachi Municipal Corporation and Minister Hashim Gazdar over the election of the city's mayor.

21 Assam Premier Saadullah's support for retention of the Line System in the province provokes resentment among the Bengali immigrants.

26 Punjab Governor, Bertrand Glancy, dismisses Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan from the provincial cabinet.

28 Talks between Jinnah and the Punjab Premier, Khizar Hayat Tiwana, over the proposed disaffiliation of Muslim League MLAs from the Unionist Party end in a stalemate.

May

2 Jinnah exhorts smaller Muslim parties to sink their differences and come on to the Muslim League platform.

5 Panipat Muslims urge Muslim parliamentarians of the Punjab to join the Muslim League Assembly Party in order to forge a united bloc to protect Muslim interests.

9 Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, urges Jinnah to reach an understanding with the Congress for the achievement of Pakistan no less than the independence of India.

12 Sind Minister Hashim Gazdar complains to Jinnah that Yusuf Haroon has had recourse to underhand tactics to secure the mayoralty of Karachi for himself.

13 Sind Provincial Muslim League complain to Jinnah about the common man's grievances in the Province; feel that the amelioration of his lot would speed up attainment of the cherished goal of Pakistan.

14 Sind Provincial Muslim League Council demand the discontinuation of joint electorate in the municipal boroughs of Sind.

15 Rallia Ram, a Punjab Christian leader, urges Congress to accept

the demand for self-determination of nationalities as a pre-requisite to any League-Congress agreement.

21 Karachi City Muslim League voice resentment against the unwarranted interference in the city's mayorial elections by Hashim Gazdar; protest against introduction of party politics within the Sind Provincial Muslim League by its President, G. M. Sayed.

22 Apprising Jinnah of the setting-up of a nationalist Muslim organisation, a correspondent regards the event as an attempt by the Anglo-Hindu alliance to divide the Muslims.

Jinnah advises students against taking active part in politics during their academic career but urges them to keep abreast of the political situation.

27 AIML Committee of Action expel Khizar Hayat Tiwana from the League for violation of the Party's policy and programme and also its constitution, rules, aims and objects.

28 Jinnah says he has no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Kashmir; however, having met people with different shades of opinion he believes that the Muslims of the State generally support the aims of the Muslim League.

June

10 Jinnah regards Punjab as corner-stone of the edifice of Pakistan and exhorts the Muslims of Punjab to rise to the occasion, organize themselves socially, economically, educationally and politically, and brace for the achievement of Pakistan.

13 Jinnah advises Yusuf Haroon to mend fences with Hashim Gazdar and resolve such misunderstanding as might have arisen between them.

17 Jinnah supports the demand of Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference for representative and responsible government in the State.

27 Jubbulpore Muslim League, dismayed by the manning of

the district police, executive and judiciary by non-Muslims exclusively, demand appointment of a proportionate number of Muslims.

July

2 Jinnah declares his inability to accept or reject the CR Formula but expresses willingness to place it before the AIML Working Committee for consideration.

7 Sind Provincial ML Working Committee charges the League Ministry in the province with failure to achieve anything of consequence or substance and demands its resignation.

14 Jinnah instructs Sind Provincial ML to take no further action as regards the Ministry's resignation, and instead to place the matter before the Party's Central Parliamentary Board.

25 Jinnah emphasises League's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Jammu and Kashmir, and regrets that Sheikh Abdullah did not accept his advice that Kashmiri Muslims should organize themselves under one flag and on one platform.

30 Jinnah discloses to the AIML Working Committee the contents of the letter written to him by Gandhi 15 months earlier but withheld by the Government, proposing free and frank discussion on the question of communal unity; says he is agreeable to that proposal but regards the CR Formula as negating the League's Resolution of March 1940.

AIML Council ratifies the decision of the Committee of Action to expel the Punjab Premier, Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana, from the Party.

31 AIML Working Committee takes note of G.M. Sayed, Sind ML President, having dropped allegations against Provincial Ministers, and directs that the remaining matters be first dealt with by Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, party leader in the Provincial Assembly.

No.	*Description*	*Date* October 1943	*Page*
1	Nabibux Pirbux Munshi to Hasham Ismail	3	1
2	Pothan Joseph to M. A. Jinnah	4	2
3	M. A. Jinnah to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan	4	3
4	Mamnoon Hasan to M. A. Jinnah	5	4
5	M. A. Jinnah to Allah Ditta	5	4
6	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	5	5
	Annex		5
	Annexure to Annex		6
7	Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah	9	7
8	K. Y. Chandrachood to M. A. Jinnah	9	8
9	Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah	9	9
10	Said A. Rashid to M. A. Jinnah	11	10
11	M. A. Jinnah to Chunilal Mehta	11	11
12	Krishna Chandra Bannerjee to M. A. Jinnah	11	11
13	Mohammad Ashfaq to M. A. Jinnah	12	12
14	M. A. Jinnah to Pothan Joseph	12	13
	Enclosure		14
15	M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad	15	17
16	Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah	16	18
17	Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah	16	19
	Enclosure 1		19
	Enclosure 2		21
18	Ali Muhummed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah	18	22
19	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	18	24
20	M. A. Jinnah to Firoz Khan Noon	19	25
21	M. Padmanabhan Nambiar & M. Abdul Khadar to M. A. Jinnah	20	25
22	Jamilud Din Ahmad to Matlubul Hasan Saiyid	20	26
23	Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	20	27
24	M. Khalil Hussain to M. A. Jinnah	20	28
25	Mirza Yaqub Baig to M. A. Jinnah	20	29
26	M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	22	29
27	Resolution by Assam Muslim Association	23	30
28	M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	23	31
29	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	23	32
30	P. Balasubaramania Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah	25	33

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		October 1943	
31	M. Ziaud Din to M. A. Jinnah	26	34
	Enclosure		34
32	Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah	27	35
33	Amratrai C. Desai to M. A. Jinnah	27	36
34	M. A. Jinnah to John Turner	27	37
35	Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah	27	38
36	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	29	39
37	H. A. Vali Khan to All India Muslim Students' Union	29	40
		November 1943	
38	John Turner to M. A. Jinnah	1	42
39	Secretary, Quilandy Muslim League Committee to M. A. Jinnah	1	43
40	M. A. Jinnah to M. Zaman	4	43
41	Ghulam Mohammad Choudhry to M. A. Jinnah	4	44
42	President, Nabisar Road Muslim League, to M. A. Jinnah	5	44
43	M. A. Jinnah to Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada	5	45
44	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	5	45
45	M. A. Jinnah to Ataullah	6	46
46	Syed M. Saadulla to M. A. Jinnah	7	47
47	Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah	8	47
48	Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah	10	48
49	N. T. Williams to the Hindustan Times, Ltd.	12	49
50	Resolutions by Jubbulpore Town Muslim League Working Committee	13	50
51	Resolutions by Anjuman-i-Hilal-i-Ahmar, Lahore	14	51
52	Ch. Abdul Karim to M. A. Jinnah	19	52
53	Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah	20	53
54	M A. Jinnah to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan	27	53
55	M. A. Jinnah to Zafar Ali Khan	27	54
56	S Nasir Mahmud to M. A. Jinnah	27	55
57	Kantilal A. Trivedi to Editors of newspapers	29	56

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		November 1943	
58	S. Shamsul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah	29	58
59	Mohammad Ah Kamal to M. A. Jinnah	30	58
		December 1943	
60	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	1	61
61	Syed Zakir Ali to M. A. Jinnah	2	61
	Enclosure		62
62	S. M. Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah	2	63
63	Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri	5	
	to M. A. Jinnah		64
	Enclosure		66
64	Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah	7	71
65	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	7	72
	Enclosure		73
66	M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amin Khan	11	
	Tareen		74
67	Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah	12	75
68	M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell	13	76
	Enclosure 1		76
	Enclosure 2		77
	Enclosure 3		78
	Enclosure 4		79
	Enclosure 5		79
69	Dur Mohammad Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah	14	81
70	Sh. Mohammad Alam to M. A. Jinnah	15	82
71	Kazi Khuda Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah	15	83
72	M. A. Jinnah to Iqbal Masud	15	83
73	Abdul Naseer Khan to M. A. Jinnah	15	84
74	Mohammad Sadiq to M. A. Jinnah	15	85
75	Amir Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah	16	86
76	Bakht Jamal Khan to M. A. Jinnah	17	87
77	Mohamad Din to M. A. Jinnah	18	88
78	Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri	19	
	to M. A. Jinnah		90
79	Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah	20	91
80	Sh. Mohammad Alam to M. A. Jinnah	22	91
81	Quraishi to M. A. Jinnah	22	92

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		December 1943	
82	Dinal Khan to M. A. Jinnah	22	93
	Enclosure		93
83	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	22	95
84	Muslim Citizens of Lahore to M. A. Jinnah	23	99
85	Mukhi Ilyas & Others to M. A. Jinnah	23	99
86	K. V. Abdul Azeez to M. A. Jinnah	23	101
87	Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah	24	103
88	Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah	25	103
89	Haji Ibrahim & Others to M. A. Jinnah	25	104
90	Inam Habibullah to M. A. Jinnah	26	107
91	Zulfikar Ali Khan & Others to M. A. Jinnah	26	107
92	Mohammad Din & Ikram Qamar to M. A. Jinnah	29	108
93	Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah	31	110
94	Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah	31	111
		January 1944	
95	M. A. Jinnah to K. V. Abdul Azeez	2	113
96	M. A. Jinnah to Nawab M. Ismail Khan	3	113
97	Nabibux Pirbux to M. A. Jinnah	5	114
98	Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah	5	115
	Enclosure		115
99	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	8	116
100	M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali	10	117
101	Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah	11	118
102	Beverley Nichols to M. A. Jinnah	11	119
	Enclosure		119
103	M. A. Jinnah to Nawab M. Ismail Khan	13	124
104	Evelyn Wrench to M. A. Jinnah	13	125
105	M. A. Jinnah to Jamal Mian	14	125
106	A. Lehuraux to M. A. Jinnah	15	126
107	M. A. Jinnah to Nabibux Pirbux	15	127
108	M. A. Jinnah to A. Lehuraux	19	127
109	M. A. Jinnah to Sh. Muhammad Ashraf	19	128
110	Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah	21	129

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		January 1944	
111	Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah	23	132
112	Khizar Hayat to M. A. Jinnah	23	133
	Enclosure		134
113	Hussain M. Malik to M. A. Jinnah	24	136
114	Yakub Sardar & Others to R. F. Mudie	24	137
115	M. A. Jinnah to F. M. I. Quereshi	25	138
116	Mushtaq Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	25	139
117	Nizamuddeen Hyder to M. A. Jinnah	27	140
118	A. F. Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah	27	141
		February 1944	
119	Mohmed Sultan Wani to M. A. Jinnah	1	142
120	M. A. Jinnah to F. M. I. Quereshi	2	143
121	M. A. Jinnah to F. M. I. Quereshi	5	144
122	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	5	145
123	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	6	145
124	F. M. I. Quereshi to M. A. Jinnah	7	145
125	Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	8	148
126	M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali	9	149
127	Vijaya Anand to M. A. Jinnah	11	149
128	Hasnain Kazmi to M. A. Jinnah	12	151
129	Anonym to M. A. Jinnah	13	152
130	M. Gul Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah	14	153
131	Working President, N.W. Railway Union, to M. A. Jinnah	15	156
132	M. A. Jinnah's Replies to the Questionnaire by Eveyln Wrench	16	158
133	Syed Hashimi to M. A. Jinnah	16	160
134	Ahmad Shafi to M. A. Jinnah	17	160
135	Mahomed Ali Chaiwala to M. A. Jinnah	18	161
136	Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah	18	163
137	Mohamed Sharif Toosy to M. A. Jinnah	20	163
138	M. A. Jinnah to Vijaya Anand	20	165

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		February 1944	
139	M. A. Jinnah to Syed Hashimi	21	166
140	M. A. Jinnah to Mahomed Ali Chaiwala	21	166
141	Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah	21	167
142	S. Niaz Ali Qadari to M. A. Jinnah	22	168
143	M. A. Jinnah to Bakht Jamal Khan	22	168
144	Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah	23	169
145	Resolution by Gujrat District Muslim League	24	170
146	Raghunandan Saran to M. A. Jinnah	24	171
147	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	26	172
148	M. Fazlullah to M. A. Jinnah	28	173
149	Khalid Ali to M. A. Jinnah	28	174
150	Earl C. Daum to M. A. Jinnah	29	174
		March 1944	
151	Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana to M. A. Jinnah	1	175
152	S. A. Rashid Hashmi to M. A. Jinnah	1	175
153	Kavasji H. Katrak to F. M. I. Quereshi	1	176
154	S. M. Qasim Rizavi to M. A. Jinnah	1	177
155	Report by Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan & Others	1	178
156	M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Sharif Toosy	1	181
157	K. A. Chishti to M. A. Jinnah	1	182
158	H. M. Amin-ud-Din Sehrai to M. A. Jinnah	2	182
159	M. Sondhi to M. A. Jinnah	2	183
160	Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah	3	184
161	A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah	3	185
162	Fatima Begum to M. A. Jinnah	4	185
163	Jamil Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah	4	186
164	Sheikh Niaz Ali Qadari to M. A. Jinnah	4	187
165	Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah	5	188
166	Izz-ud-Din Paul to M. A. Jinnah	6	189
167	M. A. Jinnah to Husnain Kazmi	6	189
168	Secretary, Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, to M. A. Jinnah	7	190
169	Maratib Ali to M. A. Jinnah	8	191
170	S. A. Rouf to M. A. Jinnah	8	192

No.	*Description*	*Date* *March 1944*	*Page*
171	M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah	9	192
172	Mozaffar Ali Qizilbash to M. A. Jinnah	9	192
173	Mohammed Sharif Uppal to M. A. Jinnah	9	194
174	Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah	10	195
175	A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah	10	196
176	Mozaffar Ali Qizilbash to M. A. Jinnah	10	197
177	Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah	10	198
178	Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah	10	199
179	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	10	200
180	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	10	201
181	Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah	10	201
	Annex I		202
	Annex II		202
182	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah	11	203
183	M. Iftikharullah to M. A. Jinnah	11	203
184	Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah	13	204
185	M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Alam	13	204
186	M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot	14	205
187	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah	14	206
188	Rahman Ali to Liaquat Ali Khan	14	207
189	Mohammed Din Sufi to M. A. Jinnah	15	208
190	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	15	209
191	Razi R. Khawaja to M. A. Jinnah	15	209
192	M. A. Jinnah to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan	15	210
193	M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Shahabuddin	16	211
194	Sheikh Niaz Ali Qadari to M. A. Jinnah	16	211
195	M. A. Jinnah to Nawab M. Ismail Khan	17	195
196	M. Hassan Latifi to M. A. Jinnah	17	213
197	Muzaffar Khan to M. A. Jinnah	17	213
198	Secretary, Muslim Students Federation, Lahore to M. A. Jinnah	17	214
199	Abdul Majid Khan Lodi to M. A. Jinnah	18	214
200	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	18	215
201	Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah	18	216
202	M. A. Jinnah to Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi	19	217
203	Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah	19	218
204	J. J. Singh to M. A. Jinnah	19	219
205	Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah	19	219
206	Salma Tasadduque Husain to M. A. Jinnah	19	219
207	S. A. Hadi to M. A. Jinnah	20	220
208	Mohammad Ishaque Adham to M. A. Jinnah	20	221

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		March 1944	
209	Jinnah Sports Club, Transvaal to M. A. Jinnah	20	222
210	Naseer Ahmad Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah	20	223
211	Chiragh Din to M. A. Jinnah	21	224
212	M. Ferozeuddin to M. A. Jinnah	21	224
213	Kailash Chandra to M. A. Jinnah	21	225
214	A. A. Jawaid to M. A. Jinnah	21	226
215	A. G. Khan to M. A. Jinnah	21	226
216	Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah	21	227
217	Kailash Chandra to M. A. Jinnah	21	228
218	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	21	228
219	Willis Kingsley Wing to M. A. Jinnah	21	229
220	M. H. Saiyid to the Editor, *Tribune*	23	229
221	Abdul Wahab Osmani to M. A. Jinnah	23	230
222	Khwaja Shahabuddin to M. A. Jinnah	23	231
223	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	24	232
224	Manzoor Hasan to M. A. Jinnah	24	233
225	Makhdum Murid Hussain Quraishi to M. A. Jinnah	25	234
226	Said Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	25	236
227	H. S. Suhrawardy to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot	25	238
228	S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah Annex	27	239 239
229	Chhotu Ram to M. A. Jinnah	28	240
230	A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah	29	241
231	L. Ram Ratan Gupta to M. A. Jinnah	30	242
232	M. A. Jinnah to Makhdum Murid Hussain Quraishi	31	242
233	Chaudhri Faqir Chand to M. A. Jinnah	31	243
234	Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah	31	244
235	Resolutions by Jubbulpore Muslim League	u.d.	245
		April 1944	
236	Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani to M. A. Jinnah	1	247
237	Address presented by Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah	2	248
238	Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah	3	250
239	Maulana Muhammad Ali to M. A. Jinnah	3	251
240	M. A. Jinnah to Maulana Muhammad Ali	3	251

No.	*Description*	*Date* April 1944	*Page*
241	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	3	252
242	Murtaza Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah	4	253
243	Naseer Ahmad Sheikh to M. A. Jinnah	5	254
244	George S. Arundale to M. A. Jinnah	6	255
245	Abdul Majid Salik to M. A. Jinnah	6	256
246	Muslims of Sheikhupura to M. A. Jinnah & Others	6	258
247	Malik Obaidullah to M. A. Jinnah	6	259
248	M. A. Jinnah to Zahur Ahmed	7	260
249	M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah	8	261
	Enclosure 1		263
	Enclosure 2		263
250	M. A. Jinnah to Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana	8	266
251	C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah	8	266
	Enclosure		267
252	K. A. Wadud to M. A. Jinnah	8	268
253	Muslim Villagers of Durgapur to M. A. Jinnah	8	269
254	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	8	269
255	Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah	8	271
256	Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah	8	272
257	M. A. Jinnah to Sh. Muhammad Ashraf	8	273
258	Mahmudul Husan Butt & Others to M. A. Jinnah	9	273
259	M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Majid Salik	10	274
260	S. A. Rahman Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah	10	275
261	M. A. Jinnah to F. W. Bustin	10	276
262	M. A. Jinnah to Ibadat Yar Khan	10	276
263	M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah	11	277
264	Wilayat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah	12	278
265	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah	12	279
266	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	12	279
267	A Rahim Khan to M. A. Jinnah	12	282
	Enclosure		283
268	Mohammad Sharif Toosy to M. A. Jinnah	13	284
269	M. A. Jinnah to Naseer Ahmed Sheikh	13	286
270	Sh. Husain Sabir to M. A. Jinnah	14	287
271	Muslim Students Federation, Bantva to M. A. Jinnah	14	288
272	M. Umar Draz Beg to M. A. Jinnah	14	289

No.	*Description*	*Date April 1944*	*Page*
273	M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Sharif Toosy	16	290
274	M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah	16	290
275	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	17	291
	Enclosure 1		292
	Annexure		293
	Enclosure 2		294
276	A. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah	17	295
	Enclosure		296
277	Mohammad Akbar Khan to M. A. Jinnah	17	298
278	C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah	17	300
279	H. Ahmed Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah	18	301
280	Wajid Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah	20	301
281	M. A. Jinnah to George S. Arundale	20	302
282	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	20	302
283	M. A. Rashid to M. A. Jinnah	21	303
	Enclosure		304
284	Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah	22	307
285	Saaid Mahaboob to M. A. Jinnah	22	308
286	M. B. Zaman to M. A. Jinnah	22	308
287	S. Mahbub Hasan to M. A. Jinnah	22	309
288	A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah	22	310
289	M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali	24	311
290	W. T. Krishnaswamy Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah	24	312
291	Message by M. A. Jinnah to Iqbal Society, Hyderabad, Sind	25	312
292	M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan	25	313
293	Pir Illahi Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah	25	313
294	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	26	314
295	Memon Club, Dhoraji to Crown Representative, Delhi	26	315
296	Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Tijarat, Saudagran-i-Juft to M. A. Jinnah	26	316
297	A Musalman of Hariana to M. A. Jinnah	26	317
298	A. Thariani to M. A. Jinnah	26	318
	Enclosure 1		318
	Enclosure 2		319
	Enclosure 3		320
299	S. Aizaz Rasool to M. A. Jinnah	26	320
	Enclosure		321
300	A. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah	26	322
301	Fasih-ud-Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	27	322
302	M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	27	323

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		April 1944	
303	Bashiruddin to M. A. Jinnah	28	323
304	Pir Wilayat Shah to M. A. Jinnah	28	325
305	Y. A. Marfani to M. A. Jinnah	29	326
306	M. A. Jinnah to Ch. Ghulam Abbas	29	327
307	M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Abdullah	29	327
308	Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah	30	328
309	Zainulabadin to M. A. Jinnah	30	329
	Enclosure		329
310	Mohammad Yamin Khan to M. A. Jinnah	u.d.	330
		May 1944	
311	G. M. Naicker to M. A. Jinnah & Others	1	331
312	P. P. Vaidyanathan to M. A. Jinnah	1	331
313	Abdul Wahid to M. A. Jinnah	2	332
314	C. Mohamed Ali to M. A. Jinnah	4	333
315	Nazir Hussain to M. A. Jinnah	4	335
316	M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan	4	335
317	Chief Organiser, Red Crescent Society to M. A. Jinnah	4	336
318	M. Khurshid Rao to M. A. Jinnah	5	337
319	M. A. Jinnah to S. Zainulabadin	5	338
320	Iltaf Hussain Parwaz to M. A. Jinnah	6	339
321	Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	6	341
322	M. Zia Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah	6	341
	Enclosure		342
323	Nawab Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah	6	343
324	The Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah	7	343
325	M. A. Husain to M. A. Jinnah	7	344
326	M. A. Jinnah to Mahomed Ali	8	345
327	M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad	8	345
328	Ahmad Saeed to M. A. Jinnah	8	346
329	Syed Ata Ullah to M. A. Jinnah	9	347
330	M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	9	347
331	Inayatullah Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah	9	348
332	Ra'na Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah	10	349
333	Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah	11	350
334	Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah	12	350
335	Anwar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah	12	351
336	M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah	12	352

No.	*Description*	*Date* *May 1944*	*Page*
337	S. K. Atri to M. A. Jinnah	13	353
338	Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	14	354
339	Satyapal Dang to M. A. Jinnah	14	355
340	Jatia Chamars to M. A. Jinnah	14	356
341	M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Saeed	15	357
342	A. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah	15	358
343	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	15	359
344	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	15	360
	Enclosure		361
345	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	15	362
346	M. A. Jinnah to Inamullah Khan	16	362
347	Mohammad Yousuf Shah & Others	16	
	to M. A. Jinnah		363
348	M. A. Jinnah to Wajid Ali Shah	16	364
349	M. A. Jinnah to Begum Ra'na Liaquat Ali	16	
	Khan		365
350	Aziz Kashmiri to M. A. Jinnah	16	365
351	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Bari	16	366
352	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Rashid	16	367
353	M. A. Jinnah to Nazir Hussain	16	367
354	M. A. Jinnah to Hameed Nizami	16	368
355	M. A. Jinnah to Syed Ata Ullah	16	369
356	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Husain	16	369
357	M. A. Jinnah to Pir Illahi Bakhsh	17	370
	Annex		370
358	James Brown to M. A. Jinnah	17	371
359	A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah	18	371
360	M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad	18	372
361	M. A. Jinnah to A. Hamid	18	373
362	Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah	18	374
	Enclosure		374
363	Prem Nath Bazaz to M. H. Saiyid	18	374
364	M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Quaseem	19	375
365	M. A. Jinnah to Vazalali Vakil	19	376
366	M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Yousuf Shah	19	376
367	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani	20	377
368	Hakim Masud Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah	20	378
369	Mujahid Astori to M. A. Jinnah	20	379
370	M. A. Jinnah to P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar	20	379
371	M. A. Jinnah to M. Umar Draz Beg	20	380
372	Shakir to M. A. Jinnah	20	380
373	M. A. Jinnah to Maulana Karamali	20	382
374	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	20	382
375	M A. Jinnah to Willis Kingsley Wing	20	384
376	M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohammed	20	385

No.	*Description*	*Date May 1944*	*Page*
377	M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau	21	385
378	Resolutions by the Karachi City Muslim League Working Committee	21	386
379	Munawar-ud-Din to M. A. Jinnah	21	387
380	Mir Mohammad Ali to M. A. Jinnah	21	388
381	Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	21	388
	Enclosure		389
382	M. A. Jinnah to Anwar Hussain	22	390
383	M. A. Jinnah to Hasrat Qureshi	22	391
384	Prem Nath Bazaz to M. A. Jinnah	22	392
385	M. A. Jinnah to A. Z. M. Rezai Karim	22	393
386	Ghulam Mohammad Nasim to M. A. Jinnah	22	394
387	M. A. Jinnah to K. A. Wadud	22	394
388	Aziz Kashmiri to M. A. Jinnah	22	395
389	M. A. Rauf Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah	23	396
390	M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana	23	396
391	Sultan Ahmad Daoodi to M. A. Jinnah	23	397
392	M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot	23	399
393	Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah	23	400
	Enclosure		401
394	Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	23	402
395	Abdul Karim to M. A. Jinnah	24	403
396	A. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah	24	404
397	Abdul Qaiyum to M. A. Jinnah	25	405
398	M. A. Sayyid to M. A. Jinnah	25	406
	Enclosure		406
399	A. M. Tariq to M. A. Jinnah	26	409
400	Quraishi Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah	26	409
401	M. A. Bari to M. A. Jinnah	26	410
402	G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah	26	411
	Annex		412
403	A. A. Ravoof to M. A. Jinnah	27	417
404	Mohammad Yousuf Shah to M. A. Jinnah	28	418
405	Ghulam Nabi H. Taufiq to M. A. Jinnah	28	419
406	M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau	29	419
407	Anwar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah	29	420
408	M. A. Jinnah to Ram Nath Chopra	29	421
409	M. A. Jinnah to S. Mahmood Alam	29	421
410	Secretary, Tanjore District Muslim League Conference to M. A. Jinnah	29	422
411	Riaz Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah	29	422
412	Syed Mahbub Hasan to M. A. Jinnah	29	423
413	Ghulam Ali to M. A. Jinnah	29	424
414	M. A. Jinnah to Sami Ahmad	29	424

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		May 1944	
415	M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali	29	425
416	M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali	29	426
417	M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali	29	426
418	A. Z. M. Rezai Kazim to M. A. Jinnah	30	427
419	M. A. Jinnah to Sh. Muhammad Ashraf	30	428
420	S. M. Mohideen to M. A. Jinnah	30	429
421	R. V. M. S. Ramarau to M. A. Jinnah	30	430
422	Ahmad Shafi to M. A. Jinnah	30	430
423	Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah	31	431
424	Mian Mumtaz Daultana to M. A. Jinnah	31	432
425	Prem Nath Bazaz to M. A. Jinnah	31	434
	Enclosure		434
426	M. A. Jinnah to A. A. Ravoof	u d.	439
		June 1944	
427	A. A. Ravoof to M. A. Jinnah	1	440
428	M. A. Jinnah to Prem Nath Bazaz	1	441
429	M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad	3	441
430	M. A. Jinnah to Syed Mahbub Hasan	3	442
431	M. A. Jinnah to A. H. Siddiqi	3	443
432	M. A. Jinnah to a Student	3	444
433	Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah	3	444
434	M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Shafi	3	445
435	Jasjit Singh to M. A. Jinnah	4	446
436	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	5	446
437	R.V. M. S. Ramarau to M. A. Jinnah	5	447
438	M. A. Jinnah to Pir Illahi Bakhsh	5	447
439	M. H. Saiyid to Consul for Afghanistan, Bombay	5	448
440	Hasnain Kazmi to Archibald Wavell	5	448
441	M. A. Jinnah to Riaz Ahmed Khan	5	449
442	V. M. Kureshi to M. A. Jinnah	5	450
443	M. A. Hafeez Khan Farabi to M. A. Jinnah	6	451
444	C. S. Vohra to M. A. Jinnah	7	454
445	Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah	7	455
446	S. L. Saraf to M. H. Saiyid	8	457
447	Inamullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah	9	457
448	Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah	9	458
449	M. A. Jinnah to R. A. Khan	9	459
450	M. A. Jinnah to A. A. Ravoof	9	459
451	M. A. Jinnah to A. R. Changez	10	460

No.	*Description*	*Date June 1944*	*Page*
452	Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah	11	461
453	Mohammad Yusuf Dar to M. A. Jinnah	12	462
454	Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah	12	463
455	Manager, Allied Brothers, Srinagar to M. A. Jinnah	13	463
456	Report on Punjab Session of All India Muslim Women's Conference	13	463
457	Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah	13	466
	Enclosure		467
458	A. A. Basith to M. H. Saiyid	13	468
459	B. N. Rau to M. A. Jinnah	13	468
460	M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed	13	469
461	M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf Abdoola Haroon	13	469
462	Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah	13	470
463	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Rauf Abbasi	13	471
464	Haji Abdul Karim to M. A. Jinnah	13	472
465	Nazir Yar Jung to M . A. Jinnah	14	473
466	Abdul Latif to Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi	14	474
467	Wajid Ali to M. A. Jinnah	15	477
468	M. A. Jinnah to Wajid Ali	19	477
469	Sh. Fazal Ilahi to M. A. Jinnah	19	478
470	Shaik Daud to M. A. Jinnah	19	479
471	M. A. Jinnah to Murid Hussain Qureshi	21	480
472	Gerald Bailey to M. A. Jinnah	21	480
473	Amin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	21	481
474	Inayat Ali to M. A. Jinnah	21	482
475	M. S. M. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah	21	482
476	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	22	483
	Enclosure		484
477	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	22	485
478	Mustafa Kamal to M. A. Jinnah	22	485
479	S. M. Haq Haqqi to M. A. Jinnah	22	486
480	Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah	22	487
481	M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana	24	488
482	Abdul Azeez Basha to M. A. Jinnah	25	489
483	M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau	25	489
484	Ghulam Mustafa Shah Khalid Gilani to M. A. Jinnah	25	490
485	Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah	25	492
486	M H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah	26	494
487	M. A. Jinnah to Begum Bahadur Yar Jung	26	495
488	Resolutions by the Council of the Jubbulpore Muslim League	27	495

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		June 1944	
489	K. V. Gopala Ratnam to M. A. Jinnah	28	495
490	Ghulam Qadir to M. A. Jinnah	28	496
491	A. Majeed to M. A. Jinnah	28	499
492	Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah	28	500
	Enclosure		501
493	M. A. Jinnah to M. S. M. Sharma	28	502
494	Prem Nath Bazaz to M. A. Jinnah	28	503
495	M. A. Jinnah to Prem Nath Bazaz	29	504
496	Secretary, Jubbulpore Muslim League to Director-General, Posts & Telegraphs	29	504
497	M. A. Jinnah to J. N. Wali	29	506
498	Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah	29	506
	Enclosure		507
499	Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah	29	507
500	Statement by Begum Bahadur Yar Jung	30	508
501	M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah	30	509
	Enclosure		511
502	C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah	30	511
		July 1944	
503	Atma Singh to M. A. Jinnah	1	512
504	Said Ahmad Zia to M. A. Jinnah	1	512
505	M. H. Saiyid to Naseer Ahmad Sheikh	1	513
506	Midrarullah Midrar Mardani to M. A. Jinnah	1	514
	Enclosure 1		515
	Enclosure 2		516
507	M. Timur to M. A. Jinnah	2	517
508	M. A. Jinnah to C. Rajagopalachari	2	518
509	Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah	3	518
510	Babu Ram Saksena to M. A. Jinnah	3	519
511	Munadi to M. A. Jinnah	3	520
512	M. Mozaffar to M. A. Jinnah	3	520
513	K. T. Shah to M. A. Jinnah	3	521
514	Syed Allah Bakhsh Shah to M. A. Jinnah	3	522
	Enclosure		523
515	Mahmood Hasan to M. A. Jinnah	4	523
516	Ali M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah	4	524
517	Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah	4	525
	Enclosure		527
518	C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah	4	528
519	M. A. Jinnah to Azizul Haque	4	529
520	Mian Hafizur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah	5	529
521	M. A. Jinnah to C. Rajagopalachari	5	530
522	M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah	5	531

No.	*Description*	*Date July 1944*	*Page*
523	Hasanali Khan & Others to M. A. Jinnah	6	531
524	Nizamuddeen Hyder to M. A. Jinnah	6	533
525	M. A. Jinnah to Midrarullah Midrar Mardani	6	534
526	M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Qadir	6	534
527	M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan	6	535
528	M. A. Jinnah to B.N. Rau	6	535
529	M. A. Jinnah to Hameed Nizami	7	536
530	M. A. Jinnah to Said Ahmad Zia	7	537
531	A. R. Changez to M. A. Jinnah	7	537
532	M. A. Jinnah to Syed Maratib Ali	7	538
533	M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah	7	539
534	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah	7	539
535	Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah	7	540
536	M. A. Jinnah to Muhammad Aziz Khan	7	544
537	M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani	7	544
538	M. H. Saiyid to M. Motamedi	7	545
	Enclosure		545
539	C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah	8	546
540	G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah	8	546
541	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah	8	548
542	Mir Ghulamali Talpur to M. A. Jinnah	8	548
543	J. R. Khan to M. A. Jinnah	9	549
544	Liaquat Ali Khan to Lobo	9	550
545	Mohammad Amin to M. A. Jinnah	10	551
546	M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah	10	551
547	M. A. Jinnah to Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqi	10	552
548	Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah	11	553
549	M. M. Razik to M. A. Jinnah	11	556
550	M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot	12	558
551	M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	12	559
552	M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Mohammed Aurangzeb Khan	12	559
553	M. A. Jinnah to M. Rafi Butt	12	560
554	Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah	12	561
	Annex		562
555	M. A. Jinnah to Munadi	12	563
	Enclosure		564
556	M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Haq Haqqi	12	564
557	M. A. Jinnah to Rashid Ali Khan	12	565
558	Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah	12	566
	Enclosure		566

No.	*Description*	*Date July 1944*	*Page*
559	Begum Firdaus Rizvi to C. Rajagopalachari	13	569
560	M. A. Jinnah to Shamshad	15	570
561	Mohammed Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah	15	570
562	Abdul Haq to M. A. Jinnah	16	571
563	Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah	16	572
564	M. Ishaq Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah	16	572
565	Ghulam Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah	16	573
566	Pirzada Mohammad Tayyib Shah to M. A. Jinnah	17	574
567	M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah	17	575
568	M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohammad Khan	18	576
569	M. A. Jinnah to A. Hamid	18	576
570	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah	19	577
571	Ziaul Haq to M. A. Jinnah	19	578
572	M. A. Jinnah to Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan	19	578
573	Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah	19	579
574	G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah	19	580
575	Jagannath Misra to M. A. Jinnah & Others	20	581
576	General Secretary, Sind ML, to M. A. Jinnah Enclosure	21	582
577	Ahmad Saeed to M. A. Jinnah	21	586
578	Abulakhyar to M. A. Jinnah	22	587
579	M. A. Jinnah to Hari Singh	23	589
580	Hari Singh to M. A. Jinnah	23	589
581	M. A. Jinnah to B.N. Rau	24	590
582	Teja Singh & Sohan Singh to M. A. Jinnah	24	591
583	M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi	24	592
584	Ahmad Mohiuddin to M. A. Jinnah	24	593
585	K. S. A. Sheik Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah	25	593
586	Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah	25	594
587	Syed Ali Zaheer to M. A. Jinnah	25	595
588	A. M. Khwaja to M. A. Jinnah Enclosure	25	597 598
589	S. Mosheer & Others to M. A. Jinnah	25	599
590	M. Hanif to M. A. Jinnah	26	600
591	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	26	601
592	A. Farooq Rahmatullah to M. A. Jinnah	26	603

No.	*Description*	*Date July 1944*	*Page*
593	Mohammad Yusuf Gazi to M. A. Jinnah	27	604
594	Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah	27	605
595	A. M. Khwaja to M. A. Jinnah	27	607
596	Masud Beg Mirza to M. A. Jinnah	28	608
597	S. L. Shourie to M. A. Jinnah	28	609
598	Report by the Punjab ML to All India ML Committee of Action	28	610
599	Teja Singh Swatantra & Sohan Singh Josh to M. A. Jinnah	29	615
600	Sajjad Zaheer to M. A. Jinnah	29	616
601	P. C. Ghosh & Others to M. A. Jinnah	29	617
602	Ghazi Abdul Karim Ajmeri to M. A. Jinnah	30	618
603	A. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah	30	619
	Enclosure 1		620
	Enclosure 2		621
604	Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah	30	623
605	S. Vedaratnam to M. A. Jinnah	30	624
606	Mohammad Aziz Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	31	625
607	Ramphal to M. A. Jinnah	31	625
608	D. R. Prem to M. A. Jinnah	31	626
609	Z. A. Suleri to M. A. Jinnah	31	627
610	Note by Hasanally P. Ibrahim	31	627
	Annex		629
611	Report by Mehtabuddin Hakim	u.d.	630
612	Progress Report by the Education Committee	u.d.	632
	APPENDIX I BENGAL FAMINE RELIEF FUND 1943		639
		August 1943	
I.1	Appeal by M. A. Jinnah for Contributions to the Famine Fund	31	642
		October 1943	
I.2	Statement by M.A. Jinnah on Bengal Famine Situation	31	643
	APPENDIX II ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE PLANNING COMMITTEE		644
		December 1943	
II.1	Resolution No. 2 by the AIML	25	646
II.2	Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah	28	647
	Annex		648
		January 1944	
II.3	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani	3	650
II.4	M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan	3	651

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		January 1944	
II.5	Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	7	652
II.6	M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan	18	653
II.7	Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah	18	654
II.8	M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad	18	656
II.9	M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinanh	22	657
II.10	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	26	658
II.11	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani	26	659
II.12	M. A. Jinnah to M. Rafi Butt	28	659
		February 1944	
II.13	M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	1	660
II.14	M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali	2	661
II.15	K. M. Aslam to M. A. Jinnah	8	662
II.16	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani	13	663
II.17	M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah	17	664
II.18	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani	23	665
II.19	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	23	666
II.20	Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman to M A. Jinnah	25	667
II.21	A.B.A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah	25	668
II.22	M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	26	669
		March 1944	
II.23	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	10	670
II.24	L. K. Hyder to M. A. Jinnah	16	671
II.25	M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Bhopal	16	672
II.26	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	17	673
II.27	M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali	17	673
II.28	Khwaja Shahabuddin to M. A. Jinnah	23	674
II.29	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah	24	675
II.30	Ahmed Alladin to M. A. Jinnah	27	676
II.31	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	30	677
		April 1944	
II.32	Ahmad Shafi to M. A. Jinnah	1	678
II.33	M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani	8	679
II.34	M. A. Jinnah to M. Afzal Hussain & Others	12	679
II.35	M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Chundrigar	12	680

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Page*
		April 1944	
II.36	Ali Nawaz Jung to M. A. Jinnah	22	681
II 37	M. Afzal Husain to M. A. Jinnah	24	681
II 38	A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah	26	682
		May 1944	
II.39	I.I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah	2	683
II 40	I.I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah	29	683
		June 1944	
II.41	M. A. Jinnah to M. H. Hasham Premji	3	684
II.42	M. A. Jinnah to Ali Nawaz Jung	6	685
II 43	Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah	13	686
II.44	Ali Nawaz Jung to M. A. Jinnah	14	687
II.45	M. A. Jinnah to Ali Nawaz Jung	21	688
		July 1944	
II.46	M. A. Jinnah to A.B.A. Haleem	12	688
II.47	A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah	13	689
		August 1944	
II.48	M. A. Jinnah to A.B.A. Haleem	3	690
	Encloure		690
II.49	M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem	21	692
		September 1944	
II.50	Address by Ali Nawaz Jung	3	693
II.51	Proceedings of the first meeting of Planning Committee	3	696
	Enclosure		697
		October 1944	
II.52	A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah	21	701
		November 1944	
II 53	Address by M. A. Jinnah	5	702
		July 1945	
II 54	Proceedings of the fourth meeting of Planning Committee (Extract)	n.d.	706
II.55	Memorandum by Chairman, Planning Committee	n.d.	708
II.56	Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah	23	747
		August 1945	
II.57	A.B.A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah	28	748
		June 1946	
II.58	A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah	8	751
II 59	A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah	14	752
II. 60	M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem	22	753

1

Nabibux Pirbux Munshi to Hasham Ismail
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 584/68-9

BIJAPUR,
3 October 1943

Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for your draft for Rs. 3,000 dated the 28th September 1943, duly received. An account has been opened in the name of my Committee with the District Central Co-operative Bank, Bijapur. The Quaid-i-Azam has also been pleased to send me a cheque for Rs. 5,000 received by him from the Botawala Charities. I need hardly mention how grateful I am to you and your Committee for the noble work of relief undertaken by you. God bless you all. A meeting of our Committee is being convened today to formulate a regular programme of work. A list of deserving cases, who need immediate help, is already in the course of preparation. The Collector of Bijapur has already sent, to the Bijapur Pardanashin Relief Committee, 200 *saris* and has also promised to give another 100 *saris* shortly. A detailed report of our work will be sent to you hereafter. We have made a good beginning with your help but you can well imagine that with the present fund at our disposal we can give relief only to a small fraction of the people in the district. *Allah* has been merciful in having sent us bountiful rains this year, but the *Kharif* crops had mostly withered before the rains came and in any case no grain will come into the market before the middle of November; and so the distress in the course of the next six weeks is bound to be felt very acutely. I, therefore, hope that you will kindly remit to me more and more funds as soon as they are collected so that we might look ahead and extend our relief measures accordingly.

Thanking you once again,

Yours faithfully,
NABIBUX PIRBUX
Chairman,
Bijapur Muslim Relief Committee

Seth Haji Hasham Ismail,
Chairman, Civil Defence Sub-Committee,
Bombay Provincial Muslim League

2

Pothan Joseph to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/17

P.O. BOX NO 103,
DELHI,
4 October 1943

My dear Chief,

Thank you for your last letter touching certain changes discussed about the future of the Federal Court.

I had occasion last week to pay a visit to Calcutta at the instance of Mr. Ispahani. He wanted me to see certain things for myself in connection with the famine and the political exploitation the opposition makes of it. The Ministry is working hard to relieve the situation which is going to be difficult and perhaps might turn worse until the new crop is harvested in December. Mr. Suhrawardy is at his task night and day, and the Secretariat staff have to begin early and end very late every day. Mr. Ahmad Ispahani told me that if I wrote to you I must make the request that Muslim workers should be despatched to Bengal to lend a hand as local men are too few. I think the Civil Defence Committee should regard the crisis in Bengal as an opportunity for service.

I had a difficult decision to take on a certain matter. Mr. Ispahani wanted me to prepare a pamphlet on behalf of the Govt. of Bengal dealing with the allegations made about the rice purchases of Messrs M. M. Ispahani Ltd. I went through the material and as far as I could see it was a case of political malice prompting the attack. Bengal politics is so full of personalities that a pamphlet written by me on such a commercial matter (for the sake of consideration) might, I fear, be followed up with another course of mudslinging in the press and interpretations in the Assembly about the nature of my commission. I, therefore, suggest that the Information Department of the Govt. should issue a pamphlet of their own instead of my being in it at all. I do not think Mr. Ispahani could appreciate my standpoint but this is what happened and I thought the matter must be made known to you.

Dawn completes one year on October 12, and we are looking forward to a message from you. The accounts of the year are being audited upstairs and from the financial angle there cannot be any cause for disappointment. Indeed I feel that you will be gratified at the progress made. May I make a suggestion? It will be a handsome

stroke of encouragement to the staff if you give them a bonus of one month's salary on the completion of the first year, i.e. on our anniversary day. (The *Hindustan Times* has incidentally given a bonus of one month's salary in the last week, the second time this year. I do not mention this as an argument but you might consider my recommendation on its merit and decide).[2]

I hope you are fit, and look forward to meeting you in Delhi towards the middle of the month.

Yours very sincerely,
POTHAN JOSEPH

[1]Jinnah's message to the *Dawn* underscored the importance of the press as "a vital necessity for the progress and the welfare of the nation." See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, 1941-45, Lahore, 1996, 1768-9.
[2]No. 14.

3

M. A. Jinnah to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan

F. 334/1

4 October 1943

Dear Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of September[1] and also the constitution of the original Unionist Party, constitution of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, and the position of various groups in the Punjab [Legislative] Assembly at present, and I thank you for it.

As regards the number of members of the Muslim League Party that is formed by you and its constitution and rules, I shall await the receipt of it. As you say, you will write to me about that later on.

I would like very much, if you can get me a latest copy of the constitution and the rules of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League in English.[2]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,
Premier, Punjab,
Lahore

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 32.

4

Mamnoon Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 584/74

42-44 LAXMAN NIVAS,
SUPARIBAGH ROAD,
PAREL, BOMBAY 12,
5 October 1943

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I, as President of the Anjuman-i-Rafiqul-Islam, Parel, Bombay, along with three other members, want to wait upon and present to you a purse collected by us for the Bengal Muslims.

I hope you would be good enough to allot us some convenient day and time for interview. As, however, Friday, 8th instant, is a public holiday, I think that will be most feasible for the railway and office employees, as we are.

Thanking in anticipation,

Yours most obediently,
MAMNOON HASAN
Chargeman, G.I.P. Railway

5

M. A. Jinnah to Allah Ditta

F. 828/93

BOMBAY,
5 October 1943

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant[1] and I thank you for it. I don't think it will be advisable for me to allow my name to be used for the purpose mentioned in your letter. There are many reasons why I am unable to comply with your request and I hope that you will appreciate why I am reluctant to allow my name to be used for a hotel in Lyallpur [now Faisalabad]. Nevertheless I wish you all success if you do start a

hotel and I hope that without my name, you may make it a success.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Allah Ditta, Esq.,
Salar-i-Azam, City Muslim League,
Chiniot Bazar, Lyallpur,
Punjab

[1]Allah Ditta had sought permission to name a new hotel after Jinnah. See F. 828/92, *QAP*
Not printed.

6

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 306/85

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
5 October 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 25th September.[1] The Ministry in Bengal are doing their best to tackle the food situation boldly; the Governor too is very active. One fact must remain obvious, that is, unless large quantities of food-grains pour into Bengal, both from within and outside India, there will be a heavy loss of life in the fateful eight weeks that lie ahead of us.

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 6
M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 306/82

[BOMBAY,]
25 September 1943

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th of September 1943. I welcome your letter which you describe as in keeping with your practice of pouring out your feelings to me. I am not unmindful of the position

and I shall not hesitate to do anything that is possible to aid Bengal in the distress, but the question is how and what is one to do? My information is that there is an improvement in the situation in Bengal and really it is up to the Muslim League Bengal Ministry and the Governor to tackle this question boldly and fearlessly. However, I shall not fail to take the opportunity to do what I can.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
Calcutta

[1]Annexure.

Annexure to Annex to No. 6

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/273-4

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
20 September 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

While mud-slinging by the opposition led by Shyamaprasad Mukerjee[1] continues, while attempt by it to drag the clean name of Ispahani to dust continues with unabated fury, while Government continues to give smashing replies to both, while publicity by the Hindu press and by the news agencies continues to be given to the case and utterances of the opposition, while there is partial or total blackout of the Government side of the case by these very instruments of news conveyance, I see bad days ahead, days that no Government in the province, whatever be its composition, can prevent from dawning unless drastic steps are taken and serious efforts made by the Central Government to bring into Bengal a large and continuous flow of food-grains from provinces more happily situated. It is for the Governments of the United Nations also to sit up and take serious note of the situation that is fast developing in Bengal. They must arrange to release freight space for the carriage of food-grains in large quantities from countries that have a surplus. As I have stated above, no Government in our province can perform a miracle—none can produce rice sufficient to feed the people when there is little or nothing available. I foresee dreadful days ahead. May I be wrong. I apprehend

that we shall pass through a horrible crisis, the like of which has not been recorded, between the 15th of October and 15th of December.

The food position is not improving. The Ministry in the Punjab, a province that can spare the food, is busy picking holes and finding fault with Bengal instead of helping her to the fullest extent. It seems to me that Khizar Hayat[2] is completely under the heel of the *Bania* Chhotu Ram[3] who is out, for political reasons, to embarrass and not to assist us.

Unless those who can help, and among them I include the Government of India, Churchill[4] and Roosevelt,[5] help without delay, Bengal will be turned into a graveyard, and it should not then surprise anyone if the Muslim majority in the province turns into a minority when the next census is taken.

I am sure you can come to the aid of Bengal in her hour of distress. Cannot you contact Khizar and the Viceroy? Cannot you draw the attention of Churchill and Roosevelt to the urgency of Bengal's need?[6] Cannot you demand immediate relief? Bengal has become the first line of defence against the Jap[anese]. It is the bounden duty of the United Nations to come to her aid. They should bring rice and wheat from the U.S.A., Brazil, Canada and Australia who have more than they require.

Perhaps many of our leaders here refuse to strike so pessimistic a note as I have done. But in keeping with my practice of pouring out my feelings to you, I am writing these lines. Please forgive me.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Finance Minister, Bengal, up to March 1943, and Working President, Hindu Mahasabha.
[2]Premier, Punjab.
[3]Revenue Minister, Punjab.
[4]British Prime Minister, 1940-45.
[5]President of the USA, 1933-45.
[6]In a press interview on 31 October, Jinnah demanded of Wavell and Churchill to provide immediate relief for the people of Bengal. See Appendix I 2 & Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice. Unity, Faith and Discipline*, Vol. III, Karachi, 1997, 284

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1130/194

LAHORE,
9 October 1943

Registration completed today, letter follows.[1] Bengal situation critical,[2]

must take it League issue. Suggest Central Defence Committee's visit.
MAMDOT

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Refers to Bengal famine. See Appendix I & Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-48*, Karachi, 1976, 366-7.

8

K. Y. Chandrachood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 925/137-40

3350 GONDHALI GALI,
BELGAUM,
9 October 1943

You may have received my letter of the 6th instant[1] requesting you to inform me of the addresses of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari[2] and the Hon. Dr. Hemandas Wadhwani[3] of Karachi. Again I am writing this one which I expect to be gone through by you sincerely. The problem of Hindu-Muslim unity is the most important problem before us. There are various views regarding the solution of this problem when the views of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha are vertical [*sic*] opposite. I do not agree with both of them. In my opinion, India is not a nation or a sub-continent. It is a country in which a group of nations is included. All these nations should be given an equal status in the constitution of the State of India. No doubt, it is the duty of the Muslim League to obtain safeguards for the Indian Musalmans. But the present plan of the League is in my opinion a drastic one which must be abandoned by the League. It is undoubtedly the best plan for obtaining safeguards. But if a plan better than this, the best plan of yours, will be [*sic*] suggested by me, will you think of it? 90%, I say 100%, of the Muslims will be in favour of Pakistan and will support it. I agree. But even though the demand of division of India will be made in one voice by the Indian Muslims, is there any possibility of this demand being conceded by the British Government? A negative answer is sure to be given to this question. The most important thing to be taken in[to] consideration by us Indians is this, that any demand to be made by us must be made in one voice if we want it to be conceded by the Government. Even though some nationalists like C. R. [Chakravarti Rajagopalachari] and [Dr.] P[aramasiva] Subbarayan[4] are

in favour of Pakistan, I do not think it necessary to tell you that there is no possibility of the demand of division of India being made in one voice by the Indians. This being the matter of fact, I think my plan is better than the best of yours in which safeguards can be given to the Hindus, Muslims and all other nations included in this country. All the efforts to be made to secure the goal are to be made under these circumstances. If there will be [*sic*] no settlement before the end of this war the train of 40 crores of India is already [*sic*] missed.

I shall thank you most cordially if you will kindly show me the weak points in my proposal in the view of the League. You are India's man of the hour who can do the best as well as the worst.

Yours very truly,
K. Y. CHANDRACHOOD

[PS.] One thing I forgot to mention. If we take into consideration the current developments in Britain and U.S.A., we shall come to know that there is a lot of possibility of the British Government being compelling [*sic*] to concede our demand made in one voice. There are so many well-wishers of ours in Britain and U.S.A., but they can do nothing till we are united. We must try to take advantage of the present circumstances.

[1]See F. 877/257, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]A prominent Congress leader; ex-Premier, Madras.
[3]Minister, Sind.
[4]Ex-Law Minister, Madras; Member, All-India Congress Committee.

9

Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/235

CENTRAL OFFICE, AIML,
DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
9 October 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose[1] for your perusal and record a progressive statement of account of the Civil Defence Committee[2] for the period 16th July to 30th September 1943, and also attach for your personal information the details of the expenditure under the head of travelling.

I may also add for your information that the three Organisers sanctioned by you have been appointed, one in Bengal and two in

U.P., with effect from the 1st October on probation for six months, and in view of these payments and other expenses of travelling etc., etc., liable to be incurred shortly, some more money may be placed to the credit of my account.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. ISMAIL KHAN

[*Chairman, AIML Civil Defence Committee*]

PS. This account will be presented to you by the Secretary in person when you come to Delhi towards the end of October.

[1]See F. 761/236, *QAP*. Not printed.

[2]It was appointed by Jinnah on 13 April 1942, for the protection of the lives, honour and property of Musalmans. The Committee included Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan (Chairman) and Khwaja Nazimuddin, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman and Qazi Mohammad Isa as Members. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 445.

10

Said A. Rashid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, OM II/12

77 BANK STREET,
MEERUT (U.P.),
11 October 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope by now you have recovered your health and strength. I expect to reach Bombay after a week and then I would have the pleasure of seeing you personally if you are there. Meantime, I request your assistance in a matter which will no doubt interest you. Some time back, I had offered to provide a *deg* at the holy place of Ajmer for the distribution of food among the poor, as is usually done there. But in view of the disastrous circumstances prevailing in Ajmer and Bengal, I have now changed my mind and I believe that if the amount set apart for the purpose is spent on the relief of the sufferers from flood and famine in Ajmer and Bengal, it will be devoted to an equally good purpose. But I do not know the person or organization in both these places, who could be safely trusted with the money to be spent for the said purpose. I am, therefore, sending you Rs. 1,200 under insured cover and request that you may be pleased to send Rs. 700 for Bengal and Rs. 500 for Ajmer to any person or organization at your own discretion. I shall

be grateful for the trouble.

Yours sincerely,
SAID A. RASHID
Army Contractor & General Merchant

11

M. A. Jinnah to Chunilal Mehta

F. 673/37

BOMBAY,
11 October 1943

Dear Sir Chunilal,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th of October[1] and I thank you very much indeed for it. I am glad you approve of my advice to the Musalmans to take to trade, commerce and industry. I also appreciate very much offer of your services in this connection and I shall bear it in mind.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Chunilal B. Mehta,
52 Ridge Road, Malabar Hill,
Bombay

[1]Not traceable.

12

Krishna Chandra Bannerjee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 584/90

16 COLLEGE STREET,
CALCUTTA,
11 October 1943

Dear Sir,

There is every possibility of two crores of Hindus and two crores of Musalmans dying in the present famine of Bengal. They will all be replaced by Sonthals, Oraons and aboriginal tribes of Khasi and Jaintia Hills who worship *Kali Mata* and call themselves Hindus. Thus, in less than two years Muslims now forming the majority community will turn into a minority of 5 to 1.

To avert this, the Muslim League Ministry should resign first, making an agreement with other parties in the Legislature that they (the other parties) also will not accept office. Section 93 has saved Bihar and other provinces in war time and will save Bengal if introduced without delay. The executive is not working here. How can rice stocks disappear otherwise in Calcutta? The Ministry acts as the absorber of shocks. Ministers are greedy for salaries. It is for you to save the situation by compelling them to resign.

Yours truly,
KRISHNA CHANDRA BANNERJEE

13

Mohammad Ashfaq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 584/94-5
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

28 MULE COY.,
C/O 18 A.B.P.O.[1]
12 October 1943

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I on behalf of 28 Mule Company really regret the dastardly attack made on your life[2] and thank Providence for your miraculous escape, God is great to grant a new life to our Quaid-i-Azam and may you live long to see your nation established in her homeland.

I respectfully submit this sum of Rs. 35 to your 'Jinnah Appeal Fund' on behalf of this unit, who [*sic*] is guarding the eastern boundaries of India. We have submitted a sum of Rs. 101 direct to Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Premier, Bengal, for Bengal Muslim Relief Fund.

Pray for your health and long life,

Yours respectfully,
MOH[AMMA]D ASHFAQ
VAS,[3]
In charge, 28 Mule Coy.

PS. How is Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman? Please convey our best wishes for his early recovery.

ASHFAQ

[1] Advance Base Post Office.
[2] Refers to the attempt made on Jinnah's life by a Khaksar on 26 July 1943. See No 62, *TP*, IV, 127.
[3] Veterinary Assistant Surgeon.

14

M. A. Jinnah to Pothan Joseph

SHC, P&P II/18

12 October 1943

Dear Mr. Pothan Joseph,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th of October 1943.[1]

While I fully appreciate the feelings of Mr. Ispahani with regard to the unfounded allegations that were made against the integrity of his firm, the question is what is the best course for them to adopt and how we can help them. You must have learnt by now that some of our leading men, including the Chairman of the All India Muslim League Civil Defence Committee and the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, are going to Bengal and I have no doubt that, amongst other matters, they will consider this question also.

With regard to your writing a pamphlet, I am glad that you hold the view that if any such pamphlet is to be issued, it should be done by the Information Department of the Government, as it might have embarrassed the *Dawn* whose Editor you are, had you undertaken such a work. I fully appreciate the feelings and sentiments of Mr. Ahmad and the firm that he represents, against those who are making serious allegations, and as far as it can be judged there is no warrant for them.

With regard to *Dawn* and its completion of one year's life, I have already sent my message[2] and I am glad to hear from you that from the financial point of view you think that there will be no cause for disappointment. I have communicated your suggestion about giving bonus to the staff to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and have wired to him to the effect that if the financial position in his opinion warrants such an announcement, then I would have no objection. But in any case, I shall certainly look into this matter as I have promised, on my arrival, which would be most probably in the first week of November, and I am looking forward to meet you.

I am also sending you, for your information, a copy of the full text of Mashriqi's statement which he issued on 26th of August and which was sent to me by the *Salar* in charge of the Khaksar's Office in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Pothan Joseph, Esq.,
Editor, the *Dawn*

[1]No 2
[2]See ibid., note 1 & Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 279-80.

Enclosure to No. 14

F. 101/2-3

Statement by Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi

Lahore, August 26: Two lakh fifteen thousand telegrams, letters, resolutions, petitions, memorials, etc., involving amiable contact of Khaksars with at least 70 lakh intelligent people, have been sent to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and His Excellency the Viceroy urging settlement with Mahatma Gandhi on the Pakistan question. I am satisfied with the enormous work done by the Khaksars during these six weeks, although at the very heavy cost levied from us by Government as well as Quaid-i-Azam that all know, and I can say with confidence that real amity between Hindus and Muslims has now begun to be established because of the realisation that the matter of Pakistan is as essentially fundamental as that of the freedom of India, that it is not possible to attain one without the other and that, as in Egypt, the British Government will never fulfil the promise or grant even a shadow of independence unless Hindus and Muslims came to a joint agreement. In fact our stand for the Mahatma at the time of his worst troubles after his regrettable efforts to crush Khaksars in 1940 and thereafter, has convinced the Indian public that ours is the most sincere and selfless mission for peace between the two communities and that the Khaksars have no personal grudges. The Khaksar now stands for Pakistan more zealously than Quaid-i-Azam or Muslim League because it is most criminal to let the great British promise of complete independence immediately after the War fritter away on account of this obstruction.

Twenty-fifth July was the last day of sending messages and I was expected to take the next step on the 26th. On that day some rascal from the blue attempted to spoil the game, drive his zeal for Pakistan against the brusqueness which is Quaid-i-Azam's habit with almost everybody, fought the issue of achieving separate kingdom for the Musalmans amidst pushes, kicks, insults and angry words, and finally when outnumbered, overpowered and at bay made the most shameless attempt[1] to get at the throat of that veteran leader whose yes or no spoken in a bolder mood can yet change the destinies of India. The Quaid-i-Azam, immediately after the event and as if in a fit of revenge against me, announced it as a "serious and well-planned attack", had it announced that the assaulter was a Khaksar from Lahore, had been sent there, had been loitering round his house, had been following him in the railway train and so forth. Stories were circulated that the

Quaid-i-Azam threw the assailant down with the might of his fist, that the wounds he received, miraculously healed up even before the congratulatory telegram from the Viceroy was received the same day. I possess patience enough not to have commented upon these allegations as I never met or even knew about the assailant and it is well-known now that he never set his foot in Lahore during the last two years, that he is more a Muslim League office-bearer than a Khaksar, that after arrest he gave an undertaking not to be a Khaksar again. But the most unanswerable suggestion given to me by a person in close touch is that the Quaid-i-Azam could not have possibly meant the words "well-planned attack" as referring to the Khaksar organisation as only an hour after the event he met a deputation of Bombay Khaksars who had come to express their sympathies and he never suspected them. I have my own reasons to say that having occurred on the 19th and the 26th July both were "well-planned attacks" on the Khaksar organisation, the one from the side of the Government and the other from the side of Mr. Jinnah.

As regards the assailant being a Khaksar, it is unthinkable that Khaksars who spared Sir Sikander Hyat Khan for three years after his massacre of them[2] and were the only organisation who attended his funeral after his death, could conspire to attack Quaid-i-Azam for whom they have the greatest reverence and respect. Quaid-i-Azam, I respectfully submit, should know that in borrowing the dazzlingly brilliant idea of Pakistan from hot-headed youths and theorists of a Cambridge College[3] giving it to the desperate Musalman of India, in order to win easy popularity for the Muslim League and thereafter waiting with folded hands on easy chair under official smiles in order to achieve it, he has aroused, as the Lahore official daily really puts it, "enthusiasms which are not all in his own favour." I have the thermometer of public opinion with me since June 5, when I urged him to contrive to meet the Mahatma, and it will be a revelation to him that out of the ten crores of Musalmans who are with him, eleven, i.e. one less than a dozen, have written to me on 6 postcards and 5 envelopes condemning strongly my proposal, three only telling me that I was a crack-brained fool to oppose Quaid-i-Azam. Only three of these have given their addresses, the remaining eight remained strictly anonymous. Eight out of these eleven letters are from Delhi, two from U.P. and a solitary one from Aligarh. One gentleman of Aligarh, who looks extremely illiterate, has managed to send 42 postcards—exactly two rupees worth—getting signatures against Jinnah-Mahatma meeting, and there he stopped. It will be a further revelation and perhaps a more shocking one to say that six persons out of ten crore have written hostile letters to me since the attack on Quaid i-Azam and out of these

here is one solitary letter from a Muslim League Secretary of South India. The propaganda that the Quaid-i-Azam was attacked by a Khaksar, especially that about the thanks-giving day, has most miserably failed. No newspaper in the whole of India, worth mentioning has taken the attack as the serious event. False reports that the Khaksar Movement has crashed or that I am proposing to disband the Organisation or that so many Khaksars have resigned, have appeared in a few interested vernacular papers but it is all humbug. I have reports from all important centres in India about the thanks-giving day and I can say that most of the published reports are fictitious. The meeting in Lahore Shahi Mosque after the Friday prayers was attended by only 200 men and even the Presidents, local and provincial and other office-bearers of the Muslim League were absent.

All this shows that Khaksars, in respectfully urging Quaid-i-Azam to take up the question of Pakistan more seriously and come to a solid agreement with the Congress and the Hindus before the termination of the War, have the fullest support of Muslim as well as Hindu public opinion. I must here express my thanks to the Musalmans of India that they have so intensely appreciated our move, also that the recent unexpected attack on our revered Quaid-i-Azam has not been given a political tinge. Hostility between the Khaksars and the Muslim League is indeed impossible under any circumstances, as Khaksars have not been organised to oppose any political or non-political party in the land. They are, in fact to serve all and serve for the good of the country. I also declare here that I am no rival to Quaid-i-Azam and will not think of taking his place, but I have the right to ask him to hurry up. I am fully aware of the discontent against him in the inner circles and the grave differences that are slowly appearing but the Muslim League cannot have a better leader at this moment.

As a next step towards the achievement of Pakistan, I respectfully suggest to Quaid-i-Azam that even in case the British Government is formally disinclined to let him meet Mahatma Gandhi, the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement cannot be much postponed owing to the fact that the British victory in War is now measurably within sight. I request him that as he has roused extraordinary enthusiasm in Musalmans of India on account of his slogan of Pakistan, he should write formally to the Viceroy to allow him to see Mahatma Gandhi for the purpose of settlement and in case the Viceroy refuses, ask in the next letter the name or names of those Congress or Hindu gentlemen in India, who in the eyes of the British Government are best fitted to make that Hindu-Muslim settlement which the British Government thinks as essential to the grant of complete independence to India

immediately after the War. I, with due respect, suggest to him that this is the most essential next step and that Pakistan can only come if he is up and doing. Quaid-i-Azam must be aware that nearly two crores of Musalmans, also Hindus here and abroad, are now helping in this War in some capacity or other and their joint effort alone has turned the tables in Europe and brought British victory near at hand. If the blood and sweat of these twenty million does not bring India to complete freedom just after the War because of non-settlement between the Hindus and Muslims, the world will put the blame on the shoulders of the Quaid-i-Azam.

[1]See No. 13, note 2.
[2]On 19 March 1940, a procession of Khaksars defying an order under the Defence of India Rules, clashed with the police resulting in death of 24 Khaksars and two policemen and injuries to 39 persons. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice: Towards Consolidation*, 484.
[3]Refers to the pamphlet *Now or Never*, by Chaudry Rahmat Ali and his fellow Muslim students at Cambridge. See Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1989, 131.

15

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, UP V/51

15 October 1943

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th of October,[1] and, as requested, I am sending you ten copies of the article *India's Future Constitutional Problem*[2] that has been published by the Study Circle, Bombay. The article sent by you, as you say, was published in the *Eastern Times* and remained [under a] *nom de plume* because it did not contain any signature or the address of the writer; hence it was not possible for me to use your name, and perhaps it is just as well that it should not be in your name, having regard to the position you occupy in the Aligarh University; but in future, if you wish any article to be published over your name and signature, I shall consider the matter with regard to any future article that you may send to me.

As at present advised, I shall be reaching Delhi by the first week of November.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,
4A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh, U.P.

[1&2]Not traceable.

16

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/139-40

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
16 October 1943

My dear Jinnah,

I write in reply to your enquiry dated 9th of January 1943,[1] regarding the re-admission of Indians to Portuguese East Africa, who are now on temporary visits to India. External Affairs Department tell me that at the Government of India's request His Majesty's Government represented to the Portuguese East Africa Government that in the circumstances arising out of the war, Indians, who were unable to return within the normal period of two years, might be permitted to return to the Colony at any time within twelve months after the conclusion of the war.

2. The position which has emerged from these representations is that failure to return within two years does not debar the permit-holder from returning to the Colony, but imposes on him the necessity of observing the regulations regarding entry of new immigrants. It is also understood that the Portuguese authorities are extending the period of permissible absence in favour of those persons who adduce sufficient evidence that they were prevented from returning within the prescribed time owing to transport difficulties.

3. His Majesty's Government's Representative in Lourenco Marques,[2] who made the representation, did not consider it desirable to press the Portuguese authorities to extend the concession to all holders of return permits over a definite period since, in his view, such a concession might be regarded by the authorities as too great an abdication of their right to control the entry of foreigners into Portuguese East Africa. The Portuguese Civil Administration have, however, given an assurance that the Government of India's wishes will be given every consideration. As a general rule, the local resident will only be required to produce, in addition to his previous documents, a Police Certificate showing that the returning resident is not undesirable on account of some crime committed during his absence, which would militate against his return to the Colony.

4. These results will, I feel sure, give satisfaction to the Memon Community.
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ
[*Defence Member, Viceroy's Executive Council*]

·Not traceable.
²Capital of Portuguese East Africa.

17

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/141

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
16 October 1943

My dear Jinnah,

Please find enclosed copy of a letter[1] which I received from Mr. E. Ahmad Shah, Member, National Defence Council, and an Indian Christian from U.P. Please also find my answer[2] to him.

I hope you are fully recovered now.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 17
E. Ahmad Shah to Firoz Khan Noon

F. 399/142

BADSHAH BAGH,
LUCKNOW,
13 October 1943

Dear Sir Firoz Khan Noon,

The Indian constitutional problem is a tough knot to unravel. The Two-Nation Theory of Mr. Jinnah has created quite a stir in the body politic of

the country. The Muslim League seems to be insistent on this demand. It has arisen because of the fear of the domination of the majority party rule which to all intents and purposes will be of the Hindus.

Besides the strongest minority party—the Muslims—there are other minorities, such as the Indian Christians, the Sikhs, the domiciled Europeans-cum-Anglo-Indians, the Parsees and the Scheduled Classes. I am addressing this letter to some of the leaders of these minorities, asking them to unite together and maintain balance between the majority party (the Hindus) and the strongest minority (the Muslims).

In order to achieve this object, let the parties, communities and interests in the country be divided into three groups, viz. the Hindus, the Muslims, and the rest of the minorities, each group to have equal representation in the executive bodies of all all-India and provincial units, district and local bodies. As for example, if at the Centre the Executive Council is to consist of fifteen persons, there should be five Hindus, five Muslims and five representatives of other minorities (one Indian Christian, one Sikh, one Scheduled Class, one Parsee, one domiciled European-cum-Anglo-Indian). In the same manner, if a province is to have nine ministers, there should be three from each group. (The representation of minorities in different provinces and other bodies will vary according to the relative position of the minorities concerned in the areas).

In this scheme the legitimate fear of the Muslims and some of the other minorities of the Hindu domination will be removed. The Muslims will retain their 1/3rd representation. And the 1/3rd representation of the minorities will keep the balance between the two major communities of India.

This can be achieved, if the majority community will accept the principle of equal representation of each one of the three groups referred to above and voluntarily give up the principle of proportionate representation for a limited period of time—say, ten years.

I shall be obliged for an answer with your comments and criticisms.

Yours sincerely,
E. AHMAD SHAH
Member, National Defence Council

[PS.] I spoke to you one day at the Viceroy's House on the proposal. Now I am writing to you about it. Do you think the Muslims will support some such proposal? Should not the minorities join hands together and put up a joint demand? I shall be obliged for an answer.

Enclosure 2 to No. 17
Firoz Khan Noon to E. Ahmad Shah

F. 399/143

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
16 October 1943

Dear Mr. Ahmad Shah,

Thank you for your kind letter of the 13th of October.[1] I am afraid I am unable to give you any authoritative answer to your questionnaire. But if you want to know my individual opinion, I am sorry to say that my own personal experience with all the non-Muslim minorities is a very unhappy one. Whenever the non-Muslim minorities in India wish to get anything out of the majority community, they immediately start making friends with the Musalmans and say: "the interests of all minorities are one and let us put our heads together." But when it is a question of Muslim interests versus the majority community, my experience is that the Musalmans have always been deserted by the other minorities, who, when their own personal interests are not concerned, vote against the Musalmans, some openly and the cleverer ones by sugar-coating the bitter pill.

I am sorry to have to write to you in this manner, but it is no use hiding ugly facts, which unless they are faced squarely, can never be solved. The other minorities have to prove to the Muslamans that they are willing to cooperate with them even when Muslim interests are at stake.

I should particularly like to mention [that] the Indian Christian community, and among these those that bear Muslim names, is usually more bitter against the Musalmans than those who bear Hindu names.

With kind regards and believe me,

Yours sincerely,
F. K. NOON

E. Ahmad Shah, Esq.,
Member, National Defence Council,
Badshah Bagh,
Lucknow

Enclosure 1.

18

Ali Muhummed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 427/6-7

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

THE *MOSLEM VOICE*,
RAMBAUGH ROAD,
KARACHI,
18 October [? 1943]

Sir,

A brief intrusion on your valuable time after an intermission of eight months will, I hope, meet with pardon.

I have followed your advice of July last and worked as a humble apprentice under the 'Men of Position' who run the League in Sind and represent it in your Cabinet [*sic*]—thanks partly to the fact that they have never allowed any genuine League election to take place since Oct. 1938 and partly to the privileged position they hold in your estimation. I trust my today's effort to share with you my exciting experiences of this wonderful period of apprenticeship will not be ungenerously interpreted.

I am sure you are aware of the Sind floods and their devastating implications. The Provincial League got about twenty thousand rupees from the people for distribution among sufferers. But before the provincial body could meet to devise a machinery for disbursing those funds, about seven thousand rupees were withdrawn by, and at the instance of, Sheikh Abdul Majid, accounts whereof—needless to mention—were never submitted. Then met the Provincial Working Committee which resented the earlier withdrawals, appointed a Committee to examine accounts, and resolved that no further amounts be withdrawn till the Working Committee had considered the report of the said Accounts Examining Committee. Two days later, the President himself withdrew a sum of Rs. 1,000 in contravention of the resolution. By now, more monies must have been withdrawn. The floods are gone, and the flood-stricken people are provided for by the Government and the Congress. Of the League Relief Funds, a portion went the above-mentioned way and a portion lay still unspent. The moral is obvious.

Again, we have had an interesting meeting of the Provincial Council today to consider the Sind ministerial situation in the light of your telegram to Yusuf [Haroon]. The house [*sic*]—led by the two illustrious Sind members of your All-India Cabinet—has resolved that in view of the

peculiar Sind conditions and the fact that Sir Ghulam Hussain had given an assurance in writing that he would follow League policy etc., the League should at once accept the two jobs that have been offered to it. I believe by tomorrow K.B. Khuhro, the President of the Provincial League and a member of your Cabinet—together with one another—, will have been sworn in as ministers under the heel of Sir Ghulam who disgraced the League in 1938 and has continued to do so ever since then. It is superfluous to say that a digest of Sir Ghulam's speeches against the League, made by him during the last few years, will even today make a revealing reading. And that, of course, is in addition to H.E. the Governor having taken no notice of the existence of the League party leader (who was the leader of opposition) and the fact that for Sir Ghulam, silver was an object of special attraction. The new Cabinet—by common consent—is capable of filling the gaps left in the misfortunes of Sind by the previous cabinets, Hurs, locusts, floods, etc., etc.

I think I am not letting out a secret if I say that—if their open declarations before the Council are to be relied upon—both Mr. G. M. Sayed and Yusuf Haroon are pledged to support the new exploit; the two will, of course, have a price: Sayed will get withdrawal of Martial Law plus the release of Pir Pagaro and Yusuf will be favoured with his father's seat in the Central Assembly.

All that now remains is that the All India [Muslim] League should ratify this excellent arrangement. They personally anticipate no obstacle—in its usual benevolent way the parent body will regularise these proceedings by asking Sir Ghulam Hussain to formally join the League, just as was done in the case of Mir Bundeh Ali. The argument that such an acquisition will add to the strength of the League will enhance its reputation, credit and prestige, and will bring the Muslim nation much nearer to Pakistan, will—it is hoped and prayed for—prove invincible.

My apprenticeship has taught me one thing by now: Man is truly a resourceful animal, but an animal after all.

With respects,

Your humble servant,
ALI MUHUMMED RASHDI

19

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/276

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
18 October 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing[1] a cartoon that appeared in the *Jugantar,* dated 7th October 1943. The *Jugantar* is the Bengali edition of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and is owned by the same concern. It shows to what depths of degradation politics in Bengal can go. The cartoonist actually makes fun of his gods and goddesses.

Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada [Liaquat Ali Khan] are at present touring East Bengal. They will return on the 23rd instant and will leave for North Bengal and West Bengal on the 24th. I expect that tour to finish by the 28th instant. I have authorised them to examine all our Relief Centres on their tour and to open such centres as they consider necessary. The cost will be borne by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce.[2] This tour, coupled with opening of centres by them, will do our organisation good and will make those in distress feel that the League is doing some service.

I am glad to inform you that when our next bulletin is issued we shall publish the fact that 60 free gruel and milk centres have been established throughout Bengal by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce. These centres will feed about 38,000 persons per day. This is not a mean achievement. Our work on this scale is made possible because of the remittances we receive from all over India—thanks to your very kind appeal. I have one satisfaction, and it is that not one *pie* of the money received is being wasted, robbed or misappropriated by anyone.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,

HASSAN

[1]Not traceable *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was an English daily newspaper published from Calcutta.
[2]Out of the Relief Fund set up for the famine-stricken in Bengal.

20

M. A. Jinnah to Firoz Khan Noon

F. 399/144

19 October 1943

My dear Sir Firoz,

Many thanks for your two letters of the 16th of October;[1] one with regard to the grievances of Ranavav Memon Jamat, which I am conveying to them and the other, copies of the letter that you received from Mr. E. Ahmad Shah and your reply to it for which I thank you and I quite appreciate what you say, and further so far as the Musalmans are concerned, they cannot any longer be treated as a minority. We have made it quite clear that we are a nation by ourselves and the position of the minorities described by you in your reply to Mr. E. Ahmad Shah is absolutely true. They must make up their mind to support us definitely and fearlessly and if they were to do so, it would be more in their interest if they were to realise the true position. However, it is one of the issues which we have to face and I am glad that they are beginning to realise the significance of their taking up a definite attitude and I see signs and evidence of it recently coming from various directions.

Thanking you and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Firoz Khan Noon,
20 Akbar Road,
New Delhi

[1]Nos. 16 & 17.

21

M. Padmanabhan Nambiar & M. Abdul Khadar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 960/9

TALIPARAMBA,
NORTH MALABAR,
20 October 1943

Sir,

We have great pleasure to inform you that we have decided to hold the 3rd conference of the Chirakkal Taluk Students, at Taliparamba, on

31st instant. We do realise that we are living in a period of great crisis. We do realise that our education and culture are threatened not only by fascist barbarism but also by the political and economic crisis in India. We do realise that educational crisis is only a part of the social crisis. We do realise that only an all-in unity [*sic*] of the Indian peoples could save our nation.

We students have been doing our best to unite the students and we assure you that we will continue to do our duty towards our nation.

Please send us your greetings.

Fraternally yours,
M. PADMANABHAN & M. ABDUL KHADAR
Publication Officers,
Reception Committee of Chirakkal
Taluk Students' Conference

22

Jamilud Din Ahmad to Matlubul Hasan Saiyid

SHC, UP V/50

CONFIDENTIAL

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
20 October 1943

My dear Matlub Sahib,

I received ten copies of *India's Future Constitutional Problem* sent by Mr. Jinnah.[1] I wrote this article. I am preparing another article which I will soon send to Mr. Jinnah.

I and three of my friends are seeking election to the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference of which Mr. Jinnah is already a member. He must have received his voting paper. I request you kindly to ask him to cast his vote in favour of the following:

1. Jamilud Din Ahmad
2. Ahmad Wahab Kheiri
3. Saeeda Begum
4. Sultan Hyder Josh

The last date by which the voting paper should reach the office is 30th Oct.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1] No. 15.

23

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/52

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
20 October 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your kind letter of the 15th instant[1] together with ten copies of *India's Future Constitutional Problem*. I am very grateful to you for kindly sending me this publication. I respect your opinion if you think that it is better to publish a particular article of mine without my name in view of the position I occupy in the University and I will always be guided by your advice in this matter as well as in other matters in which I work with you. I may, however, be permitted to say that all my articles so far have been appearing under my name and I have had no hesitation in giving expression to my views on the current questions in defence of the organization and the leader to whom I owe allegiance. However, if in case of any particular article you think that it would be better to publish it [under a] *nom de plume* I will have no objection.

I am glad to know that you are going to Delhi by the first week of November. Will you kindly give an indication as to whether you can make it convenient to pay your annual visit to Aligarh sometime in November? I would myself like to meet you sometime [when] you are in Delhi.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]No. 15.

24

M. Khalil Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 584/122-3
Ya Rab[1]

MUSLIM COTTAGE,
ABDULLAPUR, P.O. MIRKADIM,
DIST. DACCA,
20 October 1943

Sir,

I have the honour to state that with the exception of a few, most of the Muslim inhabitants of my Union are day labourers living from hand to mouth. Owing to gloomy days of dire economic crisis, most of them having no work to do are dying of hunger here and there. Further I beg to state that they are only adding to the number of street beggars whose sorrows and miseries know no bounds for want of clothes and food.

The Hindu brethren most of whom are richest in the locality take no care of them and turn a deaf ear to our entreaties in the way of stretching their helping hands to them. They are after all quite indifferent to their miseries. I therefore cannot but approach you with heartfelt sympathy on behalf of the Muslim sufferers here to consider the case of about seven thousand sufferers of the kind here by granting immediately towards the redress of their grievances a lump-sum donation proportionately to the number of sufferers from your "Jinnah Fund" for relief work in my locality. Awaiting your early compliance.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
M. KHALIL HUSSAIN
Secretary, Abdullapur Union Muslim League,
President, Abdullapur Jinnah Club

'O God!

25

Mirza Yaqub Baig to M. A. Jinnah

F. 877/290
[Original in Urdu]

Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim

CHOWK DALGRAN,
RAILWAY ROAD, LAHORE,
20 October 1943

Respected elder of Muslims, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am a Muslim with small landholding. Though poor, I and my family are managing to earn our livelihood on land. At present, by the grace of God, I have no problems. I submit that though being a cultivator I am not rich but I have deep sympathy for Muslims and have an urge to serve them. I wish to earn divine benevolence and forgiveness by adopting some calamity-stricken Bengali children.

Therefore, kindly arrange to send to me at least four young and intelligent Bengali children, and I will pray for your well-being both in this world and hereafter. May God help you in this noble cause. *Aameen.*

I assure you that the children would not be employed as labourers on land but would be engaged in industry or trade, and I will look after them till my death. A reply would oblige me.

MIRZA YAQUB BAIG

26

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/29

P.O. BOX NO. 103,
DELHI,
22 October 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I came to Delhi for a day on Reconstruction Council Committee. I find that Reuters and Associated Press are definitely anti-League because they do not send forward any statements that are given by the League Ministry in Bengal to the press for all-India publicity and publication, however

important those statements may be in today's controversial politics. I was told that it will have a very sobering effect if you send for Mr. Turner, who is at the head of the Associated Press, and speak to him that his staff in Bombay is suppressing news important to us. If this is not remedied, the League Governments all over India will be compelled to complain to the Centre that the Associated Press are taking sides in Indian politics instead of passing news impartially. As they get a subsidy of Rs. 1 lakh from the Government of India, they will certainly think twice before they annoy once again the Muslim public in [*sic*] suppression of their news.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

27

Resolution by Assam Muslim Association

SHC, Assam I/15

CALCUTTA,
23 October 1943

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association (Calcutta) held on 23rd October 1943, following resolution was unanimously passed:

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association (Calcutta) views with great regret the utter callousness and absolute indifference of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League to the harrowing distress thousands of destitute immigrants have been subjected to in Assam who have collected there in search of food and have been roaming from place to place half-naked and half-starved without any support and sympathy from local authorities. The Government of Assam seems to be bent upon keeping alive the notorious Line System[1] and seems to be not prepared to allow the immigrants from Bengal to settle down in Assam. The Bengal Provincial Muslim League has got its duty and responsibility to discharge in respect of these unfortunate immigrants who, under force of adverse circumstances, were compelled to leave their dear homes in Bengal and cannot allow them to starve and die there uncared for without

being guilty of criminal neglect to its own people. This meeting, therefore, urges upon the Bengal Provincial Muslim League to take immediate steps to see that their distress is relieved before the situation gets out of control.

[1]Under the Line System Muslim immigrants from Bengal were not allowed to settle in Assam beyond a certain arbitrary line. See Appendix IX, Vol. I, Part II, 450

28

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/30

15 MALL AVENUE,
LUCKNOW,
23 October 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At the last Food Conference in Delhi, Chhotu Ram and Baldev Singh,[1] who attended the Conference on behalf of Punjab, would not give in on the point of food supply to Bengal on the question of price. This had a very bad effect, so much so that you must have read in the papers what Lord Hailey[2] had to say about Pakistan.

I hold the view that this is a most opportune time for you to take a decisive step in relation to the Punjab Ministry. Khizar Hayat must now make his decision whether he is a Leaguer or not. If the Unionist Party get a few rupees more for their food-grains by the present action of Chhotu Ram, the League's cause with the agriculturists and zamindars will definitely suffer in the Punjab.

The present relationship existing between the two provinces of Bengal and Punjab is one to cause ridicule as both these provinces are included in the area of Pakistan, and yet one section is starving while the other is holding on to foodstuffs for higher prices. If this is going to be the co-operation between one section of Muslim India with another, what hope is there in years to come of unity amongst the Muslims. Already, our Pakistan areas are not so strong as to give a decisive fight to Hindustan. If there is going to be a zonal Pakistan with a typically different policy in vital matters which are confronting us today, like food and death due to starvation, it certainly does not help a clear-thinking man to accept the possibility of Pakistan unless the fallacy is immediately

remedied by the Quaid-i-Azam to whom the whole of Muslim India today looks forward to give the lead on such fundamental questions.

I address these few lines to you because my heart goes for the misery of the starving people whose condition I have seen with my own eyes in Bengal. Nawab[zada] Liaquat Ali and Nawab Ismail Khan, who are on tour, will, I am sure, place before the Working Committee some time next month, as eye witnesses, an account of what they have seen in various districts in Bengal.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

[1]Minister for Development, Punjab.
[2]Formerly the Governor of the Punjab and UP; Chairman of Governing Body, School of Oriental & African Studies, London.

29

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 308/277-8

23 October 1943

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th of October[1] along with the enclosed cutting showing the cartoon in *Jugantar*, but I am afraid my Bengalee is not so good as to follow this unless you explain it to me. However, I have kept it and would like to know what it means.

I am glad that the League leaders are now in Bengal and that you people are doing all you can to relieve the sufferings which, from all accounts, are really terrible.

I have received a cheque for Rs. 10,000 as donation from His Majesty King Ibne Saud, which I have despatched, and I am happy to know from you that the money is properly utilized. The Working Committee, as you know, is going to meet on the 13th and the Council of the All India Muslim League meets on the 14th of November and by that time we should be in a better position to know how and where we stand. I am awaiting the report of Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who are now touring Bengal and we will do all we can to help Bengal.

As regards the scandalous allegations against your firm also, [this] is a matter that we shall consider, but it seems to me from this distance that for the present we should ignore them and treat them with contempt, but if any further attempt of mudslinging is made against the integrity of your firm, we shall see what can be done. I have followed it very keenly and critically through the press reports and I find that it has been clearly shown that our opponents are making a political capital of it and it is due to malice and ill-will which is apparent and they must fail in their dishonest propaganda.

With very kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 19.

30

P. Balasubaramania Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Madras I/26-7[1]

MADRAS,
25 October 1943

Advent of new Viceroy [being] used by disgruntled liberals and discredited Congressmen for a pincer movement to encircle the British and [make them] hand over power to Gandhi and his totalitarian party in India. Mr. Sastri's three-pronged thrust is most mischievous and may perhaps fool the British into doing something foolish. Non-Congress India looks up to you to give a timely lead now to explode the sinister move and a threat to destroy for all time the machinations of pro-fascist political exploiters.

P. BALASUBARAMANIA MUDALIAR
Editor, Sunday Observer

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the telegram. See *SHC,* Non-Muslims I/25. Not printed.

31

M. Ziaud Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 574/23

EDWARDES GATE,
PESHAWAR,
26 October 1943

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a resolution passed by our Provincial League Council on the 24th instant. I have no doubt it will receive your earnest consideration. You will also wish to know the background to this resolution. For our meeting of the 24th, a resolution of no-confidence against the Ministry was tabled by Khan Bahadur Arbab Mohammad Ayub Khan, a very important League worker. There was a probability of the resolution being passed, but if that had happened, it would have caused a rift in the League and would have also given us a very bad name. Moderate elements in the League Council, including Khan Bahadur Sadullah Khan,[1] however, prevailed on K.B. Arbab Mohammad Ayub Khan and persuaded him not to move the resolution until you were apprised of the whole situation and the shortcomings of present Government. In the circumstances the matter has been left for settlement by you which, I feel, can only be done at Peshawar if you will honour us by your visit. My house will be at your disposal, if you will care to honour me.

Yours sincerely,
M. ZIAUD DIN
Honorary Secretary,
Provincial Muslim League, N.W.F.P.

Member, NWFP Legislative Assembly.

Enclosure to No. 31

F. 574/24

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Council of the Frontier Provincial Muslim League

hereby requests Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah to pay a visit to this Province at his earliest convenience.

The Resolution was passed unanimously.

M. ZIAUD DIN
Honorary Secretary,
Provincial Muslim League, N.W.F.P.

32

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 334/2

22 QUEEN'S ROAD,
LAHORE,
27 October 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th October.[1] I have tried to obtain the constitution of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League in English, but have not been able to secure it. Consequently, I asked the Nawab Sahib of Mamdot, whom I met a few days back, to kindly send me an English copy. He told me this is not available.

As to the remaining portion of the information that I had to send you regarding the constitution and rules of the Muslim League Party, this has been delayed as the matter has to be discussed in the Party. The members do not assemble in Lahore unless the Assembly is sitting. The next session is to commence on the 1st of November when this will be taken up, after which I will write to you on the subject.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
KHIZAR HAYAT

No. 3.

33

Amratrai C. Desai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 925/150

5/5B SONAWALA BUILDING,
TARDES, BOMBAY NO. 7,
27 October 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It was a memorable day, the 17th or 19th December 1919, when I was one of your bodyguards at the meeting held at Town Hall to protest against the so-called honouring [of] Lord Willingdon[1] in the name of the citizens of Bombay. The days of the Home Rule League[2] were at its height. If youth like me with others were not there, your body may not have been torn but would have been seriously injured. It is of no use to recall all such things but it is a pity that where is that Jinnah now! I still remember your speeches delivered simultaneously at Shantaram's *Chawl* and French Bridge meetings. You called it the day writ large on the horizon of India with your blood since you, [B. G.] Horniman[3] and Jamnadas Dwarkadas[4] were profusely bleeding. But also, your charming wife—the daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit—the true patriotic daughter of Mother India is no more, and since her death you have stooped so low that you have adopted malicious and vituperative language and methods in politics. It is because you nourish [*sic*] jealousy against the Mahatma [Gandhi] who quickly rose to fame and his activities faded out [*sic*] all and sundry politicians in the country. But you could not see [*sic*] at his self-sacrifices while you wanted your own riches and easy-going pompous life. However, you are a shrewd man that you took up the British-made communal problem and thereby to retain your leadership and fame. How long will these remain? Just look at Bengal, the Punjab and last but not least at Sind. The Congress is in the wilderness and everything has its limit. I am a Hindu in [*sic*] religion only but in politics, I am an Indian. I have scores of Muslim friends but let me frankly tell you that none of them believes in your tactics as they all are educated ones. Time is fast approaching when communalists will be swept over [*sic*]. In the name of old days, I request you to

ponder and act accordingly. I am now 49 years [old].

Yours truly,
AMRATRAI C. DESAI

[1]Governor of Bombay, Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1931-36).
[2]Started by Annie Besant in 1915.
[3]A British journalist associated with the Home Rule League; Editor of *Bombay Chronicle* and later of *Bombay Sentinel*.
[4]A Parsi politician from Bombay, associated with the Home Rule League.

34

M. A. Jinnah to John Turner

F. 504/8-9

27 October 1943

Dear Mr. Turner,

I have received a representation[1] from a very prominent and influential gentleman from Calcutta which, if it is true, seems to me a very serious matter indeed for our consideration. I myself had some experience of it before. I am giving you the exact words of the letter complaining about this matter, "I find that Reuters and Associated Press are definitely anti-League because they do not send forward any statements that are given by the League Ministry in Bengal to the press for all-India publicity and publication, however, important those statements may be in today's controversial politics. If you send for Mr. Turner who is at the head of the Associated Press and speak to him that his staff in Bombay is suppressing news important to us. If this is not remedied, the League Governments all over India will be compelled to complain to the Centre that the Associated Press are taking sides in Indian politics instead of passing news impartially."

I am quite sure that you will, as you have always done in the past, look into this matter and see that the matter is put right at any rate for the future. You can well understand the feelings of the Muslim public if this sort of thing is allowed to go on by a news agency, which tries to suppress the views of one side and bolster up the other party.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

John Turner, Esq.,
Associated Press of India,
357 Hornby Road, Fort,
Bombay

[1]No. 26.

35

Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/61-2

PERSONAL/IMMEDIATE

KASUR,
27 October 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We have not yet announced *pukka* dates for the conference to be held at Kasur. We are waiting for a reply from you.

2. I fully realise that you will be very busy at Delhi during the month of November, more so on account of the advent of the new Viceroy.[1] Yet I may venture to write that a big conference is necessary to be held at Kasur in order to awaken the lifeless Musalmans of the *Majha*,[2] the Sikh-ridden part of the Punjab. Since now the iron is hot, we should not delay in striking.

3. I may make it clear that we will not hold a conference at Kasur without you, because in your absence no useful purpose shall be served. We have to conduct the proceedings of the conference most boldly as well as politely. We want to exhibit our grandeur and assert our greatness, at the same time appeasing the non-Muslims, particularly the Sikhs. Therefore, this conference has to be grand as also responsible. A poor or irresponsible show will simply prove fatal to the League organization in *Majha*, nay, the entire Punjab.

4. If you cannot be free in November, you may fix any future date. But it should not be too late. If you cannot spare a holiday, you may give us any working day. If you be pleased to come, we can hold our conference on any date that suits you. If you start from Delhi at night you will reach Kasur in the morning. You can attend a sitting during the day time and leave back in the evening and reach Delhi in the morning. Thus you shall have to sacrifice one day only.

5. We need at least a fortnight's notice to make arrangements. If you think that I should interview you in order to discuss the

matter orally, I can see you at Delhi any day that you may be pleased to appoint.

I am,

Yours obediently,
RABB NAVAZ KHAN
B.A., LL.B.
Pleader
General Secretary,
Lahore District Muslim League

[1]Archibald Percival Wavell.
[2]Central part of undivided Punjab.

36

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/279

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
29 October 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 23rd instant,[1] received on the 27th *idem*.

I shall explain the *Jugantar* cartoon when we meet.

Your cheque for Rs. 10,000 has not yet been received. It must be on the way. We shall be touching the three lakh mark in cash donations and one lakh mark in kind donations to the Chamber Fund. I am glad Nawab [Ismail Khan] Sahib and Nawabzada [Liaquat Ali Khan] are pleased with the work that is being done.

As regards the scandalous allegations against our firm, I think sufficient has been said and there seems to be a lull for sometime. It is of course for you and the League to decide when they meet in Delhi whether the reward of unstinted service to the cause and to the people is silence and not a word of protest. So far as the Bengal Ministry goes, it has repeatedly handed us bouquets and has openly acknowledged our sacrifices and services because they know that but for our service they would not have remained in office so long. But the Ministry is called partisan and their utterances and statements are denied publicity even by non-political news services like the A.P.I.[2] Fancy the A.P.I. from

here sending out the factual statement of Suhrawardy regarding Ispahani on the 18th October and yet not a single newspaper in the whole of India, bar Calcutta, publishing it! It is now found that the fault lay with the A.P.I. office at Bombay. The Bombay office of the A.P.I. has struck us below the belt. The Government of Bengal are taking up the matter with the A.P.I. here and A.P.I. will reply that they have transmitted the message in its entirety. Bombay chokes every speech or statement in favour of the League and seems to give the fullest publicity to every utterance or statement of our enemies; and yet the A.P.I. claims to be non-political! So much tripe and rubbish have filled the columns of every nationalist paper in India regarding Ispahani's transactions and dealings. When replies are given and the nebulous charges are met and the allegations smashed to smithereens, they do not publish them. This is neither fair nor decent. The A.P.I., Bombay, certainly owes an explanation.

If the Muslim League High Command cannot come to the assistance of, or does not defend, those who serve the cause and the people and fight against such unclean tactics, who will? And who will dare to serve when called upon to do so?

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 29.
[2]Associated Press of India.

37

H. A. Vali Khan to All India Muslim Students' Union (Through M. A. Jinnah)

F. 958/64-5

P.R. COLLEGE,
COCANADA,
EAST GODAVERI DIST.,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY,
29 October 1943

Honoured Sir,

I feel very happy to write this letter to your honour expressing some ideas to be adopted by the Muslim Students' Union to achieve our national object. First of all remember—if no Pakistan, no Muslims.

The independence to India without Pakistan is the *qabristan* of the hundred million Muslims of India. Just as the prosperity [*sic*] and safety of the backbone is vital to a physical organism, the safety and prosperity of the Muslim students is vital to our Muslim nation. So I appeal to your honour to adopt the ideas which will, in my opinion, be sufficient to make our race [*sic*] to a certain extent strong. The Muslim national tongue is Urdu which is spoken and written by almost all Muslims in India, but some of the Hindu students told me that in Sind there is Sindhi and in North-West Frontier Province, Pushto, which is confronting [*sic*] me more than anything. If we are to get Pakistan it is our first duty to make Urdu as our national tongue so I appeal to the Muslim Students' Union to spread Urdu in non-Urdu areas just as the Hindus are spreading Hindi in southern India. They must spread Urdu by writing novels, simple books on every subject, and starting newspapers in Urdu. Start a cinema company in Urdu by the name of Muslim Art Production, and by producing shows as many as possible with background of Muslim culture. Remove the hypocrite [*sic*] name which is given by the Europeans, namely Hindustani, to Urdu.

It is confronting me more than anything so much so that at times I am thinking to murder [*sic*] myself for I am not able to see the murder of my national tongue [*sic*] before I am living [*sic*] for the Hindus are propagating, in southern India, Hindustani as Hindi and by [*sic*] saying that there is no Urdu, but everywhere there is Hindi. So I appeal to all the Muslims in India to oppose this naming of Urdu as Hindustani for it is the greatest hindrance to our national goal. My appeal is especially to the Muslim students to oppose this wretched thing by passing resolutions and urging the government to say definitely it is Urdu and not Hindustani, in broadcasting radio news. If such a division is made, some radio stations will come under Urdu and some under Hindi. By [*sic*] calling them both as Hindustani is dangerous and detrimental to the Muslims' plan of separation. So I appeal to the All India Muslim Students' Union to pass a resolution at the annual session of the All India Muslim League which is going to be held in Karachi, criticising the attitude of the government in this respect.

I beg to remain,
Your most obedient servant,
H. A. VALI KHAN
A second-year student

[PS.] *Urdu Zindabad* will be the first play of the Muslim Art Production.

38

John Turner to M. A. Jinnah

F. 504/7

REUTERS LIMITED,
357 HORNBY ROAD,
BOMBAY,
1 November 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I asked my Secretary to acknowledge your letter of October 27th.[1]

I should like to thank you for bringing this matter to our notice and I am grateful to you for the evidence of your goodwill in the manner in which you dealt with it. I should be very sorry indeed to think that the League's activities in Calcutta are not being fairly treated in our news service and if after investigation this proves to be the case, you can rely on us to apply the necessary remedy.

I would be very glad if your correspondent could supply to you a few specific cases. If statements have been suppressed, it will not be easy for me to ascertain this but if I could refer to items by date and context, I could then bring the complaint down to concrete terms with our Calcutta office.

I know that this aspect will not have escaped you and if there is anything you can do to help me elucidate the question, I know you will do it. In the meantime, I am doing what it is possible to do in general terms, with our Calcutta office.

I have been in America for some years and I have not had the pleasure of meeting you since my return last month. I am off to Delhi tonight and perhaps I shall meet you there but if not, I look forward to meeting you on my return.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JOHN TURNER

No. 34.

39

Secretary, Quilandy Muslim League Committee to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/29

QUILANDY,
1 November 1943

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have great pleasure in forwarding the resolution passed at its sixth anniversary, held on the 24th ultimo, under the presidency of Haji Abdul Sattar Haji Essak Sait, M.L.A. (Central), a Working Committee member of the All India Muslim League.

RESOLUTION

We Musalmans of Quilandy stand united under the banner of Muslim League, the one and only organisation of Indian Musalmans, and we assure you that we are at the entire disposal of our beloved leader for any sacrifice for the attainment of its goal—Pakistan.

We sincerely pray the Omnipotent to bless you with long, happy and healthy life.

Your obedient servant,
SECRETARY, QUILANDY MUSLIM LEAGUE

40

M. A. Jinnah to M. Zaman

SHC, Students I/27

4 November 1943

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th of October[1] and beg to inform you that I have already intimated to you that it is not possible for me to make any commitment or give any promise to be able to attend the sessions of the All India Muslim Students' Federation to be held at Allahabad in the month of November or any other near date in future. I have too many commitments already in my hands, and I would, therefore, advise you to go ahead with your sessions with the help of other prominent Muslim leaders, who, I am sure, will fully respond to your desire. Of course it would have been a great honour

to me if I had been able to accept your kind invitation but you must realise that I cannot be everywhere.[2]

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. Zaman, Esq.,
Allahabad

[1]Not traceable.
[2]An identical request for inaugurating the sessions of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation was declined by Jinnah for the same reasons. See *SHC*, Students II/67. Not printed.

41

Ghulam Mohammad Choudhry to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 828/97-8

MIRPURKHAS,
4 November 1943

Muslims of Sind have full faith in your able lead. Will obey your orders. Allahbux,[1] Nihchaldas[2] exit God-sent blessing. Last Ministry proved highly detrimental to Muslim interests in Sind. Special condition. No better Ministry possible than the present. League possessing dominant voice. Pray accord approval.

GHULAM MOHAMMAD CHOUDHRY
President,
District Muslim League

[1]Allah Bakhsh Soomro, Premier of Sindh (1938-40, 1941-2), was murdered on 14 May 1943.
[2]Nihchaldas C. Vazirani, ex-Minister, Sindh.

42

President, Nabisar Road Muslim League, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 828/99

NABISAR ROAD,
[DISTRICT THARPARKAR,]
5 November 1943

Assuring you of our unquestioned obedience, respectfully beg you

take into consideration present Sind condition in giving your esteemed decision on present practically Muslim Ministry. Muslim solidarity requires foremost thought. In our humble opinion, Muslim League prestige would be severely jeopardised if League Ministry resigns, even [be] suicidal to Muslim interests in Sind.

PRESIDENT, MUSLIM LEAGUE, NABISAR ROAD

43

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada

SHC, P&P I/57

5 November 1943

Dear Mr. Sharifuddin,

I have received your letter of the 3rd of November 1943,[1] and I have no objection to your publishing the collection of my correspondence with different leaders on Indian political affairs, which has already appeared in the press from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Sharifuddin, Esq.,
142 Bapukhote Street,
Bombay, 3

[1]Not traceable.

44

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 308/280

5 November 1943

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th of October 1943,[1] and with regard to the A.P.I., I have already moved in the matter and I am enclosing a copy of the reply[2] for your information that I have received from Mr. Turner, who is the head of Reuters and A.P.I. Would you give me the concrete information which he emphasises in this matter.

Let me assure you that the Muslim League High Command will never desert those who are our loyal friends, but in this case there can

be no hesitation to adopt measures to repel "unclean tactics," to use your own words, and false allegations that are made.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
Calcutta

[1]No. 36.
[2]No 38.

45

M. A. Jinnah to Ataullah

SHC, P&P I/53

6 November 1943

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant,[1] and in reply beg to state that I am willing to give you permission to incorporate Iqbal's letters to me in your collection of other letters provided they are in Urdu language; as with regard to the English publication, I have already agreed with the publisher on certain terms. So far as you are concerned, I am willing to give you the permission provided you pay a royalty of Rs. 300 lump sum on the first edition of your Urdu collection *Iqbal Namah*—letters of Iqbal's pamphlet [*sic*]. Of course this money I don't want for myself personally; it will go towards the All India Muslim League Fund as a contribution. Any further edition of your collection will be subject to such terms as may be agreed upon later on. If you are agreeable, please confirm.[2]

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Ataullah,
Lecturer in Economics,
Dept. of Economics,
Muslim University, Aligarh

[1]See *SHC*, P&P I/52. Not printed.
[2]Mr Ataullah replied that he did not expect sufficient profit to justify financial obligation. See *SHC*, P&P I/54. Not printed.

46

Syed M. Saadulla to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/16

SHILLONG,
7 November 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of 20th October 1943[1] reached Shillong on the 5th November while it came to my hand yesterday, as I returned from tour on that date.

Much as I would have desired to meet you and my colleagues from different provinces, I find it impossible for me to attend the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and the Working Committee on the 13th and 14th November 1943. The session of our Assembly has been summoned from 10th November and my absence from the province at this juncture, when notices of questions, resolutions, motions and bills are pouring [in], will dislocate the work entirely.

Moreover, it takes four days to reach Shillong from Delhi. Under these circumstances, I regret my inability to attend this momentous session of the Executive of the All India Muslim League. I have, however, asked Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury to attend, and he will speak on behalf of the Assam Provincial Muslim League.

Soliciting to be excused,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
S. M. SAADULLA
Prime Minister of Assam

Not traceable.

47

Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/240

CAMP ALIGARH,
8 November 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With my last letter[1] I sent you a statement of accounts and had

requested you to kindly place more funds to the credit of my accounts in the bank. The recent tour in Bengal has now totally exhausted the funds remaining with me and certain charges are overdue to be paid. I, therefore, request you to kindly deposit more money in my account in the bank, at your early convenience.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman,
AIML Civil Defence Committee

No. 9.

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 334/4

22 QUEEN'S ROAD,
LAHORE,
10 November 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks for your letter of the 28th October.[1] As desired, I will be in Delhi on the 14th for the Council meeting and subsequent meetings, if any. Not being a member of the Working Committee, I had planned to be in Delhi not earlier than the 14th and have important fixtures here up to that date. As you kindly say in your letter that the meeting of Muslim Premiers can be arranged after the Council meeting, I write to say that it would suit me if the meeting is so arranged. I hope to reach Delhi sometime on the 13th.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
KHIZAR HAYAT

Not traceable.

49

N. T. Williams to the Hindustan Times

F. 584/164

NEW DELHI,
12 November 1943

Dear Sirs,

I am instructed to write on behalf of Mr. M. A. Ispahani, Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani and Messrs M. A. Ispahani Ltd.[1]

In the issue of the *Hindustan Times* of the 31st October appears a cartoon, which is a gross and malicious libel of my clients. This issue was published and/or circulated in Delhi, Calcutta and other important towns throughout India.

To your knowledge, for months past unfounded attacks have been made upon my clients' individual probity and upon their business reputations; and you have, in fact, published some of such attacks recklessly and without care to enquire whether they are true or false.

The cartoon of which complaint is made, of itself, contains innuendos and insinuations as vile as they are untrue and this letter is written to advise you that my clients hold you liable for all damages they have sustained and will sustain as a result of the publication.

Without prejudicing this position in any regard, I shall be glad if you will advise whether you are prepared forthwith (a) to publish a public apology and retraction, and (b) to undertake for the future to cease to publish libels of my clients.

I am,
Sir,
Yours faithfully,
N. T. WILLIAMS
Solicitor and Notary Public

Sent under a covering letter to Devadas Gandhi, Editor, *Hindustan Times*. See F. 584 162, *QAP*. Not printed.

50

Resolutions Passed by Jubbulpore Town Muslim League Working Committee

SHC, CP & Berar II/2

13 November 1943

The Working Committee of the Town Muslim League, Jubbulpore, met on Saturday, the 13th Nov. '43, at 5 p.m. in the League Office under the presidentship of Alhaj Maulana Mufti Mohammad Burhanul Haq Sahib, President of the Town Muslim League, Jubbulpore, and passed the following six resolutions:

[*Resolutions 1 to 3 omitted*]

4. The regulation passed by the High School Education Board, C.P. & Berar, wherein it has been decided that no institution shall impart instruction in any one section of a class in more than one medium, was discussed by the Working Committee and it was resolved that this meeting of the Working Committee of the Town Muslim League considers this move of the High School Education Board, C.P. & Berar, as a dangerous move and believes that it will have a very adverse effect on Urdu education. Evidently, a great majority of schools in C.P. & Berar are such as impart instructions through Hindi or Marathi medium, and in these institutions a number of Muslims receive their education, and for their convenience they are permitted to adopt Urdu as their medium of instruction. These regulations in question are calculated to deprive the Muslim students of the above-mentioned advantage, and, besides that, they would also be deprived of the advantage of having efficient education of [*sic*] those institutions. The direct and indirect effect of the said regulation would be to make Muslims care more for Hindi and Marathi than for Urdu and thereby to lose touch with Urdu and consequently with their religion. The regulation directly affects the religion of Islam and religious education and by passing this regulation, the High School Education Board hopes to fulfil that heart-felt desire of the Congress for which that august body tried its utmost, during its official regime of two and a half years, to carry out Vidya Mandir [temple of learning][1] and Wardha Scheme of Education[2] and thereby smother Urdu and ignominiously failed in their effort. But the present Board wishes to be instrumental in helping the Congress to achieve success in this matter. This meeting of the Working Committee of the Town Muslim League, Jubbulpore, therefore, most emphatically opposes this regulation

of the said Board and viewing with displeasure and contempt ask the Board to withdraw it without any loss of time and to allow status quo in the system of education for Muslims with the Urdu medium in all schools. Further, that the Board should not allow itself to let this regulation stand nor place any such matter before it which may be a source of direct or indirect harassment or worry to the Muslims of the Province. This meeting of the Working Committee invites the attention of C.P. & Berar Government to it and desires that it be pleased to veto the above regulation of the High School Education Board, C.P. & Berar, and thereby remove the restlessness of the Muslims in the matter.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Town Muslim League, Jubbulpore, is anxiously awaiting the just and impartial decision of the C.P. & Berar administration.

[*Resolutions 5 & 6 omitted*]

All the above resolutions were unanimously passed.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Honorary Secretary,
Jubbulpore Town Muslim League

[1]Schools for basic education established under the Wardha Scheme. See note 2 below.
[2]It was a scheme of basic education, aimed *inter alia* at inculcating ideas of non-violence and territorial nationalism in children, introduced in the Congress-ruled provinces in March 1938. It was denounced by the Muslims as an attempt by the Congress to foist Hindu culture and Hindi under the garb of Hindustani on them, suppressing Urdu. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 283, 379 & 543.

51

Resolutions by Anjuman-i-Hilal-i-Ahmar

F. 904/84

RED CRESCENT SOCIETY OF INDIA,
16-E FLEMING ROAD, LAHORE,
14 November 1943

At a special meeting of the Anjuman-i-Hilal-i-Ahmar, held on the 14th November 1943, the following resolutions were unanimously carried:

This Anjuman views with great concern the situation developing in Lebanon[1] in spite of the oft-repeated assurances from the Allied Govts. and the so-called Free French Clique, who are striking at the very roots of democracy and freedom at a time when all their energies should be

diverted to the resurrection of their own people.

This meeting requests the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to bring pressure on the Govt. of India to convey an emphatic protest on behalf of the Musalmans of India to the Allied Govts., as any infringements on the just rights of Musalmans by a show of brute force will not be tolerated.

This Working Committee of the Anjuman-i-Hilal-i-Ahmar records its deep sense of appreciation on the bold and patriotic stand taken by the Egyptian Govt. through its Premier, M. Nahas Pasha.

Copies of these resolutions forwarded to:

1. M. Nahas Pasha, Prime Minister, Egypt
2. Turkish Consul-General for India at Calcutta
3. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League
4. The daily *Dawn,* Delhi
5. The daily *Civil & Military Gazette,* Lahore
6. The daily *Tribune,* Lahore
7. The *Khyber Mail,* Peshawar
8. The *Eastern Times,* Lahore

Following the elections in Lebanon in August 1943, Bechara el-Khoury and Riad Solh took office as President and Prime Minister, respectively. Solh declared his Government's policy was complete independence and sovereignty in accordance with the Atlantic Charter. The Lebanese Chamber of Deputies voted to amend the Constitution accordingly. The French Delegate General in the Levant thereupon suspended the Constitution, dismissed the Government and dissolved the Chamber of Deputies. The French authorities followed with military action, arresting the President and members of the Government. In the ensuing disturbances, several civilians were killed or wounded. See *Keesing's Contemporary Archives,* Vol. V, 1943-5, 6109.

52

Ch. Abdul Karim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 828/108

ABDUL KARIM ROAD,
LAHORE,
19 November 1943

I am enclosing herewith a cutting[1] from one of the Muslim papers regarding demolition of a mosque on the Upper Mall. It seems that through the inadvertent mistake of the lower staff in carrying out the orders, an unpleasant happening has occurred. May I request you to

kindly take immediate and necessary action in the matter.[2]

A. KARIM
Khan Sahib
President,
Muslim League (Civil)

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah informed him that the best course would be to approach the President, Punjab ML, and the Premier of Punjab. See F. 828/110, *QAP*. Not printed.

53

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/92

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
20 November 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have received a letter from Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib that he is reaching Delhi to discuss matters in connection with the Muslim League Education Committee on the 23rd November. I shall bring all the necessary papers and come prepared to discuss the matter with you at your house in the fore-noon of the 23rd. Hope the time will suit your convenience.

I trust this letter will find you in excellent health.

With respectful regards,

Yours devotedly,
MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI
M.Sc., Ph. D. (Alig.), Ph.D. (Cantab.)

54

M. A. Jinnah to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan

F. 584/190

NEW DELHI,
27 November 1943

Dear Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,

I thank you for your letter of the 20th instant[1] enclosing a cheque

for Rs. 2,000. I have already forwarded the cheque to the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce and they will send you an official receipt direct.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hon'ble Khizar Hayat Khan,
Premier,
22 Queen's Road,
Lahore

[1]See F. 584/174, *QAP*. Not printed.

55

M. A. Jinnah to Zafar Ali Khan

F. 584/191

NEW DELHI,
27 November 1943

Dear Moulana Zafar Ali Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant[1] enclosing a cheque for Rs. 1,000 sent by you towards the Bengal Relief Fund and I thank you for it. It has been forwarded to the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce and they will send you the official receipt direct to your address.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Moulana Zafar Ali Khan, M.L.A.,
McLeod Road,
Lahore

[1]See F. 584/176, *QAP*. Not printed.

56

S. Nasir Mahmud to M. A. Jinnah

F. 828/107

OFFFICE OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE,
SIALKOT CITY,
27 November 1943

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Punjab Muslim League has very kindly accepted the invitation of the City Muslim League, Sialkot, to hold its annual session at Sialkot in February, 1944, and in this connection I will request you on behalf of the Reception Committee and the Muslim citizens of Sialkot to be present in this session.

I feel I am begging for a great favour. Your time is precious and you cannot be expected to be everywhere. But I know you are charitable and you will not say 'nay' and break our hearts.

I think you would be knowing Sialkot. It is the rearing place of Majlis-i-Ahrar and has been the greatest centre of their activities. In the beginning it was not possible for the local Muslim League to hold even a public meeting, but thanks to the ideal of 'Pakistan' and thanks to your charming personality at the head of our League that efforts of the humble local workers bore fruit and the League became popular. The situation is now entirely changed and Ahrars have met their doom at Sialkot.

The town of Sialkot, in the Kashmir agitation started by the Ahrars, sent 30,000 men to serve behind the bars at the command of unwise leaders. It has now awakened to see that its goal is Pakistan. It has experienced that to wander in the wilderness is to lose the way and unwise leadership is a curse of God.

These people yearn to see their real leader—their Quaid-i-Azam—amongst them. They yearn to hear him with their own ears and to see with their own eyes. On behalf of these people, I beg you to come to Sialkot and let them see you.

In the end, I make bold to tell you that it has been our belief that any Muslim League conference in the Punjab in which you do not take part cannot be effective and beneficial to the point we wish to make. We know it is very difficult for you to attend [sessions] all over the country but we also know that by attending the session it is possible to be done [*sic*] what is not possible for us to do in years. Please, therefore, be kind to let us know the dates[1] that will suit you to come

over to Sialkot so that we may announce it to the anxious public.

Yours sincerely,
S. NASIR MAHMUD
Secretary,
The City Muslim League and Reception Committee

PS. We have asked Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman to preside over the session.

Jinnah inaugurated the annual session of the Punjab ML at Sialkot on 26 April 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 470.

57

Kantilal A. Trivedi to Editors of Newspapers

F. 1010/92

SATYA SADAN,
4TH FLOOR, MODI STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY 1,
29 November 1943

Sir,

A PLEA FOR SANER POLITICS

It was disclosed at the trial of Mr. Jinnah's assailant[1] that Mr. Jinnah was recipient of threatening letters from time to time from a host of anonymous writers. Now, there is a strong rumour current that those near to Mr. Jinnah are very much perturbed for Mr. Jinnah's safety, for the number of such threatening letters, so it is reported, has lately increased considerably.

If it is a fact, such a state of affairs is very much to be deplored. The persons hiding behind the veil of anonymity may be inspired with the best of motives, according to their own lights, as the learned judge remarked in his weighty judgement on Mr. Jinnah[']s] assailant, but they are doing distinct disservice to the cause which they profess to serve. These individuals betray their lack of faith in the destiny of this great country and are making ludicrous attempts to set pace to the events at which their betters have apparently failed, at least for the time being. Mr. Jinnah is the redoubtable moulder of the present Muslim League Party and himself is fast becoming a public institution. And it is a matter of history now that once the Mahatma himself appealed to Mr. Jinnah publicly that 'he would come to him on bended knees' if the latter would consent to meet him

halfway. And Gandhiji would repeat the same again if thereby the cause of peace is served.

The school of politics which may be sincerely of opinion that the developments of Mr. Jinnah's politics have taken a turn for the worse should not forget that there are always forces existent in our midst and unknown to us which are responsible for creation of political, social and religious Frankensteins.[2] The sane and sober elements from both the communities should explore all the avenues which may lead to the elimination of sources which breed such abnormalities that frustrate all attempts at political settlements.

The fanatic's dagger which struck at Swami Shraddhananda,[3] the mob which sent Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi[4] to martyrdom, or the bullet which cut short the very promising career of Allahbux, the ex-Premier of Sind, have not advanced even by an iota the cause which such malcontents may have cherished in their hearts, beyond strengthening the stock argument of the apologists of British rule in India. The ways of poniard and the pistol have never produced any decisive results. Mazzini's[5] call to unity and patriotism did much more to consolidate and unify Italy than all the wars waged by the Borgias[6] by sword, dagger and toxicology, some centuries back. The methods attendant with paraphernalia of secrecy and mystery in which the Jesuits revelled, ended in the destruction of their own order. The theory and practice governing socio-political relations have undergone revolutionary changes since Machiavelli wrote his *Prince*.

The present writer appeals, in all humility, that sober elements from both the communities should come together and work on the lines already chalked by Sj. C. Rajagopalachariar so that stage may be set for a decisive Gandhi-Jinnah meeting.

Yours etc.,
[KANTILAL A. TRIVEDI]
B. A. (Hons.)

See No. 13, note 2.

[2]Character of Frankenstein in Mary Shelly's novel who creates a monster that, in turn, destroys its creator.

[3]Born as Munshi Ram (1856-1926), Swami Shraddhananda was a lawyer by profession and a leader of the Arya Samaj Movement. He became President of Shuddhi Sabha, which aimed at re-converting Muslims to Hinduism. Enraged at this, a Muslim, Abdur Rashud, assassinated him in 1926. See S.P. Sen, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. IV (S-Z), Calcutta, 1974, 185-7

[4]Member of the Indian National Congress and the Home Rule League. He was opposed to imparting religious education at schools. He was killed during the communal disturbances in Cawnpore (now Kanpur) in March 1931. See ibid., 423-4.

[5]Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72), Italian revolutionary, who helped Garibaldi achieve the unification and independence of Italy in 1870

[6]A noble Italian Renaissance family, originally from Spain.

58

S. Shamsul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/79

MUSLIM LEAGUE PRINTING PRESS,
SHAMS MANZIL,
DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
29 November 1943

Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to my yesterday's interview with your gracious self I hereby confirm the undertaking made by me thereat.

That you have been pleased to authorise me for getting the books, namely (1) *Pakistan and Muslim India* (2) *Nationalism in Conflict in India* translated into Urdu and published as desired by me, provided that I shall keep a regular account of their sale and output. A fixed amount of Rs. 300 will be paid as royalty out of the surplus sale proceeds of the said books.

I hope this will meet your kind approval and a line will be dropped to me to that effect.[1]

Yours obediently,
S. SHAMSUL HASAN

On 2 December 1943, Jinnah accepted the offer. See *SHC*, P& P I 80 Not printed

59

Mohammad Ali Kamal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 359/1-2
[*Original in Urdu*]

BANGALORE,
30 November 1943

Venerable Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We have published an editorial regarding the food problem of India under the caption "Is this the Centre or a curse?" I am sending its clipping herewith.[1] It would be kind of you if you took the trouble of reading it. The future of one hundred million Muslims of India now

stands linked up with the Muslim League, while the existence of the Muslim League depends for now on your statesmanship. I feel no pleasure in praising you, nor do I expect that you will be pleased. In this world, everyone performs his own duty, and no one thereby does a favour to anyone.

Today, India's food problem is taking a perilous turn at the hands of the present government. After the tragic scenes witnessed in Bengal, our eyes also perceive the same calamity descending on the whole of India. Should this happen, God forbid, the government will lose nothing and will stay put. The Viceregal Lodge will keep standing in all its splendour but millions of destitute and impoverished Indians will perish in the streets. Our hearts are already rent by what has happened in Bengal. Had this famine been a natural calamity, and its prevention beyond human capacity, we would have braced ourselves for death after reciting the *Kalima*. But we cannot tolerate the tragic end of millions of human beings because of the dereliction of duty of a handful of individuals calling themselves government. We feel that should the Central Government devote its full attention to the impending crisis and put aside selfish motives for the sake of humanity just for now, we can escape death. The Central Government has no right to thrust us into the jaws of death deliberately. You are indeed far-seeing, and if this peril is really just round the corner, is it not incumbent on us to strain every nerve to evoke the humane sentiments of the Central Government and dissuade it from repression?

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, is it enough for us to lapse into silence after blaming the famine on the Government of India? Do we gain our objective by keeping mum after proving that only limited powers have been delegated to Provincial Governments, so that the Nazimuddin Ministry is not responsible for the Bengal famine? Provincial Governments do not have the powers to cope with this contingency. The Central Government does not wish to take the trouble.

In the name of humanity, I ask every Indian: will the poor millions of India die prematurely like this? Are they all doomed? Can't we secure authentic information about the national production, exports, imports, expenditure and needs. If scarcity of food is imminent, then instead of bringing in wagons full of corn after thousands of people have starved to death, as has happened in Bengal, can't we devise preventive measures in good time? Can no pressure be brought to bear on the Government? Merely demanding that the Central Government find an effective solution to the food problem is not enough to save us from dying. We are all witness to the Bengal tragedy.

It is most dangerous to rely on the Central Food Department, to rest content, and to expect that the Central Government will do everything to fulfil its obligations. If the Central Government should fail to address the problem, which is apprehended, then we are the ones who will die and not the government. Quaid-i-Azam, I earnestly appeal to you to save the country from the impending calamity. If I should commit a mistake, its adverse effect will be confined to myself or at the most to my kith and kin. But if you should make a mistake, it affects the destiny of millions of people. Today, the question before you is: saving millions of human lives. I submit that this is an opportunity for selfless service of humanity. Your kind attention may help avert the calamity. I suggest that you convene a conference of the Muslim Premiers and raise a strong voice for delegation of more powers to Provincial Governments to cope with at least the food problem. If there are real prospects of a country-wide famine, please exert all possible pressure on the government, and try to secure some foodgrains from external sources, if not as a matter of right then by way of human sympathy, before people die of hunger.

This is the time for the Muslim League to move forward and win the hearts of its opponents through its wide-ranging public service, and thereby gain control over the situation. Now is the time for the Muslim League to take practical steps. Taking advantage of this opportunity, it should launch a food campaign across India. Food conferences should be held in every nook and corner of the country and the Government of India called upon to give more powers to Provincial Governments, assess the food situation truly, and adopt the necessary measures to cope with any contingency.

I appeal to you, in the name of humanity, to ponder over this problem for God's sake.[2]

Maybe, I shall seek an audience with you in Karachi.

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD ALI KAMAL
Editor,
The Daily Azad

[1]See F. 359/3, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah replied that the points raised would receive his careful consideration See F. 359 4, *QAP* Not printed

60

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/282

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
1 December 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I returned to Calcutta yesterday. I am feeling a little better than I did while I was in Delhi.

I refer to your letter of the 5th November[1] in which Mr. Turner has asked of you some concrete information. I have lost no time in getting the same for you. Here it is:[2]

On the 18th of October 1943, in the evening Mr. Suhrawardy's statement regarding Ispahanis and the Government of Bengal's dealings with them, was sent out to Bombay in two parts on the teleprinter. The first part went out as a summary of the statement and the second part, which followed later, carried the whole text.

Because Bombay complained that both these messages were received at their end in a mutilated state, the Calcutta office of the Associated Press again repeated the message later the same evening. The messages were numbered Calcutta No. 19 and No. 20.

[*Last two paras omitted*]

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

No. 44.

-On 10 December, Jinnah sent the information to Turner and asked him to find out why Bombay blacked out the message See. F 504 6, *QAP* Not printed.

61

Syed Zakir Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/246

DELHI,
2 December 1943

Sir,

The details of the expenditure under the head of "travelling" in the

last statement of accounts is submitted herewith for your record.

Yours obediently,
SYED ZAKIR ALI
Secretary, AIML Civil Defence Committee

Enclosure to No. 61

F. 761/247

DETAILS OF THE AMOUNT OF RS. 6,244-13-6 SHOWN UNDER THE HEAD OF TRAVELLING EXPENSES

Spent in N.W.F.P. through the Hon'ble Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, the Premier	Rs.	3,000-0-0
Spent in N.W.F.P. through the Hon'ble Mr. Samin Jan, Minister	Rs.	1,500-0-0
Handed over to Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot for travelling expenses of his party	Rs.	350-0-0
Travelling expenses of Qazi Mohammad Isa, Quetta to Peshawar and back	Rs.	360-4-0
Paid to Maulana Jamal Mian for his expenses, Lucknow to Lahore, Rs. 40 and Peshawar to Lucknow Rs. 80 and paid on his behalf by the Committee for journey Lahore to Peshawar about Rs. 25	Rs.	145-0-0
Paid to Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman Sahib for his travelling expenses from Lucknow to Lahore Rs. 50, Peshawar to Lucknow via Delhi and Bhopal Rs. 150, and paid by the Committee on his behalf for journey Lahore to Peshawar Rs. 30	Rs.	230-0-0
Travelling expenses of Chairman and Secretary from Delhi to Peshawar and back	Rs.	251-8-0
Travelling expenses of Chairman and Secretary to Bombay and back during August 1943	Rs.	386-6-6
Travelling expenses of Secretary and Office Clerk for several trips from Delhi to Meerut for office work	Rs.	21-11-0
Total	Rs.	6,244-13-6

SYED ZAKIR ALI

62

S. M. Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 660/4-5

AMRITSAR,
2 December 1943

Dear Sir,

I respectfully draw your kind attention to the startling incidents which have taken place in the Punjab and injured the feelings of all creeds of Muslims in the province. A few months ago, it was brought to the notice of this Anjuman that some Hindu dealers in Amritsar were selling pages of the holy *Qur'an, Panjsuras* and other Islamic books containing abstracts of the holy *Qur'an,* for rough use of the retail shopkeepers (*raddi*). Of course the Muslims cannot tolerate such a dishonour and mishandling of their most sacred Book. Enquiries were, therefore, made confidentially by the members of this Anjuman and the facts were brought to the notice of the local police. Hindu shopkeepers, who were selling and using the pages of the holy Book, were caught red-handed by the Amritsar police, and the pages of the holy Book and other Islamic books weighing several maunds were found in their custody which were being used as *raddi*. Thereafter, a gathering of several hundreds of Muslims headed by local leaders (Sh.Ahmad Sadiq, Hony. Magistrate, etc.) approached the local police officers explaining to them that the Musalmans could not in any way tolerate the manner in which the non-Muslim shopkeepers were misusing and dishonouring our holy Book containing the messages sent by Almighty. To our misfortune the police officers expressed their inability to do anything in the matter or to take action against the Hindu shopkeepers on the ground that the law as it stands to-day does not provide [for] any penalty for such acts.

After the unhappy incident described above nearly all the Muslims here made a strong determination to take steps for pressing the Provincial Legislature to penalise sale and publication of the holy *Qur'an* by all non-Muslims. This Anjuman particularly, headed by Sh. Sadiq Hassan, M.L.A., Amritsar, made strenuous efforts in this direction and approached all the Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly requesting them to bring on to the statute book a bill prohibiting the publication and sale of the holy Book by all non-Muslims. They were made to understand that the non-Muslims could not be expected to handle the holy Book with a standard of cleanliness prescribed by

Islamic Law (none should touch it except the pure one). Thereafter, a deputation consisting of important members of Legislative Assembly and local Muslim leaders waited upon the Hon'ble Premier, Major Sir Khizar Hayat Khan, who was pleased to promise that he would entrust the work of drafting a bill to a sub-committee. Several meetings of Musalmans have taken place in the various parts of the country and the feelings of the Muslims have also been expressed in the local newspapers so that the authorities might take speedy action in bringing an appropriate act on the statute book. We have now decided [on] a grand conference in which the prominent Muslim leaders would take part and deliver speeches impressing upon [*sic*] the necessity of such a legislation. We hope our Quaid-i-Azam will very kindly consent to preside over this conference and favour us with his venerable personality. He has always been foremost in taking up arms against the non-Muslims for Islamic prestige and we feel sure that he will now too take a leading part in this holy and purely Islamic work. The conference will take place at Amritsar on the 31st December 1943 and 1st January 1944. We hope you will not only favour us by presiding over this grand conference but will also impress upon the Hon'ble Premier of the Punjab as well as the Muslim League Party in the Provincial Legislative Assembly to do their best in getting the desired Act passed as early as possible.

The time is very short for the conference [and] we hope that you will very kindly send us a favourable reply by return of post.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. IBRAHIM
General Secretary, Anjuman Siddiqia

63

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/93

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
5 December 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am not quite sure if I could make my point clear to you in the discussion we had on Muslim Education at your house on the 23rd November. So permit me please to explain myself further and to ask

the favour of very kindly giving your earnest thought to it.

The object of education is to build the personality of a child and to develop his capacities in order to make him an efficient and useful unit of the society to which he belongs. This is recognised to-day on all hands. That is why every nation has an educational system of its own, and that is why even minorities have been given the right of having their own system of education in their own institutions.

The Muslims of India should *a fortiori* stick to this object. Firstly because they are living inside a strong hostile majority, which would otherwise swallow them up; and secondly because in contradistinction from all other nations, the peculiar basis of their nationality is a complex of ideas and ideals which can live only if carefully and consciously cultivated. That is why Musalmans instinctively go to Muslim institutions, and wherever there is no Muslim institution, they are backward in education. In spite of their defects and scarcity, the Muslim institutions in U.P. cater for the education of 75% Muslim children. Muslims have on the whole realised the importance of this point, and are everywhere doing what they can to have their own institutions. You have given them the lead to become a consolidated nation and to struggle for an independent national existence. It is for you now, Sir, to give them the lead for their future being [*sic*] and advancement also, viz. that Muslims should have throughout their own systems of education and they should have their own separate institutions, so far as possible.

It is not the text-books that are the media of imparting education, it is rather the persons who impart it and the atmosphere in which it is imparted that are the main things. We must see Muslim children brought up by Muslim teachers in a Muslim atmosphere, and this cannot be done unless we have separate institutions of our own.

That there are difficulties in realising this object, must not deter us from pursuing it. There are also difficulties in attaining the great goal of Pakistan; but should we, therefore, give it up? No. Under your wise and bold leadership, we hope to overcome difficulties in the way of Pakistan, viz. our education.

The second point is to have our own system of education. We must have it, because the requirements of a Muslim and a Muslim citizen are fundamentally different from those of others. This is so in all stages of education, primary, secondary and university. For there is no subject which cannot be taught Islamically and un-Islamically [*sic*].

So, to my mind the Education Committee you have in view has to work out:

i. A system of education in full detail befitting the requirements of

Musalmans and to devise ways and means to have our own institutions and organisation for imparting it.

ii. The Committee will further have to point out the needful modifications of the above two under differing circumstances that prevail in India.

I am annexing also a draft of the Terms of Reference for your kind consideration and advice. If I am fortunate enough to hear from you in reply before we (I mean, Nawab Sahib,[1] Nawabzada,[2] and myself) meet to discuss them, that will be a great gain and afford us guidance.

I trust this letter will find you in excellent health.

I have the honour and privilege to be,

Yours devotedly,

MOH[AMME]D AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI

[1] Refers to Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, respectively.

Enclosure to No. 63

Proposed Education Committee of the All India Muslim League

SHC, UP V/96

PROPOSED TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Committee should prepare for the Musalmans of India a comprehensive scheme of primary, secondary, vocational and higher education in order to make them fit and capable of leading successful life and to mould their individual and collective character in consonance with Islamic ideals, keeping in view the special needs and problems of various provinces. The Committee should also take into consideration the existing conditions due to war as well as the post-war problems of the Muslims in relation to the people of the rest of India and outside. The report of the Committee should also contain recommendations and suggestions for implementing their proposals in a practical manner. More particularly, the scheme for primary, vocational and secondary education should be submitted within a year of the beginning of their work, while the scheme for higher education and the final report of the Committee should be submitted by the end of the second year.

The Committee shall have the power to co-opt new members, to set up technical and provincial sub-committees and to take any help it deems necessary from the provincial and central League organisations in the accomplishment of their task.

PROPOSED PROCEDURE OF WORK

1. The office of the Committee should be set up at Aligarh.

2. The Committee should resolve itself into more than one group and should visit at least one place in every province in order to discuss with pre-arranged provincial deputations or committees of public men, educationists, teachers and managers of Muslim institutions.

3. The Committee should set up provincial sub-committees in order to apprise them fully of the educational problems and needs of the respective provinces.

4. The Committee should set up the following technical sub-committees.

i. Primary Education Sub-Committee
ii. Secondary Education Sub-Committee
iii. Vocational Education Sub-Committee
iv. Higher Education Sub-Committee

These sub-committees should work under the guidance of the Central Committee.

5. The Committee should invite specialists and technical experts whenever necessary during the course of their deliberations.

6. The Committee should be presided over by Nawab Moh[ame]d Ismail Khan Sahib.

7. The Committee should prepare a comprehensive questionnaire and should request the Muslims for supplying the necessary information from various parts of the country.

THE FOLLOWING GENTLEMEN HAVE SENT THEIR CONSENT TO WORK AS REGULAR MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

1. Prof. A. B. A. Haleem, B. A. (Hons.) (Oxon.),
   Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh
2. Prof. S. Zafrul Hasan Sahib, Ph. D., D. Phil. (Oxon.),
   Professor of Philosophy, M[uslim] University, Aligarh
3. Dr. Zaki Uddin, Ph. D. (Alig. & Bonn), M. Sc. (Cantab.),
   Dept. of Physics, Muslim University, Aligarh
4. Dr. Moh[amme]d Afzal Husain Qadri, Ph. D. (Alig.), Ph. D. (Cantab.),
   Department of Zoology, Muslim University, Aligarh
5. Prof. Razi Uddin Siddiqui, B. A. (Cantab.), Ph. D. (Leipzig),
   Professor of Mathematics, Osmania University, Hyd[erabad], Deccan
6. Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani, M. A. (Cantab.),
   Professor of History, Osmania University, Hyd[erabad], Deccan
7. Dr. Hamid Ullah, Ph. D. (Bonn), D. Litt. (Paris),
   Lecturer of Islamic Philosophy and Culture, Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan
8. Dr. Khalifa Shuja Uddin, LL.D., Bar-at-Law,
   Secretary, Islamia College, Lahore

9. Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi Sahib, Azamgarh
10. Allama Ibne Hasan Rizvi, M. A., M.O.L., Lucknow

THE FOLLOWING GENTLEMEN HAVE OFFERED THEIR HELP TO THE COMMITTEE

1. Khan Fazul Moh[amma]d Khan Sahib, M. A. (Cantab.)
   Formerly Director of Public Instruction and Commissioner of Technical & Industrial Education to the Govt. of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, Deccan
2. Abdur Rahman Khan, Esq.,
   ex. Principal [*sic*], Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan
3. Present Vice-Chancellor of Dacca [University] should also be co-opted as a member

SOME OF THE MAIN PROBLEMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. The present system of education in vogue in British India which is conceived independently and with utter disregard to our culture and ideals has estranged the Musalman from his past heritage. The existing methods of instruction in sciences, arts, philosophy and other social subjects, instead of producing a harmonious and sound Muslim personality, have created a distorted outlook and morbid character with tension and conflict in all its aspects, namely intellect, emotions and behaviour. We must resolve this conflict and create a harmony of outlook and character by laying the foundations of our system of education on our cultural and religious heritage.

2. The existing system of education has also failed to bring about a sound intellectual and mental growth of our people, and it has scarcely made any real impression on our masses. We have, theretore, to improve the general intellectual calibre of the Muslims, and to bring about a nation-wide mental awakening.

3. The existing system of education has not given to physical sciences the position they ought to occupy in a scheme of modern education with the result that our education does not equip us adequately for a successful struggle in the present world. We should henceforth introduce physical sciences as integral part of our education.

4. The Muslims at present receive very little technical and vocational education and consequently their economic condition is speedily deteriorating. We have, therefore, to make provision for adequate training in various crafts, industries and vocations.

5. The present education had created sharp barriers between our various classes as well as between our masses and the intelligentsia. We should now co-relate our education with the real life of our people

and remove the existing social differences and conflicts between the various classes.

6. The existing provisions for the education of Muslim girls are extremely inadequate and unsatisfactory. We have to make special efforts of a sound and large-scale education of Muslim girls in consonance with the traditions and teachings of Islam.

7. The extent and scope of the existing primary education is extremely limited and the percentage of our education is very low. We have to find out ways and means for extensive and free primary education of Muslim boys and girls.

8. Arrangements for spreading literacy among the masses and for adult education are practically non-existent. We have to take effective measures for spreading mass literacy and adult education among the Muslims.

9. The present war will lead to a state of things in which numerous social and economic problems are bound to arise for the Musalmans of India. We have to take into consideration these post-war problems as far as they can be anticipated and to make provision for them in our new system of education.

10. The Muslims of India are passing through a new period of national renaissance and they have embarked on a gigantic struggle of self-determination and honourable existence. We have to achieve and maintain our independent national homes in the north-east and north west of India and have also to secure an honourable existence and cultural integrity in the rest of India where we are in minority. We must, therefore, see to it that the education of our coming generation is of such a nature as is positively conducive to achieving our national ideals and strengthening the bond of solidarity and brotherhood amongst the Muslims of all parts of India.

11. Some tracts in Baluchistan, Sindh, Assam and at other places have received very little share from the existing provisions of social and educational uplift of the country with the result that they are far behind the rest of India. We have to adopt some special measures for their social and educational advancements.

SOME METHODS SUGGESTED FOR REALIZING OUR EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

1. We should determine new objectives and devise fresh methods of instruction for various subjects of study, especially those with social bearing.

2. We should re-plan and re-organise our primary, secondary, vocational and higher education.

3. We should make the Muslim education independent of any non-Muslim control or influence.

4. We should find out additional funds for Muslim and other charitable endowments for the expansion and improvement of Muslim education.

5. We should open separate and well-organised institutions for Muslim girls.

6. We shall make special and satisfactory arrangements for a sound and educational training of Muslim male and female teachers.

7. We should set up an a[ll] I[ndia] educational organisation for the guidance, supervision, improvement and expansion of Muslim education. Without such an organisation we cannot start a country-wide movement of educational re-organisation. If the existing A. I. Muslim Educational Conference and various other provincial educational organisations of the Muslims are brought under a harmonious and effective system and/or prepared to co-operate with the Muslim League this object can easily be achieved.

SOME OF OUR IMMEDIATE EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

1. We should draw up a graded course of cultural and social studies, including literature, history, civics, religion, culture, etc., for Muslim boys and girls of various stages of education and should try to introduce it in our education as early as possible.

2. We should re-organise and expand our primary and vocational education without any loss of time.

3. We should organise campaigns and missions for Muslim adult education and mass literacy.

4. We should immediately set up well-organised centres of cultural, educational and social uplift for our backward tracts.

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE

Estimated office expense for one year

Graduate clerk @ Rs. 60 p.m.	Rs. 720
Stationery @ Rs. 15 p.m.	Rs. 180
Cost of publishing 1,000 copies of questionnaire	Rs. 150
Correspondence	Rs. 250
Miscellaneous	Rs. 200
Total	Rs.1,500

Estimated tour expenses

One four-seated second class compartment to be reserved with two servants	Rs.2,400
60 days actual travelling allowance @ Rs. 10 per head	Rs. 600
Cost of conveyance at about 30 places	Rs. 400

Cost of travelling allowance to at least 10 technical experts and members of the Committee		Rs.1,600
	Total	Rs.5,000
Cost of publication of 1,000 copies of the reports		Rs. 500
	Grand total [of all 3 items]	Rs.7,000

[MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI]

64

Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/64-5

KASUR,
7 December 1943

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

Most exalted Quaid-i-Azam,

I regard it my bounden duty to inform my Quaid-i-Azam of the Muslim League situation in the Punjab in the light of recent-most [*sic*] developments.

You must have heard that the Punjab Muslim League has once again become enslaved to the Unionist Ministers. For the presidentship of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League there were two candidates, namely the Nawab of Mamdot and Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan. Both began to look to the ministers for help. The Nawab of Mamdot who had for some months been advertising his independence from the ministerial clutches at once laid down his arms before the ministers who forced Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan to resign. Mamdot is reported to have completely surrendered his opposition to the Unionists in the Punjab politics of all sorts. Consequently, at the Council meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League held on 5th December 1943, we found the Unionists controlling our elections. They had drawn a list of their candidates for all offices and had done a good deal of canvassing for them. Hon'ble Major Khizar Hayat Khan proposed the Nawab of Mamdot for presidentship and the Nawab was elected unopposed. The Vice-President and the General Secretary were also elected unopposed. The independent element could not tolerate the Unionist control and hence abruptly my name was proposed for Organizing Secretaryship. But the President declared me defeated by

some votes, although the members charged him of [*sic*] miscounting. My name was again proposed for the post of the Propaganda Secretary. This time the House voted for me with a vengeance and the Unionist candidate was defeated by an overwhelming majority. My success is your success because I owe allegiance direct to you and to none of the provincial magnates who want to wipe off Jinnahites from the soil of Punjab but the Jinnahites are growing more and more in number.

The cause for the downfall of Nawab of Mamdot is not far to find. He pitched himself against the Unionists without enlisting sympathies of the League workers whom he always aimed to crush. So much so that when he raised the slogan of Muslim League Ministry, not even one District, City or Primary League supported his cry. It is not because they did not like the idea of a Muslim League Ministry but because they did not see sincerity in the cry of the Nawab . Besides, the Nawab had adopted an attitude of annoyance and oppression [*sic*] towards the League workers.

I assure you that we can even now free the Punjab League from the ministerial influence, if we work like a team after the Nawab has secured confidence of the workers. Verily, the Punjab League is no League until it is free from the ministerial influence.

I am not afraid, even if my letter is shown or sent to the Nawab or the Unionists.

I am,

Yours obediently,

RABB NAVAZ KHAN

65

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/283

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
7 December 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my statement issued to the press today. The full statement[1] of Mr. [V.D.] Savarkar[2] was got hold of only yesterday although it was published in Bombay on the 24th of November.

I have made investigations regarding the shares, and it seems that

Indian Iron and Steel Corporation of Bengal enjoy the first priority as good shares. Howrah Jute Mill is not bad, and so far as Coals go, as usual, they are too high for one to get into just now. Due to last Sunday's bombing the share market is quieter and if the value declines further it would be good to buy Coals.

The Indian Iron and Steel Corporation shares are considered speculative. They fluctuate from day to day, even from hour to hour, but from the point of view of investment and return given by the Company the present level of Rs. 34-8-0 for Indian Iron is considered to be a fairly good buy. Only a few days ago these shares were being sold freely at Rs. 36 and over.

With regard to my health, I cannot say that I am too well. I am being treated by Dr. B. C. Roy and I shall know the result of my stomach analysis this afternoon. If my present state of health continues, and if I am unable to secure a seat on one of the Calcutta-Karachi planes, I am afraid I shall not be permitted to undertake a journey that will last almost five days each way. In the circumstances, if I absent myself, and be sure I shall not be absent unless I am absolutely compelled to stand out, I trust you will be so good as to forgive me.

With my best regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS. If you want any business done you may give your limits and nominate the quantities and names of the concerns in which you desire to invest. The rest will be looked after by me.

[1]Not traceable.
[2]President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha

Enclosure to No. 65
M. A. Hassan Ispahani on Savarkar's Statement[1]

I have been pained to read a statement issued by Mr. V.D. Savarkar from Bombay on November 24, wherein he says, *inter alia*, [that] an organised Muslim campaign to convert hundreds of starving Hindu women and children to Islamic faith is being carried on vigorously in those famine-stricken parts. Muslim proselytisers would not give a morsel of food to dying Hindu mothers or to their children, would rather stand watching them breathing their last, and would save them from that dire agony only if these unfortunate Hindu women and children renounced their cherished Hindu faith and accepted Muslim religion before they fell victim to death. To save the Hindus of Bengal

from such a fate, Mr. Savarkar has called upon his followers to send relief for Hindu sufferers only.

I am amazed at how a public figure of Mr. Savarkar's prominence can make a statement so unrelated to facts. Being closely associated with the biggest Muslim relief organization in the province, namely the Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Committee, and knowing how all other Muslim relief organisations and individuals in the province have rendered yeoman service to suffering humanity without distinction, I can categorically state that the allegations of Mr. Savarkar are utterly false. They also constitute an aspersion on Islam, because Islam abhors forcible conversions.

There is also a cruel irony about Mr. Savarkar's statement. He is probably aware, more than anybody else, that if Muslims even tried to play the sort of game he has attributed to them, they could not, as they do not have the wherewithal to do it. With their limited resources they would be happy if they could help their Muslim brethren and save them from the possible fate which Mr. Savarkar pretends to fear for Hindus.

I consider Mr. Savarkar's action in rushing to the press, without satisfying himself and responsible Muslims, highly deplorable. It is also mischievous as it will have the inevitable effect of fanning the fire of bitterness between Hindus and Muslims.

Star of India, 9 December 1943.

66

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amin Khan Tareen

F. 877/312-3

[BOMBAY,]
11 December 1943

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th instant[1] and beg to inform you that I see no objection to your applying your mind to the future problem facing the Musalmans regarding the reconstruction of the Muslim trade, commerce and industry. I see no objection why you young men of the Punjab University should not apply your mind and form yourself into a body of well-qualified and capable men to explore, examine and consider the planning of the future economic activities of Muslim India. You know

I have been emphasising this question for the last two years in my speeches throughout and I believe that an All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce is already launched and I may suggest that you should get in touch with Mr. Hassan Ispahani, who is one of the leading workers in this behalf and his address is 5 Camac Street, Calcutta.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Amin Khan Tareen, Esq.,
Rivaz Hostel,
Lahore

Not traceable

67

Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/66-7

KASUR,
12 December 1943

Most exalted Quaid-i-Azam,

Following the recent elections of the Punjab Muslim League, there again have occurred several rifts among the biggies [*sic*] of this province. The rival groups have started their efforts in right earnest to enlist backing from League quarters. This is a healthy sign. It shows that they have realized that the League possesses now a mass following in the Punjab. This is your victory. I most heartily congratulate you.

At the same time I will be the last person to allow any one of them to gain influence in [*sic*] the genuine Leaguers, because I assure you that not even a single great man of this province is sincere towards the League.

Yours obediently,
RABB NAVAZ KHAN

68

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 505/9

BOMBAY,
13 December 1943

Your Excellency,

I am enclosing herewith the correspondence[1] that passed between me and His Excellency Lord Linlithgow, who was the Viceroy and the Governor-General before he handed over the charge to Your Excellency, for your immediate attention and earnest consideration.

I may inform you that this matter was placed before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Delhi on 13th November 1943, and they expressed great anxiety with regard to the situation in Kashmir and have resolved to wait hoping that Your Excellency will take up this matter and meet the just grievances of the Musalmans of Kashmir. I dare say Your Excellency's attention has already been drawn to this correspondence and perhaps the matter is receiving your attention, but I thought I will send a copy of this correspondence formally to you and hence this letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency the Viceroy and
Governor-General of India,
New Delhi

Enclosures 1 to 5. Also see Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 764-6.

Enclosure 1 to No. 68
M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 505/2

BOMBAY,
23 August 1943

Your Excellency,

I beg to inform you that I have been receiving information concerning the various developments that have been taking place in Kashmir for the last few months from very reliable sources and my recent information leads me to believe that the Kashmir situation is very

grave. I am not advisedly sending you the details because I am sure that you have already more information and perhaps more reliable than I possess. The purpose of writing this letter to you is to earnestly request your attention to this matter without further delay. If you desire I can send you the summary of the various developments that have taken place culminating in the resignation of Sir Maharaj Singh, the late Premier of Kashmir and since his departure from Kashmir. I hope it will receive your immediate consideration and result in consequent necessary action in the matter, which will do justice to the Musalmans, who are going through an ordeal of tremendous hardships, sufferings and injustice which is meted out to them by the State authorities and its administration.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H.E. the Viceroy and
Governor-General of India,
Bombay

Enclosure 2 to No. 68
Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/3

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
7 September 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have had your letter of 23rd August[1] about affairs in Kashmir for which I thank you. As you have correctly surmised I am aware from certain reports which have reached me that some uneasiness prevails in the State and that this uneasiness has indeed persisted for some time past. I am, I need hardly tell you, in the closest contact with my advisers on the whole topic and for this reason I do not find it necessary to take advantage of your very kind offer to send me a summary of recent developments based on information available to you from your own sources. I can assure you furthermore that the whole situation will continue to receive my constant attention and I hope that the doubts to which you have given expression about conditions in the State will presently be totally resolved.

In conclusion I would like to thank you for your courtesy in taking the trouble to invite my attention to the matter the importance of

which I, of course, fully realise.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

Enclosure 1

Enclosure 3 to No. 68
M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 505/4-5

BOMBAY,
15 September 1943

Your Excellency,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th of September 1943,[1] for which I thank you. It is not marked confidential or personal, yet I write to ask you, whether you would agree to my letter of the 23rd August 1943[2] and your reply of the 7th September 1943[3] being released to the press. You know so far I have refrained from saying anything in the press with regard to the situation that has arisen in Kashmir because I thought I might be adding to what is already a very serious situation, as the developments there have stirred up not only the Musalmans of Kashmir but throughout India. It seems to me that in this very high tense feeling that is prevailing, the publication of my letter and Your Excellency's reply might help to allay the situation and also the people should know that I myself have not been unmindful to the representations that have been pouring in for the last few months from different parts of Kashmir and India. In these circumstances, if you agree, then I should like to release the correspondence at an appropriate moment.

I need hardly say that I appreciate very much indeed the assurances given by Your Excellency and that the matter is receiving Your Excellency's earnest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency the Viceroy and
Governor-General of India,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

[2] Enclosure 2
[3] Enclosure 1

Enclosure 4 to No. 68
Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/6

VICEROY'S CAMP,
SIMLA,
26 September 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 15th September[1] in reply to my letter of September the 7th.[2] As you say I did not think it necessary to put any special marking on my letter to you, the correspondence between us being personal in character and no suggestion having been made by you that you were anxious or might be anxious to publish any reply from me. I appreciate what you say in your letter, but I should prefer that the correspondence should remain as personal between us and should not be given to the press.

As I am on this subject I might add that I understand that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has now appointed a commission to consider and report upon the whole question of "Reforms" in the State.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1] Enclosure 3.
[2] Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 5 to No. 68
M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 505/7-8

BOMBAY,
30 September 1943

Your Excellency,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th of September 1943 and I thank you for it. I must say that apart from the question of my releasing the correspondence, your letter under reply is somewhat disappointing.

With regard to your giving me information that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has now appointed a commission to consider and report upon the whole question of "Reforms" in the State was

already known to me and one of the grievances is with regard to the personnel of the commission amongst others relating to this commission, but far more serious situation is created by the present administration and Kashmir authorities in the day to day administration and the way in which the Muslims are treated there. The accounts that I have received lead me to believe that the present situation is intolerable unless some responsible, independent and impartial head of the administration takes charge of the affairs of the Kashmir administration. Ill-treatment, oppression and tyranny to the Muslims is rampant and this matter requires your immediate attention. I gathered from your letter of the 7th September 1943[1] that you were fully alive to the whole situation and proceeded to state "I can assure you furthermore that the whole situation will continue to receive my constant attention and I hope that the doubts to which you have given expression about conditions in the State will presently be totally resolved."

In conclusion, I should like to draw your attention to the fact and you must have observed that my letter of the 23rd of August[2] and subsequent letters are addressed to you in your official capacity as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. However, as you prefer that the correspondence should not be released I have refrained from doing so at any rate for the present.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency the Viceroy and
Governor-General of India,
Viceroy's Camp,
Simla

Enclosure 4
Enclosure 2.
Enclosure 1.

69

Dur Mohammad Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 904/85-6
[Original in Urdu]

MADRESSA-TUL-ISLAM,
CHUHARPUR,
LARKANA,
14 December 1943

Presented with respects to the gracious, affectionate, kind and learned Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu
Sir,

It is well-known to you that by the grace of God there are about one thousand Muslim schools in Sind teaching *Qur'an Sharif,* Persian and Arabic, besides Sindhi text books. Around 1914, the Govt. of Bombay issued an order that those religious teachers who teach Sindhi, besides theology, will be given a yearly grant. Initially, many religious teachers resented this order but when they realized that it will improve education of the children in the religious and other fields, they joined in by and by and started teaching Sindhi. Today, by divine grace, Muslim schools are functioning in all corners of Sind; in mountains, deserts and forests, on both sides of the River Indus, and in less populated areas. These schools have performed well as per the record of Govt. of Sind.

Helper of the poor! How is this effort recompensed by the Sind Government? Please note that if this grant is distributed amongst the teachers, each of them will get Rs. 10 only—although Government of Sind, Director of Public Instruction, and other officers in the past have conceded, in writing, that Muslim schools have progressed more than local board schools and, despite the small grant, are imparting quality education.

Beneficent Sir! The Govt. has calculated that a student of Muslim schools costs Rs. 9 per year as against Rs. 35 per year for the local board schools. Although the number of board schools is less than the Muslim schools but even if the number were the same it is unjust that the Govt. gives one child full bread and only one-fourth of a bread to the other children.

Helper of the needy! It merits consideration that the Muslim children are also subjects of the State, besides others. When Muslims are in majority in Sind, to starve their children and pamper the non-Muslims

is against justice.

Beneficent Sir! Besides this, the problems and hardships being faced by the Muslim teachers defy description but are to some extent conveyed by this application. The applicant is a school teacher and Secretary of Muslim Teachers Association. In this capacity he submits respectfully that the times are hard and, because of famine conditions, everything is costly, and without increase in pay and allowances those getting Rs. 20 per month cannot meet the expenses of their families.

It is, therefore, requested that the enclosed application[1] in English from teachers of Muslim schools be sent with your recommendations to the Chief Minister, Sind.

We shall ever remain grateful.

Your well-wisher and servant,
DUR MOHAMMAD QURESHI
Secretary, Muslim Teachers Association

Not traceable.

70

Sh. Mohammad Alam to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 828/101-4

LAHORE,
15 December 1943

All proceedings of Punjab Provincial League Council meeting 5th instant absolutely void for constitutional objections. *Inter alia* meeting held without sending agenda to several members. Provincial President elected without properly calling nominations from District and City Leagues and voting allowed of persons having no right, and specific provisions provincial constitution and even all-India constitution flouted. President himself nominated All India Council members without election... Delegates nominated by President without power or resolution. Several other serious objections. Members deprived of voting right. Unheard unconstitutional procedure adopted. Ample proof. Pray allow objections representation by personal appearance before yourself, members Working Committee All India Council annual session. Also grant injunction prohibiting members so nominated from participation all India meeting. Objectors Mohammad Alam,

Khan, Mohammad Ali Jafri, Rabb Navaz Khan, Abdul Ghani and other members, Punjab Muslim League.

MOHAMMAD ALAM
LL.D.
Barrister-at-Law
MLA (Punjab)

71

Kazi Khuda Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/69

SIND MADRESSA-TUL-ISLAM,
KARACHI,
15 December 1943

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your cheque No. Bc/5 80458 dated 9th December 1943, for Rs. 5,000 (five thousand) only as your generous donation to the Sind Madressa College funds.

A separate formal receipt is also enclosed.[1]

Yours faithfully,
KAZI KHUDA BAKHSH
Advocate
Honorary Secretary, Sind Madressah Board

[1]Not traceable.

72

M. A. Jinnah to Iqbal Masud

SHC, UP III /11

15 December 1943

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th instant[1] and thank you for it. I have read it with interest but find that there is no concrete suggestion made by you to meet the situation and the sentiment of the youths as described by you. It would have helped me very much if you had,

along with the warning, suggested something definite by way of your prescription.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Iqbal Masud, Esq.,
22 S.S. East,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

See *SHC*, UP III/10. Not printed.

73

Abdul Naseer Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/12

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY UNION,
ALIGARH,
15 December 1943

Respected Sir,

First of all I render my heartfelt apology for being late in sending you this letter. During the last month the Union affairs were unfortunately all unsettled and the President liked that you should be invited to Aligarh after completely harmonizing all the problems. Thank God that it has been done according to the students' wishes. It has always been the greatest desire of every ministry of the Union to invite their Quaid-i-Azam to their institution. You have been kind enough to pay an yearly visit and address the students under the Union auspices. The students of this University are anxiously waiting for your early and kind visit.

I, on behalf of the Union ministry and student members, request you to kindly visit Aligarh and let us know the date on which Aligarh would see you.

In the interest of the students' studies with many apologies, I would dare to request you to kindly give us some time during the 3rd and 4th week of January 1944.

Hoping for an early and favourable reply,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL NASEER KHAN
Acting Vice-President

74

Mohammad Sadiq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 877/348-9
[Original in Urdu]

CHITTAGONG,
15 December 1943

By the grace of God, the orphanage is running but due to advent of severe winter, some children have been lost, some had been lying ill in the hospital, and some have run away. It is being planned that the orphanage be handed over to the Government.

The Muslim League exists here only in name. Unlimited amount of money for relief has been received by Chittagong administration but no Muslim could ask for help. Hindu officers are omnipresent—in the Municipality, in the Courts, and in Relief Committees, and do not bother for the Muslim affectees and favour only the Hindus. Neither Sir Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy, nor any "angel" of the Muslim League ever came to this side to look after the dying Muslims. I think that half the Muslim population of Chittagong must have died. Many a time I have gone to the President and Secretary of the Muslim League requesting them to do something towards serving their nation or request the Government for help on its behalf but nobody listened to such requests. What can I do all alone? I have since lost all hope.

The Secretary, Muslim League, Fazlul Qadir, is devoting all his energies towards obtaining a title from the Government. The District Magistrate called me as well to suggest award of a title to me for forming the Anjuman Relief Committee but I got the name of Dost Mohammad Sahib registered instead, as President and a real worker of the Anjuman. It is hoped that Dost Mohammad Sahib would get a title. I had told them that I was just an ordinary worker of Islam and do not like receiving a title from the Government.

Wassalaam

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD SADIQ

75

Amir Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/37

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

MAHMUDABAD,
16 December 1943

My dear uncle,

Since [*sic* for for] a year we have been trying to settle the inter-sectarian quarrels of Mahmudabad. Many times it seemed that the settlement was at hand but unfortunately some responsible citizens of Lucknow came in the way and made all compromise impossible. Of these responsible persons it is heard that Mr. Niamatullah is one, who according to information as well as rumours, had been helping one of the parties. Lately some Govt. officials (in their personal capacity) have been trying to bring about some sort of settlement. It was expected that the work will finish by the end of November. But each time we expected the things to come to an end, one of the parties backed out. Now both the parties have agreed to leave the matter to my arbitration, and have also agreed on the draft of my orders which has been seen and discussed by their respective counsels. One of these counsels has fallen ill and hopes to come to Mahmudabad on the 18th or 19th in the company of the District Police officials. So they have wired to me to postpone my journey for a day. Now I hope to leave for Karachi on the 20th and reach in the evening of 22nd.

[Words illegible] my absence as an obstructive attitude towards this settlement, therefore, I hope, Sir, that your will allow me to be absent for the 22nd morning.

I am sorry and beg your pardon for this letter which is becoming rather too long and boring. But I have nobody else except you whom I regard in place of my father—and the prodigal son in trouble returns only to his father. All my father's enemies have formed into one solid bloc by which they have been trying to harm and discredit me in every field of activity. The means and methods that they adopt are such as no self-respecting person would stoop to. Falsehood, backbiting of the officials, are a few of the methods that they are resorting to and Salimpore (Raja) is at the head of this opposition. There are others whose names may surprise you and, therefore, I leave out those for the present.

So, Sir, it is with the greatest vexation and resentment that I am being delayed by twelve hours. I hope that you will not worry about all this. *Allah* gives the final victory to truth and those who are on the

right path have nothing to fear.

I shall close this letter with prayers for your life and victory for our cause.

Love and respect to [your]self and *Phoophi*,

Yours ever loving,
AMIR [MOHAMMAD KHAN]

[PS.] Jamal [Mian] has kindly consented to bring this letter.

76

Bakht Jamal Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 877/317-8

NAWANKILLI, MARDAN,
N.W.F.P.,
17 December 1943

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I know how palpitatingly [*sic*] busy you must be in these days but nevertheless I have ventured to write this letter to you as I consider it in the interest of our cause, which is so dear to both of us, to apprise you of the situation created in this province by our present Ministry which is leading us to a crisis from which it will not be possible for any of us to save the Muslim League. As I had explained to you during my last visit to Delhi, the entire Muslim community in the province is getting sick of the present regime so much so that they would prefer to have the old pre-reform days than what we call our own Ministry. The League in the province has been thrown overboard. What vested interests had done and are doing in the Punjab to capture the League and utilise it in promoting their own interest, is being done in this province. After our last meeting in Delhi, when Sardar Aurangzeb Khan was also present, I was satisfied that he would now mend his ways and try to act in accordance with the mandate of the League. I, therefore, kept quiet. But he, after returning from Delhi, left no stone unturned to see that all those whom he considered an obstacle in the way of his despotism are ousted from the League by fair or foul means. For this purpose a very unusual procedure was adopted in connection with the recent election of the President. The normal procedure observed for this purpose is that recommendations are received from various Dist. Leagues and the name of the person carrying the majority is accepted. This year the majority of recommendations was in my favour but the

Sardar Sahib did not adopt the usual procedure. He asserted his special influence and put the matter for voting in the meeting of the Provincial Committee and proposed the name of a person who was not recommended by the Dist. League of his own Dist. for membership of the Provincial Committee even. And he was elected as a President. I do not attach any importance to the presidentship of the League or any other office. I have never run after these things. But in this province special importance is attached to these things. This action of the Sardar Sahib has created a wide wave of resentment against the League and has added oil to the fuel [*sic*] already collected by the misdeeds of the so-called League Ministry. I fear that this might prove a fatal blow to the League organisation in this province. If you want to save the League in this province and to have an established Ministry, kindly intervene immediately before it is too late. I considered it my duty to bring this to your notice and I now feel absolved of my duty. I know it will be represented to you that I have written this letter to you simply because I have not been elected as President. I leave it to you to judge whether I have that motive in mind or something else.

2. During this election campaign, the Sardar Sahib has also made very heinous allegations against me. I contemplate taking the matter to the court and then the world will see what will come out on the surface.

I am anxiously waiting for your reply.

Yours sincerely,

BAKHT JAMAL KHAN

[1]Chief Minister of NWFP, May 1943-March 1945.

77

Mohamad Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 904/87-8

URGENT

FATEHGARH,
DISTRICT LAHORE,
18 December 1943

Our beloved and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Do kindly find a few minutes to read this heart-rending appeal[1] of

6,345 Muslims of the Lahore Corporation area who are going to be turned out of their land and homes by the Lahore Improvement Trust. The Trust proposes to form this area of 1,100 acres into a factory area, where factory-owning capitalists, all non-Muslims, will flourish and will help to set at naught all schemes connected with Pakistan. We understand from most reliable authority (a friend who took part in the meeting told me) that at a meeting held in the beginning of December 1943 at the house of Honourable Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Minister of Public Works, the industrialists said that they were not satisfied with 1,100 acres and demanded at least 4,000 acres of land for the Factory area. They were assured that their demand will be favourably considered. This means that not only we 6,345 persons but thousands of other Muslims will be affected in the near future and the Muslim majority in Lahore will be turned into a minority.

Our respected leader, you can well understand what all this means. It is a deep-laid plot to ruin the future of Muslims, and to turn Pakistan into Hindustan. We, therefore, implore you to warn at least the Punjab Muslim Ministers that they must desist from carrying out this most nefarious scheme and to cancel the project. All this is fully known to Nawab Sahib of Mamdot, who is sympathetic to us but has not so far been able to help us, because of the hostile attitude of the Ministry which is subservient to its non-Muslim elements.

Do kindly, our Quaid-i-Azam, take immediate steps to redress this wrong. If you do not do so now, you yourself will feel very sorry afterwards. Excuse us for intruding upon your valuable time. Thanking you heartily in anticipation.

I am writing this on behalf of all the Muslim zamindars.

Expecting an early reply,

Yours obediently and fraternally,

MOHAMAD DIN

President, Zamindara Bank

See F. 1176/34-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

78

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/95

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
19 December 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In pursuance of your order I have been to Delhi to prepare the terms of reference of the Education Committee to be set up by the Muslim League, with Nawabzada Sahib and Nawab Sahib. After due discussions and deliberations we are now placing before you the draft prepared by me. I have already sent to you a copy of it.[1] As regards the personnel, the list of names given by me in the draft is based on the principle suggested by you, that we should have five or six persons who can meet together frequently and may apply themselves for a common object. I am in total agreement with this principle.

I now request you to give a start to this work. The Govt. of India have already produced a scheme of education named as "A Scheme of National Education." It envisages a complete overhauling of the present system of education. It is regrettable that partly due to the absence of our point of view they are proposing to establish a system of national education under an all-India centre. They profess that they are giving effect to several important recommendations of the Wardha Scheme. It is, therefore, a matter of supreme importance and of vital necessity that we should have our recommendations ready as early as possible.

I have the honour to be,

Yours devotedly,
M. A. H. QADRI

[1]Enclosure to No. 63.

79

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/10

VICEROY'S CAMP,
CALCUTTA,
20 December 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to thank you for your letter of December 13th,[1] (which has only just reached me, as I have been on tour) sending me copies of the correspondence you had with Lord Linlithgow on the subject of Kashmir affairs.[2] The situation in Kashmir is constantly under the consideration of my advisers and I am aware of the problems which confront the administration of this important State, though I have not yet had time to study them in any detail. I am informed that very shortly a Prime Minister of the highest qualities and character is likely to be appointed, and I think you will agree that not only should the appointment be awaited but that the new Prime Minister should be allowed a proper interval in which to study the local situation and devise administrative measures. In the meantime the affairs of Kashmir will continue to receive my very careful attention.

Yours sincerely,

WAVELL

[1]No. 68.
[2]Ibid., note 1.

80

Sh. Mohammad Alam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 877/332

C/O *MUSLIM VOICE*,
KARACHI,
22 December 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have come here to represent my objections before you. A copy of detailed objections, which I am attaching with this letter,[1] were given

in advance yesterday to the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. Copies have also been given to the Secretary of the All India [Muslim League] for yourself and the office.

I came to see you personally. You are the guardian of the constitution of the League. Question of participation of nominated delegates and nominated members of the Council is to be decided before the gathering commences. I thought I would be able to have an interview at once and therefore came to your place but as I have not succeeded in it I am leaving this letter to know when I should come again.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ALAM
LL.D.
Barrister-at-Law
MLA (Punjab)

[1]Not traceable. However, see No. 70.

81

Quraishi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 522/33

SRINAGAR,
22 December 1943

Your mission immortal. History [will] never forget Kashmir Muslims.[1] Wish you long life.

QURAISHI

In his address to AIML Council at Delhi on 14 November 1943, Jinnah observed that the situation in Kashmir was very serious and urged the ruler of Kashmir to take into consideration the grievances of the people of the State, 80 per cent of whom were Muslims. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 304-5.

82

Dinal Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 877/327

GAHNO KHAN,
KHAIRPUR MIRS,
22 December 1943

Respected Sir,

It is not a secret to you that ours is the only Islamic State in the entire province of Sind. The Ruler, H. H. Mir Faiz Mohamed Khan, is kept away from us since pretty long and we have been making representations from time to time to return our Ruler to us. They go unresponded.

In the Muslim League sessions held before this, the cause of our Muslim young Ruler is taken up every year.

It is requested that a resolution to return our Ruler to us may be moved and passed at the session and our enclosed application addressed to the Viceroy may also be forwarded to him through the Muslim League.

Thanking you for the kindness,

Yours sincerely,
DINAL KHAN
Vice-President, Zamindar Association

Enclosure to No. 82
Dinal Khan & Others to Archibald Wavell

F. 877/328-31

KHAIRPUR MIRS,
22 December 1943

Respected Sir,

We the following Raj Mahajans of Khairpur Mirs State beg most humbly and respectfully to state that the State of Khairpur Mirs has remained in the hands of Talpurs since the year 1793.

2. In 1843, when Sir Charles Napier[1] came to the province of Sind for the British Government, our late lamented Sir Mir Ali Murad Khan helped Sir Charles Napier in the conquest of the province of Sind. In recognition of those loyal services, the British Government entered into promises with Mir Ali Murad Khan, which can be seen from

the Government record.

3. After the demise of Mir Ali Murad Khan, his descendants continued to rule this State. The whole province of Sind was formerly in the hands and [under the] rule of Talpurs. The Talpurs have helped the British Government by wealth and lives [*sic*].

4. In 1935, His Highness Mir Ali Nawaz Khan died. The British Government, in concurrence with the promises, nominated his son His Highness Mir Faiz Mohamed Khan as Ruler of this State. The Government ordered that this heir-apparent to the Ruler may be deputed to Mysore State for a period of two years, as the Mysore State is improved [*sic*] State and its climate is good. The heir–apparent to the throne was sent there to receive education and acquire knowledge.

5. Eventually, His Highness Mir Faiz Mohamed Khan acquired education for two years at Bangalore. He was then kept at Poona. About eight or nine years have, by this time, expired that [*sic*] our His Highness Mir Faiz Mohamed Khan has remained out of Khairpur State continuously. The public and subjects of Khairpur State made several petitions to various officials, during the interval, praying that our Ruler should return to our State. The public requested Hon'ble the Resident personally for return of His Highness the Ruler. He was pleased to express [*sic*] that our representations had been forwarded for orders to His Excellency the Viceroy of India. But four years have passed [*sic*] that our His Highness has not returned to his State. We are loyal subjects of the British Government. We are well-wishers of our His Highness.

6. In the circumstances we most humbly pray that your honour would be pleased to get up [*sic*] and [send] back[2] our His Highness to our State, at an early date, so that he may, like other rulers of various States in India, render loyal services to the British Government, in this war, in the same way as his ancestors have rendered from time to time, for which act of kindness we shall remain ever grateful. The present Minister who is all-round competent will be best fitted to guide the Ruler if he is allowed to return to us in his days [*sic*].

With sincere prayer at His great door for the victory of British over Axis [*sic*],

We remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

DINAL KHAN & OTHERS

BOTH HINDUS & MUSLIMS

[1]A British General who conquered Sind and was appointed its first Governor.

[2]Mir Faiz Muhammad Khan Talpur had suffered from illness which was later diagnosed as insanity leading to his deposition in 1947. See Enclosure to No. 189, Vol. III, 479-80.

83

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/3-8

BEGUMPET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
22 December 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I take this opportunity of reminding you of a long conversation you kindly had with Hassan Ispahani and myself at your residence in Bombay on the 28th August 1943. Both Hassan Ispahani and I had reported to you the developments that had taken place in the meeting regarding Muslim commercial interests at Bombay on the 26th August 1943, and had informed you that we had finally decided to meet again some time in October or November in Delhi.

Ever since, many of us who are connected with commerce and industries have been thinking as to how Muslim economic interests can be promoted and what machinery should be devised to secure this end. There were informal talks amongst many of us severally but no meeting could be held until 12th and 13th of this month at New Delhi.

At the Delhi meeting, there was a good representation of Muslim commercial interests from Punjab, Bombay and Hyderabad. It is unfortunate that Ahmed Ispahani was kept back from attending the meeting due to sudden illness of Hassan Ispahani. There were lengthy discussions and careful deliberations. The outcome of these deliberations I narrate briefly as I am sure you will find it interesting.

After a good deal of discussion, it was decided upon to promote and develop a semi-commercial concern and to make that concern serve as a nucleus to establish industrial and commercial Muslim organisations in all parts of India wherever the circumstances appear favourable. It would be within the scope of the undertaking to assist financially and technically, and if necessary to the extent possible politically, such ventures as may be in existence or may come to be promoted under predominantly Muslim influence. There would be a statistical and intelligence department which would furnish information and offer advice to the existing and prospective Muslim trading concerns and would generally safeguard and promote their interests both with Government authorities and outside. Such a bureau will be established at Delhi so that it may be in close touch with the machinery of the

Central Government and would later on have branches at the centres of various Provincial Governments and, when necessary, will contact His Majesty's Government or other foreign governments to the extent of matters pertaining to Muslim trade interests. The expenses of such an organisation would be borne by the proposed concern and whenever possible would be recovered within reasonable limits, from the interests served. The other aim of the concern would be to provide facilities for training of Muslim youth, on as large a scale as possible. The expenses of such a scheme of training would partly be borne by the said concern and partly be debited to the existing and other Muslim trade interests that would come into being. The scheme of training would be very comprehensive and extensive and special attention will be paid to produce men capable of directing industrial and commercial ventures on modern lines. In actual practice a few promising young people with some scientific and commercial background will be selected and would be trained in large business houses either in this country or abroad. To effectively achieve this aim, it would be necessary to make it one of the principal conditions of signing contracts with suppliers of machinery and business houses both in India and abroad to train on broad lines certain number of candidates, duly recommended.

The proposed concern would also aim at providing facilities to Muslim candidates for research and for advanced studies in scientific and industrial fields and would endeavour to commercially exploit their findings, with due regard to the interests of the finder, the concern and the agency that might exploit them. It would be a more distant aim to have well-equipped industrial and scientific research laboratories, but in the earlier stages any existing institution capable of being expanded, such as the Muslim University laboratories, would be financially and technically assisted to render them serviceable for useful practical work. It is gratifying to note in this connection that the Ispahanis have expressed their desire to donate a generous sum of five lakhs of rupees for the purpose of carrying out industrial and scientific research. Further, it is proposed to raise a sum of about Rs. one lakh a year during the first two or three years in order to meet the running expenses of the laboratories.

The proposed concern will not be a purely commercial enterprise but of course would necessarily run on a profit-earning basis. The earnings of the concern will partly be earmarked for works of a missionary nature and partly for dividends and reserve funds. It has, therefore, been agreed that the first two per cent of the earnings

would go to the share-holders and any amount earned over and above the first two per cent would be equally divided between the share-holders and on works of a nature that would secure the economic interests of the Muslim community at large.

It will be the obligation of the proposed concern to encourage indigenous Muslim enterprises in different parts of India to be managed as far as possible by local talents. The local units will be directed and assisted technically and within reasonable limits financially by the proposed concern, and in return for such services rendered, the concern will claim a part of the remuneration that would be earned by way of management, allowances or commissions. It is of course intended that some of the key industries will be directly operated by this concern.

The concern will be definitely Muslim-owned and operated. Unfortunately, experience has shown that in the event of successful working of any such undertaking, the ownership gradually passes into the hands of other communities, by which the main object of the organisation gets exposed to danger. To avoid such an eventuality it is proposed that the shares should be allotted only to Muslims, and if possible, a clause in the Memorandum and Articles of Association, be inserted to the effect that the concern is principally aimed to look after and promote the commercial and industrial interests of the Muslim community at large and that this policy would be pursued in the conduct of business by the Board of Directors. However, in case such an expression involves any legal difficulty the promoters will keep the main issue in mind while framing the constitution and provide adequate safeguards within permissible limits.

The expenses of the concern would be heavy in the beginning and possibly may not be met in the first year or two from the revenues of the concern. In such an event, it is intended that some sort of arrangements will be made with prominent Muslims for meeting the deficiency so as not to unduly burden the finances of the concern in the beginning.

At [*sic*] the first instance, the issued capital of the concern is to be Rs. 50,00,000 but work will be started as soon as Rs. 20,00,000 are subscribed.

The concern will be governed by a Board of Directors consisting of prominent Muslims in trade and commerce from all parts of India and the actual business will be done by a paid managing director responsible to the Board. It is considered necessary that the post of the managing director should carry the necessary dignity and influence with it and

accordingly it has been agreed that the salary of the managing director should be upto Rs. 4,000 a month.

Difficulty is experienced in finding a suitable person to act as a managing director and your guidance and final decision in this regard would be sought.

I believe I have outlined the essential features of the scheme. The main issues which need your personal consideration, I summarise as follows:

i. Collection of sufficient capital in the first instance to launch the scheme.
ii. To nominate the first directorate.
iii. To select the managing director. This appears to be most important and most difficult part of the scheme.
iv. To exert pressure on the authorities at Delhi to sanction the registration of such a concern without delay and to give the necessary encouragement and assistance to get it established particularly in the beginning.

I am enclosing herewith[1] a preliminary draft of the Memorandum of Association which has been generally agreed upon in the meetings. I am looking into the matter of drawing up the Articles of Association and hope to have them ready at an early date.

I hope I shall be favoured with further advice and suggestions from you[2] at your earliest convenience.

In the meantime, I assure you of my best and loyal services at all times.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

M. LAIK ALI

PS. Since you have been away from Bombay, I had delayed the posting of this letter and am forwarding it under registered cover today [4 January 1944].

M. LAIK ALI

[1]Not traceable.

[2]No. 100

84

Muslim Citizens of Lahore to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 531/85

23 December 1943

Lahore Improvement Trust mercilessly acquiring and prohibiting development of large Muslim areas for Hindu industrialists and capitalists. Danger to heart of Pakistan. Pray intercession with Ministers.[1]

MUSLIM CITIZENS

For a similar request, see No. 77.

85

Mukhi Ilyas & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 877/333-5

KARACHI,
23 December 1943

Respected Sir,

With due deference and profoundest respects, we, the undersigned, on behalf of Kumbhar Jama'at (the Muslim Jama'at of potters) of Karachi, beg to offer our warmest welcome and convey our feelings of sincere jubilation on your visit to our city and take this splendid opportunity to make our earnest request for the betterment of our lot.

2. Sir, we have come and settled down in this city of Karachi since our ancestors [*sic*], and have been born and bred up [*sic*] here. Our fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers were also born and died here. In short we have been living and serving the citizens of Karachi with our pottery and allied works since generations.

3. Originally our ancestors used to reside and carry on their vocation in the locality known as Ratan Talao, from where they were subsequently shifted to the locality known as Kanda Gali, Jodia Bazar. Later on we were made to leave the said locality also and were allotted plots of land in the locality known as Old Kumbharwara, and were made to settle down there. After some years the shift took place once again when our ancestors were evicted by the Municipality from the Old Kumbharwara and [were] allotted plots of land in the locality known as New Kumbharwara. The locality known as New Kumbharwara, where we have now been living for the last about seventy or eighty years, was then a jungle and desert. Our ancestors effected improvements

therein at their own expense and labour; put up their residential houses thereon; and made the locality. The present habitable and populous condition of the New Kumbharwara is solely and exclusively due to the exertions and sacrifices of our ancestors. After we made the locality habitable, we induced people of other communities also to come and live there and gradually other people went on coming [*sic*], until now it has become a fairly well-populated locality. The locality has now become habitable enough to fetch the Municipal Corporation value of 0-4-0 (four *annas*) per square yard for the sale of a tract of land which was recently disposed of by them in the close vicinity of our habitation. It will not be an exaggeration to claim that this benefit to the Municipal Corporation is the direct result of the sacrifices and sufferings of our ancestors who had been thrown out from the proper precincts of the city to this remote and deserted corner and who had thus to lead an isolated life and bear rigours of it for countless years.

4. Sir, what is the return to us for all this contribution towards the building up of this locality? The locality does not enjoy the amenities of the city. It does not have even a school. Quite a step-motherly treatment is accorded to it. As mentioned above, the Municipality gave us plots in this locality for residence on temporary lease. At first we were charged Rs. one per annum as ground-rent per plot. Subsequently this was raised to Rs. 6-15-0. Again, since [*sic*] the last about fourteen or fifteen years house-tax has been imposed on us and each of us is made to pay a house-tax ranging from Rs. ten to Rs. twenty, more or less. The levy of a house-tax was and is a serious and unbearable strain on poor labour-class people like ourselves and we made petitions, protests, and ran from pillar to post for the abolition of the said tax. The enforcement was suspended for about five years and we illiterate and simple-minded people thought that we were exempted from it but our grief and distress knew no bounds when not only was it re-enforced but even the suspended payment of five years was thrust upon us. The only grace that the city fathers could bestow on us was to fix instalments for its payment.

5. It can easily be appreciated by your kind self that we *kumbhars* (potters) are living from hand to mouth and hardly enjoy two meals a day. Most of us are tied down with debt. The only possession we have in this wide world are our houses. The structures are ours but the land belongs to the Municipal Corporation and it is held by us on temporary lease, which means that we can be thrown out from the

land at any time. Yet on this land we have lived for the last 70 or 80 years and have paid ground rent and house-tax to the Corporation. We have made this locality habitable and populated. In return, we crave a modest indulgence, to which we are morally entitled, and this is that the temporary lease of our holdings may kindly be converted to *pukka* lease of 99 years so that we may have the consolation, assurance and satisfaction of owning a house-property—possessing a house of our own. This is our long-borne desire, and we earnestly beseech your goodself that great and philanthropic-hearted as you are, you will kindly take up our cause, wield your mighty influence and get us *pukka* leases for our temporary plots, without payment of any value which we poor people cannot afford to pay.

6. For this act of gracious benevolence, Almighty *Allah* shall bless your worthy self with His Benedictions.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most humble servants,
MUKHI ILYAS & THREE OTHERS
Kachhi Kumbhar Jama'at

86

K. V. Abdul Azeez to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/36-7

ENGINEERING COLLEGE HOSTEL,
GUINDY, SAIDAPET,
MADRAS,
23 December 1943

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

On your birthday, I, on behalf of the Moplah students of the Engineering College, wish you a long life.

It is not necessary here to recapitulate all your services to the Muslim nation. They are too numerous and well-known to require any mention. At a time when the Indian Muslims were disorganised and had gone into a deep slumber, it was you who came as their saviour, and by your inspiring leadership stirred them from their lethargy, rallied them under a single flag, gave them a common platform to voice

their grievances, and showed them a goal. Now the whole Muslim nation, guided by you, is marching towards that goal, which they are determined to achieve at any cost. The Muslim nation as a whole is praying to Almighty to give you a long life and the strength to lead her so that she may attain her cherished goal under your very leadership.

Respected leader, we Moplahs are very eager to see you in person at least once. Most of us were disappointed in 1941 when we expected you to be present at the Malabar District Muslim League Conference held at Palghat, and for which you were not able to come due to your indisposition. Is it too much on our part to expect from you an assurance that you would visit Malabar in the near future? Moplahs enjoy a prominent place among the Indian Muslims. I, on behalf of them, extend to you a hearty invitation to visit Malabar and entreat you to send us a favourable reply.[1] May God give us an opportunity to meet you.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, I know that you are taking keen interest in the affairs of Muslim students. Will you please give us the benefit of your advice as to how the Muslim students can best serve their nation at this juncture. Moplahs are not having a single Muslim League daily [news]paper. Can the educated Moplahs in any way make up for the non-existence of a Muslim daily?

At present, all the eyes are turned on to the presidential address you are going to deliver at the forthcoming session of the All India Muslim League at Karachi. We are confident that you would give us the right lead as you did on former occasions. We, the Moplah students of the Engineering College, stand by the three slogans that you gave us during the Nagpur session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation: Faith, Unity, Discipline. We are ready to do, at your command, anything in our power in our struggle for free existence. We pray to God to give us the strength for the same.

We once more raise our hands in prayer to the Almighty to give our leader many more years to serve us in his unselfish and untiring way.

May God bless you!

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL AZEEZ
for the Moplah students of the
Engineering College

No. 95.

87

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 215/63-5

LAHORE,
24 December 1943

Regret unavoidable absence. May this session under your inspiring guidance forge irresistible sanctions for achievement Pakistan. Miracle of unprecedented Muslim solidarity wrought by you shall go in vain unless implemented by bold action. To break bureaucratic domination and agony present stalemate demands fresh elections.

MALIK BARKAT ALI

88

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 334/5

CAMP KARACHI,
25 December 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had hoped that I would be able to stay at Karachi till the end of the League session; but I have just received intimation that my son, who had been operated upon for appendicitis some time back and was doing well when I left Lahore, is running temperature again. In the changed circumstances, I am trying to catch the Lahore Mail today in a hurry and am, therefore, unable to pay my respects to you before departure.

Wishing you many happy returns of your birthday,

Yours sincerely,
KHIZAR HAYAT

89

Haji Ibrahim & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 877/341-4

KARACHI,
25 December 1943

Sir,

We beg to hereby convey to you our happy greetings on the occasion of your birthday and wish you to live long for many years to come and may God give you sufficient strength to serve Islam and Pakistan upto your last breath. *Aameen.*

2. Besides, we feel great pleasure to have your goodself amidst us on the occasion of the celebration of All India Muslim League sessions held this year in our province in the capacity of a venerable President and true guide. May God crown your aims and objects with every success. *Aameen.*

3. We beg to introduce ourselves to your honour as under:

i. That we approach you on behalf of four lakhs of Muslim fishermen, residing in Karachi and on the Sind sea-coastline, and on the bank of River Indus solely depending on fishing business.

ii. That as history speaks, our forefathers were responsible to give birth [*sic*] to this port of Karachi which is today considered a splendid city in India and is the nearest east gate of the world. The city has acquired its high name and fame throughout the whole world but its original inhabitants are today seen in their ruins [*sic*]. None have ever taken our care [*sic*] to improve our economic conditions nor does anybody take care to know us and protect our interests.

iii. That we were given hopes that after the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency we will be benefited but, alas, nearly eight years have passed after the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency, our case has remained the same and our interests unprotected.

iv. That our only demand was to get free salt for our fish-curing and preserving purposes, free of any Govt. duty.

v. That Karachi is the first class fishing port in India, thousand of tons of dry and salted fish is being exported every year to

Ceylon and other places in the world. In this respect, in the year 1937 we waited upon late Sir Haji Abdoola Haroon, the then Central M.L.A.—may the peace of God be upon him—with a request to move the Central Government for exemption of payment of duty on salt used for fish-curing and preserving purposes. This gentleman pushed our cause in the Central Assembly with the result that in the year 1939, Govt. of India were pleased to sanction a Coloured Industrial Salt Scheme for the Province of Sind whereby each and every bona fide fisherman and fish-curer should get duty-free salt. By this Scheme our condition was improved to a certain extent and the fish industry grew prosperous every year and the condition of poor fishermen also seemed better. But suddenly in the year 1942, the Govt. placed certain restrictions on the working of the said Scheme whereby one-third of the fishermen were seriously affected and they did not get the duty-free coloured salt for fish-curing and preserving purposes. The rules were interpreted and defined in such a way whereby only the owner of the boat or the *tindal* could get the salt and none else. By this, the rate of fresh fish in the market came down considerably and the poor fisherman was made to undergo a heavy loss as he had now to pay Rs. 5 on each bag of duty-paid salt whereas he formerly paid under the above Scheme of 1939 only Rs. 2, the cost of the coloured salt. This hardship made one-third of the fishermen unemployed and on the whole our economic position grew day after day worst. We submitted our representation to the local salt authorities, Sind Ministry and the Govt. of Sind, but to no effect and no relief of any kind was given to us. We approached the Director of Industries, Sind, but this officer instead of improving our conditions in this respect, has proposed to the Govt. for opening Government fish-curing yards, as in Bombay. And, if this is done, the condition of the poor fishermen will still get worse. The conditions of Bombay differ to a great extent than [*sic*] those in Karachi. In Bombay very little quantity of fish is caught whereas in Karachi fish is caught in abundance and as such the Govt. curing-yards would prove fatal to the Sind fish industry as the poor fisherman would not properly get his daily wage or proper price of the fish. Some 40 or 50 years ago Govt. had opened their own curing-yards at Karachi but subsequently they were closed as they proved ruinous and fatal to the fishermen.

vi. That after all we waited upon Yusuf Haroon, M.L.A. (Central), this year and this gentleman placed our above grievances in the form of a questionnaire before the Central Govt., which are still being considered by that Govt. and nothing has as yet come out of it.

vii. That, honestly speaking, the main cause of our suffering is that the local Salt Department is under the control of a Hindu officer, an *Amil,* who is a communal-minded person. Whatever good Govt. does to ameliorate the conditions of the poor fishermen, this officer comes in our way. He suggests such means and ways that the little concessions granted to us by the Govt. are being withdrawn in a short time. This officer has remained for sixteen years over [*sic*] the Salt Department and he does not personally wish to see a fisherman happy and prosperous.

4. We, therefore, request you kindly to request the Sind Ministry on our behalf to consider the following:

a. That the Sind Govt. should immediately apply Marketing Act to the fish commodity [*sic*] for the safeguard of the fishermen.

b. That the proposals of providing Govt. yards should be cancelled immediately, failing which the cause of fisherman will be seriously prejudiced and affected severely.

c. That the Scheme of 1939 of granting duty-free coloured industrial salt should be made applicable to each and every bona fide fisherman and fish-curer whereby the fisherman should be encouraged to do his business with prosperity.

d. That the Sind Govt. should control the selling price of fish (both fresh and dry-salted) as in the case of foodgrains.

e. That the Govt. should start a co-operative bank for the help of the fishermen as is done in the case of zamindars and others. About fifteen thousand tons of fish (dry and preserved) is being exported every year to other countries and about forty lakh salted fish is exported to Ceylon. The capitalist takes away the profits of our labour and if there were a co-operative bank the above profits would go to the poor fishermen.

5. The above are our grievances which we place before your goodself for immediate remedy.

Thanking you in anticipation,

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
HAJI IBRAHIM
President of Fishing Community
& Seven Others

90

Inam Habibullah[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 584/212

11 MALL ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
26 December 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have got a balance of Rs. 100 in hand which I could not remit on account of my ill health. I have intended to take it with me to Karachi to present the same to you personally. I understand that the last date for payment to the Bengal Relief Fund is 30th instant. I shall feel much obliged if you will kindly let me know where I should send this money if the banks are now closed and your address after the Karachi Session is not known to me.

I have to face a very grave misfortune in being prevented from attending the Karachi Session of the League. I am not yet quite well and my husband is also down with cold and cough and is confined to the house.

With our united and respectful regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
[MRS.] INAM HABIBULLAH

[1]Member, Women's Sub-Committee, AIML. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 176.

91

Zulfikar Ali Khan & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 828/116-7

HAROONABAD, KARACHI,
26 December 1943

Quaid-i-Azam,

We the following Councillors of the All India Muslim League from Punjab request the favour of your very kindly giving us some time for

waiting on you in connection with the appointment of dates for the conference of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League which has been decided by the Provincial Muslim League to be held at Sialkot; and which the organisers of the conference propose holding during the last week of February 1944. The President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Nawab of Mamdot, will lead our deputation. We hope you will be kind enough to give us some time as we as well as the Muslim public of the Punjab are most keen that you will most kindly grace the occasion with your presence.

Yours most obediently,
ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN
NAWAB IFTIKHAR HUSAIN [MAMDOT]
MLA
President, Punjab P[rovincial] M[uslim] L[eague]
SH. KARAMAT ALI
MLA
NAZEER AHMAD MAHMOOD
Advocate
SIRDAR KHAN SHERWANI

PS. The reply to this letter may kindly be addressed to our President, the Nawab of Mamdot.

92

Mohammad Din & Ikram Qamar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 877/352-3

HOSHIARPUR, PUNJAB,
29 December 1943

Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With due respect, we humbly draw your attention to the following:

i. During the elections of the City Muslim League, Hoshiarpur (Punjab) it was revealed by Sh. Abdur Rafi, a two-*anna* member of the said City League, that there existed a Dist. League in Hoshiarpur, whose President he himself is;

ii. On going into the details of this alleged [*sic*] District League it was found that there did not exist any Primary League in the

district, *ipso facto* there was no representative of any Primary League on the Dist. League Council;

iii. Sh. Abdur Rafi and Sh. Mohammad Ghias, President and Secretary respectively of this so-called Dist. League are two-*anna* members of the City League Hoshiarpur, but they were never elected by the City League to represent it on the Dist. League;

iv. So petitions were filed by the members of the City League (including us) with the Punjab League to disaffiliate this so-called Dist. League as it represented neither any Primary League of the district, nor the City League;

v. We were called by the Punjab League to appear before Nawab Sahib of Mamdot at Lahore on September 12, 1943;

vi. We put our case before Nawab Sahib, and he was convinced by our arguments and by the facts laid before him by us;

vii. But the so-called office-bearers of the disputed League did not turn up in spite of the intimation of the Provincial League and neither did they reply to this intimation;

viii. In these circumstances, according to every legal code of the world, the decision must have been given *ex-parte*, and our petitions must have been accepted;

ix. But Nawab Sahib informed us that a tribunal will hear our petition at Jullundur, and he told us that Sh. Zafar Hussain was also a member of this tribunal;

x. Sh. Zafar Hussain is a resident of Hoshiarpur City and is a very near relative of the aforesaid Sh. Abdur Rafi;

xi. Further, during the hearing of our petitions by Nawab Sahib, it was found that the alleged election of this Dist. League was reported to be held under the presidentship of Sh. Zafar Hussain;

xii. Besides, a younger brother of Zafar Hussain is alleged to have been sent to the Provincial Council by the disputed League;

xiii. On these grounds, we asked Nawab Sahib not to include Zafar Hussain in the tribunal to hear our petitions;

xiv. At the end of October, Zafar Hussain came over to Hoshiarpur and he openly said that the petitions against the Dist. League would not be accepted;

xv. So, in the beginning of Nov. 1943, an application was sent to Nawab Sahib not to send Zafar Hussain to the tribunal as he was a party to the alleged election and had given his opinion

before hearing the case;

xvi. But, to our disappointment, Zafar Hussain was sent to the tribunal to hear our petitions at Jullundur Cant. on Nov. 7. Thus the person responsible for this injustice was appointed to judge it.

So, our petitions were rejected by majority decision on the grounds that no member of the City League can challenge the election of the Dist. League.

Now, we have come to you with the request to intervene in the matter, as this decision will give way to establishing unrepresentative Dist. League; and as there would be no Primary League in the district, not a single member of the City League would challenge its validity. Or in other words, any member of the City League can make a Dist. League, even without being authorised by the City League, but he has not the right to unmake this Dist. League.

Sir, to end the irregularities in the Punjab, and to give the Muslim League a firm footing here in the Punjab it is requested that such unconstitutionalities be dealt with a stern hand, so that no office-monger [*sic*] could dare in future to make such a foul play and be a hindrance to the cause and progress of the Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD DIN
Bar-at-Law
Municipal Commissioner
IKRAM QAMAR
M.A.
President, Dist. Muslim Students' Federation

93

Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/4-4 (6)

ISPAHANI'S TEA AGENCY,
MALL ROAD, LUCKNOW,
31 December 1943

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I meant to say goodbye to you when I was leaving Karachi; unfortunately you were out.

I think Nawabzada Sahib might have told you about the Joint Secretaryship. I

had requested him to relieve me this year and choose a better and competent man for the job. I did not request this because of any dissatisfaction or disagreement but simply because of my financial conditions. My business suffers owing to my long journeys and absence from Lucknow. Last year, I spent about two thousand [rupees] and as a matter of fact it is now very difficult for me to meet these enormous travelling expenses. I may add that I am not at all inclined to take these expenses from the League or any one else. I believe I should do public work only up to my capacity. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib and Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib appreciated my view and were intending to elect some one else this year but the election has been postponed till the next Council meeting.

I wanted to explain my difficulties personally to you[1] but my courage failed.

Now, I have decided to perform my duties till the next election. Meanwhile, I shall again consider over [*sic*] it and finally decide after taking your orders. I hope to see you at Delhi shortly. Hoping you will be alright.

With respect and *salaam*,

Yours sincerely,
JAMAL [MIAN OF FERANGI MAHAL]

See No. 105.

94

Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/27

KASHMIRI BAZAAR,
LAHORE,
31 December 1943

Dear Sir,

This is to congratulate you on the grand success of the recent Muslim League session at Karachi.[1] I was unfortunate not to attend it on account of my family circumstances, otherwise I would have had the pleasure to see you there.

You will be glad to learn that Mr. Matlub had finished his work on your biography.[2] It extends to 400 or 500 pages and appears to be a result of industrious and painstaking labour on his part. Now the MS

is awaiting Nawabzada Sahib's formal approval. I shall be grateful if you just drop a word to him to expedite and thus enable us to print it early. This work is in great demand and will serve a lot in the propagation of the Muslim League because your life and the Muslim League go hand in hand.

May I take the liberty to recall my interview with you on the occasion of previous Muslim League session in Delhi.[3] There, you were generous to promise me to favour with some of your photographs from your album, when you would be at Bombay. During such a long interval of time I abstained to remind you because I had not the need of them then. Now it is opportune time to request you for those photos to be included in your biography. These photographs should be the best and should depict various remarkable stages of your life. We want to give novel pictures which have not so far caught the eye of the general reader. I assure you that those photographs will be returned to you in original without any sort of careless handling or anything of that sort. We will just take out a negative for the blocks and return them to you immediately.

I was overjoyed to learn that you have [a] mind to come over to Lahore in the very near future. Though it will be too early to request you but knowing that you will be awfully busy over here, I take the courage to get some time for tea. It will be my greatest honour if you accept my invitation for tea on any afternoon during your stay here in Lahore.[4] I hope that you will not disappoint me.

The sale of *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*[5] and that your *Speeches*[6] is going on smoothly.

Wishing you a happy New Year,

I remain,
Yours truly,
S. MUH[AMMA]D ASHRAF

[1]Held on 24-26 December 1943
See Matlub-ul-Hasan Sayid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study*, Lahore, 1945
[3]Held on 24-26 April 1943.
[4]Jinnah attended the tea party given by Sh. M. Ashraf at Falleti's on 2 April 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 451.
[5]Carrying a foreword by M. A. Jinnah; published in Lahore, 1942.
[6]Jamilud Din Ahmad, *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, 1943

95

M. A. Jinnah to K. V. Abdul Azeez

SHC, Madras I/38

KARACHI,
2 January 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd December 1943,[1] and I am very glad to learn that you are up and doing and I wish you every success in your efforts to organise our people and work for their uplift socially, educationally, economically and politically.

I thank you for your very cordial invitation to me to visit Malabar. Yes, in 1941, I was as much disappointed that, owing to my health breaking down, I was not able to visit many parts of the Madras Presidency, especially Malabar. You know how difficult it is for me to go on touring owing to enormous pressure of work and, therefore, it is not possible for me to make any commitment which I may not be able to fulfil, but let me assure you that I shall come to Malabar at the first opportunity I can get. In the meantime, I wish my Moplah friends, who undoubtedly occupy a very prominent place amongst the Musalmans of India, every success.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Azeez, Esq.,
Engineering College Hostel,
Guindy, Saidapet, Madras

[1] No. 86.

96

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab M. Ismail Khan

SHC, UP IV/6

KARACHI,
3 January 1944

Dear Nawab Ismail Khan,

Many thanks for your sending me present of silk-woven rose

my birthday. It was really very kind of you to think of me and I appreciate it very much. I also read the enclosed poem[1] by Meher Bano Begum Saadullah Khan Meerathi and I see that Pakistan has gone deep into the hearts of Muslim India.

Hoping you are well [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan,
Mustafa Castle,
Meerut, U.P.

[1]Not traceable.

97

Nabibux Pirbux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 583/4

BIJAPUR,
5 January 1944

Sir,

I gratefully acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter dated the 17th instant[1] [*sic*] along with two cheques for the sums of Rs. 100 and Rs. 170 total to [*sic*] Rs. 270 only and I have also sent receipts to the donors, as desired.

The report about the work of the Committee up to the 22nd instant [*sic*] has already been forwarded in duplicate to Seth Haji Hasham Ismail, Convener, Sub-Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Civil Defence Committee, Bombay.

With best respects,

Yours obediently,
NABIBUX PIRBUX
Chairman,
Bijapur Muslim Relief Committee

[1]See F. 584/204, *QAP*. Not printed.

98

Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/243

DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
5 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have the honour to send you herewith a progressive statement of accounts for the period October to December 1943, for your perusal and record.

I propose to wind up the office of the Central Civil Defence Committee[1] appointed by you by the end of this month. The final statement of accounts for the whole period will be submitted by next month.

I shall be obliged if you will let me know to whom I am to hand over the account books and other records and files of the Civil Defence Committee.

The balance standing to the credit of my account is Rs. 3,892-14-0 in the bank as shown in the statement of accounts. Probably something like Rs. 500 will be required to settle up [*sic*] the final account including the salaries of the existing staff and office expenses.

May I also know whether the remaining amount may be utilized for paying the travelling bills of the members of the Committee of Action, or am I to send a cheque to you for the balance standing in the bank.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN

The letter was typed on the letterhead of Civil Defence Committee bearing the names of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan as Chairman, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman and Qazi Mohammad Isa as Members, and Syed Zakir Ali as Secretary.

Enclosure to No. 98

F. 761/244

Progressive Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Civil Defence Committee of the AIML for the period 1st October to 31st December 1943

Receipts		Disbursements			
Heads of Income	Amount	Heads of Expenditure	Amount from April 42 to Sept. 43 vide previous statement	Amount from October to Dec ember 1943	Progressive total from April 1942 to 31st Dec. 43

Deposited by the President		Travelling	13633-00-00	1147-03-06	14780-03-06
of AIML in the Imperial		Postage	162-00-00	19-00-00	181-00-00
Bank to the credit of the		Telegraph	116-07-00	3-13-00	120-04-00
Chairman, Civil Defence		Stationery	125-01-06	12-10-00	137-11-06
Committee in April 1942	4996-14-00	Typing charges	234-10-09	45-00-00	279-10-09
		Miscellaneous	115-06-09	20-13-00	136-03-09
Received by cheque on 25 6 42	1000-00-00	Salary	660-00-00	450-00-00[1]	1110-00-00
-Do- on 12 11 42	2000-00-00	Furniture	21 00-00	—	21-00-00
-Do- on 14 5 43	5000-00-00	Honorarium	1543-05-03	500-00-00[2]	2043-05-03
-Do- in July 1943	5000-00-00	Total	16610-15-03	2198-07-06	18809-06-09
-Do- in November 1943	5000-00-00				
		Balance with Secretary	—	—	143-08-03
		Advance with Q M Isa	—	—	151-01-00
		Balance with the bank	—	—	3892-14-00
Grand total	22996-14-00		—	—	22996-14-00

[M. ISMAIL KHAN]
Chairman, Central Civil Defence Committee, AIML
SYED ZAKIR ALI
Secretary, Central Civil Defence Committee, AIML

[1]Includes salary of Bengal Relief Organizer for three months @ 100 p.m.
[2]Honorarium for five months from August to December 1943.

99

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/9

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
8 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On the 5th instant, under registered cover, I had sent you a letter[1] reporting the up-to-date developments for [*sic*] the establishment of an organisation for furthering Muslim interest in trade and commerce in India. I hope the letter has safely reached your hands.

I shall be in Bombay in the second week of this month to attend the Board meeting of the Associated Cement Co., and hope to reach there on 13th January'44 (noon). I shall be very grateful if you would kindly

give me an opportunity of discussing the matter with you further either on Thursday afternoon or on Friday afternoon. It is likely that Ahmed Ispahani also will come over to Bombay at about that time, but I have not heard anything definite from him yet.

Thanking you,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. LAIK ALI

[1]Not traceable. However, see No. 83.

100

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

F. 219/10

BOMBAY,
10 January 1944

Dear Mr. Laik Ali,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 22nd December 1943[1] as well as of the 8th instant[2] and I thank you for it. I shall be very pleased to see you when you are in Bombay. I note that you are reaching now on the 13th and Thursday or Friday afternoon will suit me very well indeed, say at about 6 o'clock. Please ring me up so that I do not make any other engagement on those days. I am glad to hear that Ahmed Ispahani is likely to come to Bombay and if he is here, I am sure to meet him.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali Sahib,
Begumpet,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No. 83.
[2]No. 99.

101

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 344/95-7

CONFIDENTIAL

ZARAFSHAN, LAHORE,
11 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was very sorry that I had to leave Karachi without having the opportunity of seeing you. You were so busy that I did not wish to trouble you and I had to return to Lahore as there was urgent work to attend to here.

I feel rather awkward in writing to you about myself, but as you are the Quaid-i-Azam and my leader I have picked up courage to write to you. I do not wish to say too much about my work that I am doing for the League cause, sometimes under adverse circumstances, for the last four years. You know of the sincerity, devotion and honesty with which I am working to the best of my ability under your leadership and I have been heartened by the words of appreciation that you have spoken to me occasionally. You know that my services are always at your disposal. I look up to you for your kind encouragement and appreciation of my work that I have done up-till now under your leadership. I would wish to be more useful to you and the League if an opportunity is given to me. You will soon be nominating your Working Committee and I believe other committees are being formed in connection with the widening of the work of the All India Muslim League. I place myself at your disposal if you consider me deserving or fit for any work you may be pleased to entrust to me.

I shall feel grateful for your kind support and encouragement. I will feel honoured to work under your guidance and it will be a source of inspiration to me always in my work.

Again apologising for the trouble,

Yours sincerely,
NAWABZADA RASHID ALI KHAN

102

Beverley Nichols to M. A. Jinnah

F. 785/98

C/O LIEUTENANT RUTTERFORD,
BEHISTAN, COLABA,
BOMBAY,
11 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you the copy of the interview[1] you kindly granted me and trust that it meets with your approval. Please do not hesitate to cut it or amend it as you think fit; I believe, however, that it is a reasonably accurate reflection of our talk.

Perhaps, you would be good enough to return it to me when you have approved it.

I should like to take this opportunity of suggesting—in all modesty—that perhaps I might be of some service to you, in the future, in giving publicity to the Muslim viewpoint. I feel very strongly the justice and necessity of Pakistan and, usually, when I really want to "put something across", I can do it. I merely threw out [*sic*] the idea in case you ever feel you need a British mouthpiece. It is a suggestion, needless to say, that carries no obligations on either side and is merely made in a spirit of friendship!

Sincerely,
BEVERLEY NICHOLS

The recorded interview, as approved by Jinnah, is enclosed.

Enclosure to No. 102

F. 785/99-104

INTERVIEW GIVEN BY M. A. JINNAH TO BEVERLEY NICHOLS

[BOMBAY,
18 December 1943]

Self: The most common accusation of your critics is that you have not defined Pakistan with sufficient precision—that there are many details of defence, economics, minorities, etc., which you have left deliberately vague. Do you think that is a just criticism?

Jinnah: It is neither just nor intelligent, particularly if it is made by an Englishman with any knowledge of his own history. When Ireland was separated from Britain, the document embodying the terms of separation was approximately ten lines. Ten lines of print to settle a dispute of incredible complexity which had poisoned British politics for centuries! All the details were left to the future—and the future is often an admirable arbitrator. Well, I have already given the world a good deal more than ten lines to indicate the principles and practice of Pakistan, but it is beyond the power of any man to provide, in advance, a blue-print in which every detail is settled. Besides, Indian history proves that such a blue-print is totally unnecessary. Where was the blue-print when the question of Burma's separation was decided at the Round Table Conference? Where was the blue-print when Sind was separated from Bombay? The answer, of course, is "nowhere". It didn't exist. It didn't need to exist. The vital point was that the principle of separation was accepted; the rest followed automatically.

Self: How would you describe the "vital principle" of Pakistan?

Jinnah: In five words. The Muslims are a nation. If you grant that, and if you are an honest man, you must grant the principle of Pakistan. You would have to grant it even if the obstacles were a hundred times more formidable than they actually are. Of course, if you do not grant it, then .... He shrugged his shoulders and smiled ... "then, there is an end of the matter."

Self: When you say the Muslims are a nation, are you thinking in terms of religion?

Jinnah: Partly, but by no means exclusively. You must remember that Islam is not merely a religious doctrine but a realistic and practical code of conduct. I am thinking in terms of life... of everything important in life. I am thinking in terms of our history, our heroes, our art, our architecture, our music, our laws, our jurisprudence....

Self: Please, I would like to write these things down.

Jinnah: (After a pause) In all these things our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindus. We are different beings. There is nothing in life which links us together. Our names, our clothes, our foods—they are all different; our economic life, our educational ideas, our treatment of women, our attitude to animals ... we challenge each other at every point of the compass. Take one example, the eternal question of the cow. We eat the cow, the Hindus worship it. A lot of Englishmen imagine that this worship is merely a picturesque convention, an historical survival. It is nothing of the sort. Only a few days ago, in this very city, the cow question

became a matter for the police. The Hindus were thrown into the greatest agitation because cows were being killed in public. But the cow question is only one of a thousand. (A pause) What have you written down?

Self: I have only written "The Muslims are a nation."

Jinnah: And do you believe it?

Self: I do.

Jinnah: (With a smile) What other questions have you got there?

Self: The first is economic. Are the Muslims likely to be richer or poorer under Pakistan? And would you set up tariffs against the rest of India?

Jinnah: I'll ask you a question for a change. Supposing you were asked which you would prefer... a rich England under Germany or a poor England free, what would your answer be?

Self: It's hardly necessary to say.

Jinnah: Quite. Well, doesn't that make your question look a little shoddy? This great ideal rises far above mere questions of personal comfort or temporary convenience. The Muslims are a tough people, lean and hardy. If Pakistan means that they will have to be a little tougher, they will not complain. But why should it mean that? What conceivable reason is there to suppose that the gift of nationality is going to be an economic liability? A sovereign nation of a hundred million people—even if they are not immediately self-supporting and even if they are industrially backward—is hardly likely to be in a worse economic position than if its members are scattered and disorganised, under the dominance of two hundred and fifty million Hindus whose one idea is to exploit them. How any European can get up and say that Pakistan is economically impossible after the Treaty of Versailles is really beyond my comprehension. The great brains who cut Europe into a ridiculous patchwork of conflicting and artificial boundaries are hardly the people to talk economics to us...particularly as our problem happens to be far simpler.

Self: And does that also apply to defence?

Jinnah: Of course, it applies to defence. Once again I will ask you a question. How is Afghanistan defended? Well? The answer is not very complicated. By the Afghans. Just that. We are a brave and united people who are prepared to work and, if necessary, fight. So how does the question of defence present any peculiar difficulties? In what way do we differ from other nations? From Iran, for example? Obviously, there will have to be a transition period. We are not asking the British to quit India overnight. The British have helped to make this gigantic

muddle, and they must help to stay and clear it up. But before they can do that, they will have to do a lot of hard thinking. And that reminds me—I have something I would like to show you.

He excused himself and left the room. I lit a cigarette and waited. And suddenly I realized that something very remarkable was happening, or rather was not happening. I was not losing my temper. Jinnah had been almost brutally critical of British policy—(though I have not quoted his remarks in the above dialogue)—but his criticism had been clear and creative. It was not merely a medley of wild words, a hotchpotch of hatred and hallucination, in the Hindu manner. It was more like a diagnosis. The difference between Jinnah and the typical Hindu politician was the difference between a surgeon and a witch doctor. Moreover, he was a surgeon you could trust, even though his verdict was harsh.

"The British must realize," he had said to me before we tackled the problem of Pakistan, "that they have not a friend in the country. Not a friend."

A Hindu politician would have said that at the top of his voice, with delight. Jinnah said it quietly, with regret.

Here he was again. In his hand he carried a book.

Jinnah: You will remember, I said a moment ago, that the British would have to do a lot of hard thinking. It is a habit they don't find very congenial; they prefer to be comfortable, to wait and see, trusting that everything will come right in the end. However, when they do take the trouble to think, they think as clearly and creatively as any people in the world. And one of their best thinkers—at least on the Indian problem—was old John Bright. Have you ever read any of his speeches?

Self: Not since I left school.

Jinnah: Well, take a look at this. I found it by chance the other day. He handed me the book. It was a faded old volume, *The Speeches of John Bright*, and the date of the page at which it was opened was June 4th, 1858. This is what the greatest orator in the House of Commons said on that occasion:

"How long does England propose to govern India? Nobody can answer that question. But be it fifty or hundred or five hundred years, does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country, with its twenty different nationalities and its twenty different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire confine? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible."

I handed back the book.

Jinnah: What Bright said then is true today....In fact, it is far more true—though, of course, the emphasis is not so much on the twenty nationalities as on the two... the Muslim and the Hindu. And why is it more true? Why hasn't time brought us together? Because the Muslims are awake ... because they've learnt, through bitter experience, the sort of treatment they may expect from the Hindu in a united India. A united India means a Hindu-dominated India. It means that and nothing else. Any other meaning you attempt to impose on it is mythical. India is a British creation... it is merely a single administrative unit governed by a bureaucracy under the sanction of the sword. That is all. It is a paper creation, it has no basis in flesh and blood.

Self: The ironical thing is that your critics say that Pakistan itself is a British creation—that it is an example of our genius for applying the principle of "divide and rule."

Jinnah: (With some heat) The man who makes such a suggestion must have a very poor opinion of British intelligence, apart from his opinion of my own integrity. The one thing which keeps the British in India is the false idea of a united India, as preached by Gandhi. A united India, I repeat, is a British creation—a myth, and a very dangerous myth, which will cause endless strife. As long as that strife exists, the British have an excuse for remaining. For once, in a way, "divide and rule" does not apply.

Self: What you want is "divide and quit"?

Jinnah: You have put it very neatly.

Self: You realise that all this will come as something of a shock to the British electorate?

Jinnah: Truth is often shocking. But why this truth in particular?

Self: Because the average, decent, liberal-minded voter, who wishes Britain to fulfil her pledges, and grant independence to India, has heard nothing but the Congress point of view. The Muslims have hardly a single spokesman in the West.

Jinnah: (Bitterly) I am well aware of that. The Hindus have organised a powerful press and Congress-Mahasabha are backed up by Hindu capitalists and industrialists with finance which we have not got.

Self: As a result, they believe that Congress is India, and since Congress never tires of repeating that India is one and indivisible, they imagine that any attempt to divide it is illiberal, reactionary and generally sinister. They seriously do believe this. I know that it is muddle-headed, but then a democracy such as ours, which has to make up its mind on an incredible number of complicated issues, usually is muddle-headed.

What they have to learn is that the only liberal course, the only generous course, the only course compatible with a sincere intention to quit India and hand over the reins of government....

Jinnah: And the only safe course, you might add, is ....

Self: Pakistan!

Jinnah: Pakistan!

103

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab M. Ismail Khan

F. 761/245

13 January 1944

Dear Nawab Ismail Khan,

I have received your letter of the 5th instant[1] and I note that you are going to wind up the Central Civil Defence Committee by the end of this month according to the resolution of the Working Committee and that you will submit to me the final statement of accounts for the whole period next month. I suggest that you should hand over the account books and files to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who is now the Convener of the Committee of Action. The balance lying to the credit of your account as the Chairman should be sent to me by your cheque and I will send you a separate cheque which would be paid to you from time to time as Chairman of the Committee of Action. It is really a question of book keeping but I think it will be more in order that the balance in your hand as the Chairman of the Civil Defence Committee should be sent to me with a complete statement of your account, and then we will open a new account with you as the Chairman of the Committee of Action. On hearing from you further, I shall attend to the matter as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan,
Chairman,
[Central] Civil Defence Committee,
Mustafa Castle,
Meerut, U.P.

·No. 98

104

Evelyn Wrench to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/46

HOTEL CECIL,
DELHI,
13 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wonder if you are going to be in Delhi[1] in the near future because I should like very much to take the opportunity of asking you to be the guest of honour at one of the informal parties that my wife and I have arranged from time to time at the Hotel Cecil to enable American and other United Nations nationals to meet outstanding figures of public life in India.

We usually invite American journalists, leading members of various American offices in Delhi, representatives of the U.S. Armed Forces, British and other foreign United Nationals, to meet our guests. The party usually takes place on Sunday evening at 7.15 p.m. and terminates at 8. 45 p.m. If the guest of honour wishes any of his remarks to be "off the record", he has only to say so. I need hardly say what a pleasure it would be, if you happen to be in Delhi during the next 6 or 7 weeks.

Believe me, with all good wishes for 1944,

Yours sincerely,
EVELYN WRENCH
Kt.

Jinnah replied that he might be in Delhi by the first week of February and would consider fixing a Sunday evening for the function. See F. 139/1, *QAP*. Not printed.

105

M. A. Jinnah to Jamal Mian

SHC, UP VI/5

BOMBAY,
14 January 1944

Dear Jamal Mian,

Many thanks for your letter[1] of the 31st ultimo; and I quite see your difficulties and let me assure you that I don't wish to place undue

burden on you. I appreciate your selfless work and services and the matter will certainly receive my very careful consideration when we meet at the time of the next Council meeting.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Maulana Jamal Mian Sahib,
c/o Ispahani's Tea Agency,
Mall Road, Lucknow

No. 93.

106

A. Lehuraux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 675/19

C/O MRS. E. PITTS,
23 E CANAL ROAD,
DEHRA DUN, U.P.,
15 January 1944

Dear Sir,

A native of India of French nationality, and sincerely interested in her future, I have ventured to sketch a political constitution for her, based on the theories of Marquis de la Tour du Pin and which he put forward for France (circa 1850 A.D.).[1] The political problem in both countries is so far similar that in both we find a multiplicity of rival parties. In India the problem is aggravated by the fact that there is no binding element of a common religion and a common tongue. Just as party Govt. on the English model has proved disastrous in France by producing political bargaining and irreconcilable divisions, it will, I fear, have the same result in India.

Might I take the liberty of submitting my paper[2] to your judgement, for the favour of perusal and criticism before I send it to *The Times*, London, for publication. I realise that I am asking for a great favour, but I trust you will concede that I do so out of no selfish motive but from a sincere desire to promote India's well-being.

I am a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress as well as *La Societe de l' Histoire de l' Inde Francaise*, Pondicherry; and I am also a delegate of the Cultural Society in Paris known as *l' Alliance Francaise* and have established a branch of

that Society in Calcutta for the spread of French culture.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,
A. LEHURAUX

[1]France (Second Republic) had a new constitution in 1852 under Napoleon III.
[2]Not traceable

107

M. A. Jinnah to Nabibux Pirbux

F. 583/23

BOMBAY,
15 January 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th instant[1] and thank you for it. I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 500, received from Haji Ebrahim Latif Charitable Trust, Bombay-3. Please acknowledge receipt and send the receipt direct to the donor. I shall feel obliged if you will send me the complete report. I am glad to hear that you have already forwarded, in duplicate, the report to Seth Haji Hasham Ismail, Convener, Sub-Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Civil Defence Committee, on the 22nd December 1943.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Nabibux Pirbux, Esq.,
Chairman,
Bijapur Muslims Relief Committee,
Bijapur

[1]No. 97.

108

M. A. Jinnah to A. Lehuraux

F. 1057/42

19 January 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant[1] and your papers

containing some proposals for the future constitution of India. I shall certainly read it with interest but it is not possible for me to express any opinion about it directly or indirectly. There are various proposals which are being considered by various people but no proposal will be acceptable to Muslim India which is not wholly in consonance with the basic principles laid down in the resolution of the All India Muslim League passed at Lahore in March 1940,[2] and which I have explained very recently in my interview[3] to A.P.[4] from Karachi. I am sending you some literature which might help to clarify your views and enable you to understand the point of view of Muslim India. I fully appreciate the spirit in which you have jotted down these proposals and you may rest assured that I am more deeply desirous to promote the well-being of peoples of India than anybody else, and I am convinced that the only solution of Indian problem is Pakistan and Hindustan.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M.A. JINNAH

A. Lehuraux, Esq.,
C/o Mrs. E. Pitts,
23 Eastern Canal Road,
Dehra Dun, U.P.

No. 106.
[2]Refers to the Lahore Resolution of 23 March 1940, which later came to be popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 366.
[4]Associated Press.

109

M. A. Jinnah to Sh. Muhammad Ashraf

SHC, P&P I/28

19 January 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st December 1943,[1] and thank you for it. I was away at Karachi and thereafter for some little time I was not able to attend to your letter. Yes, Karachi session was a great success and I am sorry you were not able to come there.

I note that Matlub has finished his work[2] and the manuscript is now with Nawabzada Sahib. I shall write to him as desired by you to expedite the manuscript.

As regards the photographs, I think Mr. Mahmood Hassan, who is now the Manager of the *Dawn*, Delhi, had prepared certain blocks some time ago and if you can get in touch with him, you might be able to secure some good photographs of mine.[3] I am sending you some by a separate parcel. As regards the latest photographs, there are so many, some taken at Lahore by Zaidi, which were very good, and some were taken at Karachi by Sequera and some at Bombay by Udit Gopal. The address of Udit Gopal is No.1 Ranjit St., Fort, Bombay. Whereas Zaidi and Sequera are well-known and if you write to them, they will get your letters all right.

Yes, I hope to go to Lahore for a few days while I am at Delhi but when, I cannot say. I shall be in Delhi in the first week of February and of course I shall be very pleased to accept your kind invitation for tea when I decide and fix up the date of my visit to Lahore.

I am glad that the sale of letters of Iqbal and that of my speeches are going on smoothly but you never send me any of your publications—surely you might send some complimentary copies to me of your latest publications.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Sh. M. Ashraf, Esq.,
Kashmiri Bazar,
Lahore

No. 94.

[2]Matlub-ul-Hasan Saiyid, Secretary to Jinnah, who wrote *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study*, published in 1945 by Sh. Mohammad Ashraf of Lahore.

[3]Jinnah informed Ashraf on 2 2.1944, that he would bring the photos to Delhi. See *SHC*, P&P I/29. Not printed.

110

Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/133-8

KARACHI,
21 January 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I sent you fifty copies of the booklet on Baluchistan. I am sure you must have received the parcel by now. I am certain it would contain many defects but that is the best I could do with the available knowledge

and resources. You should have been in possession of the booklet at least a week earlier, but sorry the press could not deliver them any earlier. On the 14th, I had to go to Delhi for some work, reached there on the 16th, and left on the 18th by air. It was an RAF machine which brought us non-stop here in exactly four hours. On the way, I had to spend the day at Lahore. Owing to your very heavy engagements at Karachi, I could not take your precious time, but I have to place before you my views as I feel duty-bound to do so; not that you are unaware of the facts, but maybe it would serve as a further proof of your observations. I feel that at the present time we have three farce [*sic*] bodies in the Muslim politics of India—they are the States Muslim League; All India Muslim Students' Federation; and the Women's Sub-Committee. Directly we have nothing to do with the States and we should not therefore worry very much about the States League. Women too are not a very dangerous element but what is most worrying are the students. Our opponents without could not succeed in creating rifts in our ranks but now our enemies within the ranks are going to have a go at it. Thousands of students are let loose and the Federation is no better than a dead body. Everywhere our students are working hand in glove with the Communists—ridiculing our League workers and organisers everywhere. Wherever such Federation branches exist they have taken it upon themselves to mould the local League according to their own whims and ideas. According to their constitution and ours, they are not political bodies but they play with and pass most dangerous resolutions on political matters which sometimes go to the very root of damaging our cause. There is no control whatsoever over them either from the Centre or the Province. I feel if there has to be a students' federation, it should exist only under the patronage of Muslim League. Lahore, the very centre of students, is in the grip of Communists. And you know very well how enthusiastic some of these Communists are. They go on injecting poison into the minds of our young generation. We must put an end to that. Students, in my opinion, instead of holding meetings and passing resolutions, should be doing more concrete work. Why can't they join the National Guard? Why can't they work as League's preachers during their vacations? Why can't they establish first-aid centres in the villages? No, they would not do anything of the sort but they would rather hold a conference and hear some glittering words from the lips of one who can play on their sentiments and provide them with a momentary excitement. By properly organizing these students, I am confident we can double the strength of the League. I know our younger generation has the initiative for work but someone

must put them on the practical side of it. How can their parent organisation work satisfactorily when they have not even a proper all-India constitution?

As regards our own organisation, everyone believes what we have achieved during the last few years is miraculous, but the near future before us is a very difficult period. Up-till now we have been training people on the lines that they must get together to impress their opponents so that through this united strength they may [not] be overawed and yield. That stage is passed. Now we have to change the very outlook of our masses. They have to be told that they must unite both in thought and action and get ready for a fight for their ultimate goal. Before unity of action can be achieved, there must be unity of thought—a new method and a new technique has to be applied. I feel that the united Muslim nation has reached a crossroads with three roads ahead of us—either with the Congress or with the Government or fight [*sic*] both. Personally, I think the last is the only course open to us, as the Congress would rather like to be under the British Government than to give us our share. The Government is overawed by the Congress when their leaders are out, and by their shadows when they are in—to them we are nowhere, and we refuse to play this part of a [*sic*] second fiddle. We must assert ourselves. For that the whole Muslim nation must be mobilised—the nation of course means men, women and our students. I feel when we are busy doing this inside the country, outside we should pursue our propaganda and acquaint the world with our aims and objects. The more sympathisers we gain in this struggle the better it would be.

A few weeks back I had sent an airgraph to my brother in London asking him if people know anything about the League work there. Yesterday, I received a cable from him saying "League had much publicity last eighteen months. Aroused great enthusiasm but responsible spokesmen lacking to satisfy and enlighten public query". I personally feel we should take full advantage of the present time and go on hammering at them, both from within and without. Every Hindu that goes outside India, never mind under which label he travels, he propagates the cause of the Congress. The world at large should know what we want. You must have read about that by-election which took place in Australia in which the successful candidate had made India the main issue of his propaganda. This shows people are taking keen interest in our politics.

I am sure, Sir, you would say why ask me these questions—the Committee of Action can deal with these problems but these are

questions of great importance and need your personal consideration. The Committee of Action can then put your suggestions into operation.

Forgive me for taking such a valuable time of yours in placing before you what is already known to you.

We are leaving for Quetta tomorrow. On the 28th I shall be leaving for Lahore to attend the meetings of the Punjab League Tangle Committee on the 30th and 31st, and that of Committee of Action on the 2nd and 3rd February.

With best regards to you both from both of us,

Yours sincerely,
ISA

[PS.] I am herewith sending you an application[1] regarding Nawabzada Abdur Rahman Bugti's detention at Patna. In my booklet I have referred to this particular case on page 16.

I think a question can be raised in the Assembly about his release.

ISA

[1]Not traceable. In his reply to Qazi Isa, Jinnah said that he would address the matter of Bugti's detention as well as other issues. See F. 302, 139, *QAP* Not printed.

111

A. Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/2

URGENT

8 BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
23 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are bringing out a special League number of the *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, on the occasion of Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sialkot. This is to request you to please send us a message and oblige.

Yours sincerely,
A. H. NIZAMI
M. A.
Managing Editor,
THE *NAWA-I-WAQT* WEEKLY

PS. The *Nawa-i-Waqt* is not a commercial venture but was established in March 1940 for the propagation of Pakistan. All the members of the staff are honorary workers. It is the only paper in Punjab which has always upheld the banner of League in this province.

NIZAMI

112

Khizar Hayat to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (13)

22 QUEEN'S ROAD,
LAHORE,
23 January 1944

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 15th January 1944,[1] I have the honour to supply the following information asked for by you:

1. Total number of Muslim members in the Provincial Legislature—89
2. Names of members of the Party—List is attached
3. Names of the office-bearers of the Party :

Leader The Hon'ble Malik Khizar Hayat
Present Secretary Syed Amjad Ali Shah

4. A copy of the rules and regulations of the Muslim League Assembly Party of the Punjab is attached.[2]
5. Names of the Ministers, etc:

Ministers

1. The Hon'ble Malik Khizar Hayat
2. The Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye
3. The Hon'ble Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan

Parliamentary Secretaries

1. Mir Maqbool Mahmood
2. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan
3. K. B. Shaikh Faiz Muhammad, M.B.E.
4. K.B. Mian Allah Yar Khan Daultana

Parliamentary Private Secretaries

1. Syed Amjad Ali Shah, O.B.E.
2. Mian Sultan Mahmud Hotiana
3. Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan

Present Whip and Secretary
Syed Amjad Ali Shah, O.B.E.

Yours sincerely,
KHIZAR HAYAT

[1&2]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 112

NAMES OF MEMBERS

1. Sufi Abdul Hamid	(Karnal)
2. Mian Abdul Haye	(N.E. Towns)
3. Mian Abdul Rab	(Jullundur)
4. Ch. Abdul Rahim	(Shakargarh-Gurdaspur)
5. Ch. Abdul Rahim	(Gurgaon)
6. Ch. Ahmad Yar	(Gujrat)
7. Pir Akbar Ali	(Ferozepur)
8. Ch. Ali Akbar	(Gurdaspur)
9. Nawab Sir Allah Bukhsh	(Shahpur)
10. M. Allah Yar Daultana	(Multan)
11. Mian Amir-ud-Din	(Lahore)
12. S. Amjad Ali Shah	(Ferozepur)
13. Ch. Asghar Ali	(Gujrat)
14. Nawab Ashiq Husain	(Multan)
15. M. Badr Mohy-ud-Din	(Gurdaspur)
16. Rai Faiz Moh[amma]d Khan	(Hoshiarpur)
17. Sh. Faiz Moh[amma]d	(D.G. Khan)
18. Ch. Faqir Husain	(Amritsar)
19. Sub Major Farman Ali	(Rawalpindi)
20. Mian Fateh Moh[amma]d	(Gujrat)
21. Malik Fateh Sher	(Montgomery)
22. Raja Fateh Khan	(Rawalpindi)
23. Ch. Fazal Din	(Amritsar)
24. Mian Fazal Karim Bukhsh	(Muzaffargarh)
25. Raja Ghazanfar Ali	(Jhelum)
26. M. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din	(Sheikhupura)
27. K. B. Ghulam Qadir	(Mianwali)
28. Ch. Ghulam Rasul	(Sialkot)
29. Khawaja Ghulam Samad	(Eastern Towns)
30. Malik Habib Ullah	(Shahpur)
31. Khan Haibat Khan	(Multan)
32. Nawab Iftikhar Husain	(Ferozepur)
33. Ch. Jafar Ali	(Montgomery)
34. Shaikh Karamat Ali	(Sheikhupura)
35. Malik Khizar Hayat Khan	(Shahpur)
36. Mir Maqbul Mahmood	(Amritsar)
37. Pir Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah	(Attock)
38. Syed Mubarik Ali Shah	(Jhang)
39. Raja Moh[amma]d Akram	(Jhelum)

40. Dr. Moh[amma]d Alam (Rawalpindi Urban)
41. Sh. Moh[amma]d Amin (Multan-Jhang Urban)
42. Ch. Moh[amma]d Ashraf (Gujrat)
43. Sardar Moh[amma]d Azam (D.G. Khan)
44. Nawabzada Faiyaz Ali (Karnal)
45. S. Moh[amma]d Hasan Gurchani (D.G. Khan)
46. Syed Moh[amma]d Hasan Seetpur (Muzaffargarh)
47. Sardar Moh[amma]d Husain (Lahore)
48. Ch. Moh[amma]d Husain (Gujranwala)
49. Nawab Sir Jamal Khan (D.G. Khan)
50. Sardar Sir Moh[amma]d Nawaz Khan (Attock)
51. Ch. Moh[amma]d Qasim (Shahpur)
52. K. B. Moh[amma]d Saadat Ali (Lyallpur)
53. Ch. Moh[amma]d Sarfraz Khan (Sialkot)
54. Raja Moh[amma]d Sarfraz (Jhelum)
55. Ch. Shafi Ali Khan (Rohtak)
56. Ch. Moh[amma]d Yasin Khan (Gurgaon)
57. Khan Moh[amma]d Yusuf Khan (Rawalpindi)
58. K. B. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani (Muzaffargarh)
59. Sardar Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash (Lahore)
60. Captain Malik Muzaffar Khan (Mianwali)
61. Mian Mumtaz Daultana (Multan)
62. Ch. Nasir-ud-Din (Gujranwala)
63. Pir Nasir-ud-Din Shah (Lyallpur)
64. Rana Nasrullah Khan (Hoshiarpur)
65. Syed Nawazish Ali (Jhang)
66. K. B. Nur Ahmad Maneka (Montgomery)
67. K. S. Pir Muhammad (Gujrat)
68. K. B. Riasat Ali (Gujranwala)
69. Sh. Sadiq Hasan (Amritsar)
70. Major Sirdar Khan Noon (Rawalpindi landholder)
71. Rai Shahadat Khan (Lyallpur)
72. Major Shaukat Hyat Khan (Attock)
73. Khan Talib Husain (Jhang)
74. Sardar Wali Moh[amma]d Hiraj (Multan)
75. Sir Shahab-ud-Din (Sialkot)—Speaker
76. Mian Sultan Mahmud Hotiana (Montgomery)
77. K. B. Ch. Roshan Din (Sheikhupura)

Note 1. Sir Shahab-ud-Din was appointed Speaker in April 1937. Consequently he did not join the League Party in pursuance of

the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact.
2. Makhdum Moh[amma]d Hasan Seetpur never attended the Party meetings for the last three years.

113

Hussain M. Malik to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/24

7 ALBUQUERQUE ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
24 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of Mr. Saiyid's letter of the 15th instant[1] that he wrote to me on your behalf. He also sent me a letter[2] which was addressed to you by Mr. Mohamed Ismail in connection with the accounts of the reception committee of the 30th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League.

Mr. Wahiduddin and myself have been making efforts all along to get complete statements of accounts from various persons to whom amounts were paid according to the instructions of the Working Committee. They have given us tentative statements already. But we are anxious that we must have proper statements supported by receipts and vouchers before sending them to the auditors. Unfortunately, it has been difficult to get hold of all these persons. However, I am hoping to get their statements within a few days.

Of course, the treasurer has sent me his statement of accounts fully supported by receipts , vouchers, bank book, etc.

Some members of the Provincial Muslim League approached us to hand over the balance to the Provincial League. In fact they even asked us to give them a large sum of money in order to meet the expenses of the National Guard that was sent to Karachi. We, however, refused to part with the amount as we are anxious that it may be utilized for the best possible purpose. When the accounts are audited, the auditors' report will be presented to the Working Committee, who will also consider as to how the balance is to be utilized. Unfortunately, since we refused to part with the money, false and malicious propaganda

has been started against us.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HUSSAIN M. MALIK

[1&2]Not traceable.

114

Yakub Sardar & Others to R. F. Mudie
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 878/9-11

14 SHAH RAJAB ROAD,
HASTINGS,
CALCUTTA,
24 January 1944

Most respectfully sheweth,

That Your Excellency's humble memorialists are some of the Muslim residents of *Mouza* Motgah, P.S. Behra, District Darbhanga, which *Mouza* consists of about 50 Muslim houses, a great majority of whose male members are out of the district on war service or on service connected with the war. Five of the signatories to this memorial are employed as Military sepoys in Calcutta and the rest are employed as Military coolies.

That for a long time since the past Civil Disobedience Movement, the Hindus of the neighbouring *Mouzas*, Sripur, Kalwarah, Majergahi, Gauri, Saraila, Boran, Kharsan, Mujrahia, Bandah, Dassuta, Dakli, Bagauni and Pansala, led by the three Congress agitators of *Mouza* Bandah, namely Rameshawar Rai, Angat Prosad and Radharai, have constantly put pressure on the Muslim population of *Mouza* Motgah to join them in the movement but as the Muslims rejected their proposal, the Hindus have become their sworn enemies.

That the Hindus of the above thirteen *Mouzas*, led by the above three Congress agitators, have been constantly threatening and harassing the Muslim population of *Mouza* Motgah to join the Congress, to stop sacrificing cows and act accordingly [*sic*] as they direct them, failing which they say they would go on molesting them till they submit. They abuse, insult and even throw stones at your humble memorialists'

women-folk when they go to the half-dried river to draw water.

That about twenty days ago, about two thousand Hindus surrounded Your Excellency's humble memorialists' *Mouza* and threatened to loot the *Mouza,* and asked for a security of rupees one thousand to stop sacrificing cows in the *Mouza* and also giving an undertaking to submit to the orders of the Hindus. The frightened Muslim population entreated the Hindus and took time to consider the proposal and thus averted the danger for the time being.

That since then the Muslim population of that *Mouza,* who had been sacrificing cows in the *Mouza,* solely populated by Muslims alone [*sic*], from time immemorial have been passing uneasy life [lives] with women and children expecting danger at the hands of the Hindus any moment.

That some of your humble memorialists addressed a petition dated 9-12-43 to the above effect to the Officer Commanding, R.T.S.C., India, but no action seems to have been taken over it.

Your Excellency's humble memorialists, therefore, most respectfully pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to intervene at an early date and direct such action to be taken as will put a permanent stop to any further oppression being committed by the Hindus over the Muslim population of *Mouza* Motgah in future and the Muslims may be allowed to freely enjoy their rights and privileges, for which act of kindness your humble memorialists shall ever pray.

YAKUB SARDAR AND TWELVE OTHERS

PS. Unless His Excellency immediately intervenes, the Muslim population of the *Mouza* Motgah will indescribably suffer in the near future or they shall have to abandon their homestead [*sic*] altogether.

115

M. A. Jinnah to F. M. I. Quereshi

F. 1127/295

BOMBAY,
25 January 1944

Dear Mr. Quereshi,

I left Karachi on the 8th instant and today is the 25th and I have not heard anything more from you. Please let me know whether the

Sale Deed Draft is ready, as arranged at the meeting of all parties to the transaction on the 5th. I am waiting to hear from you[1] and also what progress you have made with regard to other properties about which we discussed while I was in Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

F.M.I. Quereshi, Esq.,
Land Manager and Architect,
No. 2 West View,
Preedy Street, Karachi

[1]No. 124.

116

Mushtaq Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/12-3
[*Original in Urdu*]

AFGHAN MANZIL,
MALIGAON, NASIK,
25 January 1944

Respected Sir,

We have formed a cricket team named as the Jinnah Team, which comprises Muslim young men. The passion of these young people for achieving Pakistan is thus growing by the day. Up to now, this team has won four matches. The enthusiasm of our youth at the time of their triumph would be wonderful to watch. They raise these slogans vociferously: "Long Live Jinnah Team", "Long Live Muslim League", "Long Live Quaid-i-Azam", and "We are determined to have Pakistan".

We trust your response to this letter will be hopeful and that you will enlist our assistance and cooperation in the battle for Pakistan by encouraging us at all times.

Yours,
MUSHTAQ AHMAD
Captain

117

Nizamuddeen Hyder to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/92

KAKORI,
LUCKNOW,
27 January 1944

Dear Sir,

From a perusal of your presidential address recently delivered at Karachi,[1] I understand that you are interested in economic development of the country. I have, therefore, ventured to despatch[2] separately to your address, by registered post, a copy of each of my following pamphlets. I hope they will be found of some use in the same connection.

i. Talks on Rural Development in India
ii. Financing Agricultural Development in India
iii. Food Control and its Organization

The second edition of my fourth pamphlet entitled *Agricultural Cooperation in India* is under print, and the fifth pamphlet entitled *How to Produce More Food* is also in the press. I shall send copies of these also, when available.

I may mention that the booklet on Rural Development has been very favourably reviewed in the *Indian Farming,* the one on Financing Agricultural Development in the *Statesman,* and the one on Agricultural Cooperation in the *Times of India* and in the *Dawn* dated 12th October 1943.

Yours faithfully,
NIZAMUDDEEN HYDER

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice,* III, 337-53.
[2]Jinnah thanked him for the pamphlets. See *SHC,* P&P I/93. Not printed.

118

A. F. Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/10

786[1]

BOMBAY,
27 January 1944

Dear Sir,

I hope you will receive this postcard in time; I mean before you make a public appearance tomorrow at the Anjuman-i-Islam High School. Since I am writing a postcard, I will bluntly put whatever I have to say without indulging in any beating about the bush.

You may be aware, and you made a reference to this, that the Muslim youth is being enticed away by the slogans of the communists and the socialists. You might have already read in [news]papers the programme put forward by the Radical Democratic Party, whose leader is M. N. Roy.[2] Their programme and its elucidation published by *Independent India,* from time to time, definitely will cheat the Muslim youth and try to break the solidarity of the Muslims unless, of course, either sanity and clear thinking prevails, or a clear, point-blank warning is sounded by you throughout India.

Since the audience tomorrow will be composed mainly of youth and young men [*sic*], I think you will utilize the opportunity in sounding your regret at finding the Muslim students of Bombay still sleeping and allowing the cheap propaganda of the enemies to succeed in breaking them. Just imagine, Sir, Jumnadas Mehk, Taleyar Khan and others advising some Muslim young men and asking them to do so many things, all of which were meant to break the Muslim League. I am writing this in a desperate state of mental worry at the degenerated mentality of some so-called Muslim Majlis [leaders]. I hope you will excuse me for this.

Thanking you,

Yours obediently ,
A. F. SHAIKH

[1]Stands for *Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim.*
[2]Indian radical leader; editor of the *Radical Humanist.*

119

Mohmed Sultan Wani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/441-3

22 SEA VIEW HOTEL,
OPPOSITE FRERE ROAD,
FORT, BOMBAY,
1 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already written from Srinagar to inform you that I have with me some Persian carpets, all masterpieces, uncommon in point [*sic*] of art. I would deem it an honour if you let me show to you some of only those which I think are worthwhile to bring to you.

Father tells me that you bought one rose kirman[1] from us some years back in Srinagar when I was just a student in Lucknow University. I hope you will understand [that] it is not a mere tradesman's urge in me to see you. On the contrary I make these carpets just a means of finding your access [*sic*]. I know you have already been approached by our leaders, our tin gods, who by an animal urge for power set on the move such verbal thickets [*sic*] as nationalism and National Conference, Islam, and Muslim Conference, just to exploit the imbalance [*sic*] of Muslims in Kashmir. Lies which are, as it were, in the air in Kashmir must have been conveyed to you with scrupulous technique. Is it very much to ask you to make it convenient to see me and hear me under the background of Persian art? I realise I am just a wee thing to speak to you against overwhelming odds. I should nevertheless insist on seeing you with a view to familiarizing you with the fate of Muslim youth in Kashmir.

Mr. Syed[2] may be kindly asked to respond to me when I ring up tomorrow afternoon.

With kind regards,

Yours respectfully,

MOHMED SULTAN WANI

[1]Design of a carpet.
[2]M. H. Saiyid, Secretary to M. A. Jinnah.

120

M. A. Jinnah to F. M. I. Quereshi

F. 1127/301-2

BOMBAY,
2 February 1944

Dear Mr. Quereshi,

I have received your telegram today[1] regarding the four properties. Your telegram runs as follows:

> May succeed getting four properties [Rs.] 2,22,000 plus all registration, conveyance expenses plus one per cent brokerage. If acceptable, kindly send draft [Rs.] 22,000 payable Hoshang. Also permission making agreement. Wire.

I have replied today[2] by wire which runs as follows:

> Your telegram. Close transaction. Sending draft twenty two thousand payable Mr. Hoshang. Authorise you enter agreement. Wire reply.

I am awaiting the result. I am leaving for Delhi on the 5th instant and, therefore, any further communication should be addressed to my Delhi address which is 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

I have not heard from you with regard to the draft and the deed of transfer which were arranged between all the parties on the 5th of January when I was in Karachi, about the Flagstaff property of Sir Kavasji Katrak. Please let me know what is the reason for this delay.

While I was in Karachi, I saw the Convent property at Old Clifton Road and I am inclined to go [in] for it if I can get it for a reasonable price but on condition that I get the whole plot including the Convent bungalow on it. I was told that they wanted to sell the plot, without the Convent bungalow and even then not the whole of the plot, but if a reasonable proposal were made, they might sell the whole plot. Its register No. is 1.A./11. Of course you will be able to find out the full address and if you can let me know whether we can secure the whole of the plot, and approximately for how much I am willing to consider the matter. Please do write to me and keep me informed as you know I am quite serious about the matter of purchasing property in Karachi.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

F. M. I. Quereshi, Esq.,
Land Manager & Architect,
No. 2 West View,
Preedy Street,
Karachi

[1&2]See F. 1127/303 & 305, *QAP*. Not printed.

121

M. A. Jinnah to F. M. I. Quereshi

F. 1127/307

BOMBAY,
5 February 1944

Dear Mr. Quereshi,

In continuation of my letter of the 2nd instant,[1] I am enclosing herewith a draft for Rs. 22,000 as requested by you. Please wire the result and oblige.

I am leaving for Delhi now on the 10th instant instead of the 6th, as originally fixed.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

F. M. I. Quereshi, Esq.,
Land Manager & Architect,
No. 2 West View,
Preedy Street, Karachi

[1]No. 120.

122

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/15

BEGUMPET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
5 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Abdul Basith, one of our senior officers, is proceeding to Bombay in connection with some business. I am sending a confidential envelope through him and have advised him to represent some points to you personally, if you would be kind enough to spare him a few minutes.

Mr. Basith was with me at the various Delhi meetings and has been dealing all along with the affairs of the proposed commercial concern. He will telephone to your Secretary on his arrival in Bombay on Monday, the 7th February 1944. I shall be very grateful to you if you will kindly give him a few minutes.

With kind regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
M. LAIK ALI

123

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/16-7

BEGUMPET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
6 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On 26th January 1944, I had reported[1] to you about the consent of Mr. Arifuddin to act on the Economic Planning Board of the Muslim League and of Mr. Ahmad Mirza (still to be confirmed) to act in the proposed commercial organisation in Delhi. I do not know if this letter actually reached you, so I am enclosing a copy herewith. I shall be extremely grateful to you if you will kindly advise me further in this regard. I venture to suggest that both the gentlemen should see you

and then you may finally decide. Personally, I am of the opinion that for the work in view they are both eminently suitable in their respective spheres.

Mr. Ghulam Mohammed had written to Mr. Zahid Husain at Delhi about Mr. A.G. Khan. He has received a telegram in reply from Mr. Zahid Husain that Mr. A.G. Khan is agreeable to work as managing director of the proposed concern. I had already submitted for your consideration the names of Mr. Khan and Mr. Mohamad Ali. I think from a business point of view Mr. Khan will probably do better. Of course, whatever you finally decide we shall act accordingly.

Before I left Bombay in middle of January, it was arranged that Bombay will raise the same amount of capital as Calcutta, viz. 17.5 lakh. We can count for about 7 lakh from Hyderabad. We will thus have 42 lakh on hand out of Rs. 50 lakh and I do not anticipate any difficulty for the remaining 8 lakh from the other provinces.

I believe if you now give your final orders to proceed and spare a little of your precious time to settlement of a few essential preliminaries, the scheme can be inaugurated right away.

On my part I am prepared to do all I can to get the concern established. I have been told that I would probably be asked to go to America on the Indian Trade Mission and I am anxious to see the concern established before I proceed abroad. Very likely I will be in a position in U.K. and U.S.A. to render some useful service to the concern, if it comes into existence before I leave India.

I apologize for the encroachment on your precious time and sincerely hope you will excuse me for this.

With kind regards,

I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. LAIK ALI

PS. As stated in my previous letter,[2] I am forwarding this letter through Mr. Basith. Mr. Basith has gained sufficient experience in organizing large commercial and industrial schemes. I believe he is in a position to render useful service to the proposed concern and it would be possible for us to depute him there for a year or two in the beginning.

[1]See F. 219/11, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]No. 122.

124

F. M. I. Quereshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/308-9

NO. 2 WEST VIEW,
PREEDY STREET,
KARACHI,
7 February 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have received your letters of 25th January[1] and 2nd instant[2] [with] thanks. I have also received your telegram dated 2nd instant[3] in reply to my telegram,[4] regarding the four properties.

I am very hopeful of succeeding in getting the four properties; but as I have to deal with very clever people I am moving very tactfully, and I have not yet given out your name as the likely purchaser. By about the 13th or 14th instant, I hope I will be in a position to inform you by wire regarding this matter.

Regarding the Flagstaff property, the delay was due to the fact that Mr. Dipchand was unwell and when he drafted the Deed of Conveyance and Indemnity Bond, Mr. Kotwal (Advocate of the Vendors) and Sir Kavasji Katrak wanted to see these, before the same were sent to you for approval.

The enclosed drafts of (1) Deed of Conveyance and (2) Indemnity Bond have been drafted by Mr. Dipchand and approved by Mr. Kotwal and Sir Katrak. These are now forwarded to you for your kind approval and early return.

I have further to request you kindly to send money by order and crossed cheques or drafts on any bank in Karachi as follows:

i. Rs. 1,10,000—the balance of purchase money payable to Mr. Sorab Kavasji Katrak.
ii. Rs. 1,900—about half of the stamp and registration expenses payable to Mr. Mulchand.
iii. Rs. 1,150—brokerage payable to Mr. Mulchand.

After the Deed of Conveyance is registered and the Indemnity Bond executed, I shall send you the final exact accounts.

I am starting negotiations regarding the Convent property on Old Clifton Road and will inform you as early as possible.

Trusting that this finds you in excellent health and with respects,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
F. M. I. QUERESHI

[1]No. 115.
[2]No. 120.
[3&4]See ibid., notes 1&2.

125

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/102

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
8 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I understand that you are reaching Delhi on the 11th.

I have not yet received an authentic and corrected copy of your Karachi speech[1] for inclusion in the *Speeches*. The latest edition of the *Speeches* was out a few weeks ago. I am sending you a copy of it.

I drew up a scheme for the establishment of a regular Department of Information of the All India Muslim League and submitted it to Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. I enclose a copy[2] of it for your kind perusal.

During your last visit to Delhi you promised to visit Aligarh in February. I hope you will now kindly fix some date for your visit to Aligarh which, let me assure you, is very eagerly awaited.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Refers to Jinnah's speech at the AIML session at Karachi on 24 December 1943. See Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, 448-61.
[2]Not traceable.

126

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

F. 219/18

BOMBAY,
9 February 1944

Dear Mr. Laik Ali,

I have received your letter of the 6th February 1944[1] delivered to me by Mr. Abdul Basith and I had a talk with him also. I am leaving for Delhi tomorrow and I will take up the matter as soon as I get there and then inform you how things stand, but I think your presence would be necessary if you can get away from Hyderabad for a couple of days and come to Delhi.

In case you may not have received my letter, which I think probably crossed your letter, I am sending you a copy herewith of my letter dated the 2nd of February 1944[2] in reply to your letter of the 26th of January 1944.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali Sahib,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No. 123.
[2&3]See F. 219/13&11, *QAP*, respectively. Not printed.

127

Vijaya Anand to M. A. Jinnah

F. 191/34-5

VIZIANAGRAM,
11 February 1944

Dear and esteemed friend,

I have been authorised by the Standing Committee of the Andhra Mahasabha, of which I happen to be the President, to get into touch with leaders of all the parties in the country with a view to concerting measures for the release of political prisoners, the ending of the dead-lock,. and the ushering in of a popular government.

In order to give effect to the above-said resolution, I am sure I could do no better than to address you this personal letter and request you kindly to let me have your considered views as to how best to make an approach on this most important task.

You know that no less a front-rank leader of ours and a sagacious statesman than the Right Hon'ble Mr. Jayakar[1] had something to say with regard to the procedure that had been adopted by Sir Stafford Cripps[2] in conducting individual consultations on such a momentous issue as the ending of the present deadlock. Dr. Jayakar feels, as indeed most of us do, that the best way would have been for Sir Stafford to hold collective negotiations in a spirit of give and take. This indeed would have been ideal, but alas, since then many people both in India and in England have expressed themselves unequivocally and, what is more, it is common knowledge and a fact of great significance and of far-reaching consequence that, in a recent by-election to the House of Commons, a 'Commonwealth' candidate who won against a 'Conservative' one had issued a manifesto in terms of his policy being the ending of the deadlock and the settlement of the Indian problem. His success, that followed, is clearly indicative of the fact that the manifesto had caught on and it is indeed a clear and distinct sign how the real Great Britain—the countryside which everywhere is the nerve-centre of all human activity—feels in relation to India.

You are aware that our leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi and P[andi]t Jawaharlal Nehru, are today behind the prison-bars and I have no doubt that you will agree with me that any negotiations or the making of plans for a reconstruction of Indian policy in their absence and behind their backs would be a useless and futile attempt. As the Right Hon'ble Sir [S.V.] Srinivasa Sastri,[3] that mellowed politician, scholar and statesman of ours, has recently opined, the release of political prisoners, general elections, popular rule in the provinces, and the change of personnel in the Central Government so as to reflect the renovated nationalism in the ranks of public life, these [*sic*] are the conditions that must be the *sine qua non* of a change, now, in India.

On receipt of your kind reply and with your permission, I propose approaching our veteran leader, statesman and guide, the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,[4] with a request to preside over our deliberations and guide and inspire us with his sagacious lead and unerring judgment. In the meantime, may I request you, as a veteran leader of ours and as one of India's front-rank[ing] politicians and patriots, to let me have your views as to where a meeting of this kind should be held

and when and also who should be the convener or the conveners. I need hardly say that we are passing through troublous times unprecedented in world's history, and every moment is precious. I hope and trust that you will very kindly let me have a very early reply[5] so much so that in case of your approval, which I hope you will readily accord, we could go ahead with our arrangements for the proposed meeting.

Forgive me for the bother I am putting you to; but, as it is a mandate from my Mahasabha, and as it so intimately concerns the future of every Indian, I am sure that you, in your great love of the country, will not mind it.

Yours sincerely,
VIJAYA ANAND
Kt., MLA

Dr. Mukund Ramrao Jayakar, Judge, Federal Court of India, 1937-39; Member, Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1939-41; a moderate leader.
[2]Sir Stafford Cripps, a Minister in Churchill's War Cabinet.
[3]Member, Madras Legislative Council; Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University
[4]Law Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1920-3; President, All-India Liberal Federation, 1923; leader of moderates.
[5]No. 138.

128

Hasnain Kazmi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/106

[*Original in Urdu*]

MOST URGENT

CAWNPORE,
12 February 1944

Helmsman of the ship of Islamic *Millat,*

In view of comments by some of our compatriots, all possible endeavours should be made to popularize the concept of Pakistan and towards attainment of this cherished goal. Although the question of Pakistan has gained much importance, yet a large segment of the Muslims has not been able to comprehend it adequately. To meet this situation, it has become imperative to hold frequent meetings on Pakistan to remove the prevailing misunderstandings about the establishment of Pakistan. Keeping this in view, the Cawnpore Muslim Students' Federation has decided to sponsor a Pakistan conference. Given the

compulsions of academic session, we have selected the second week of May 1944 for this purpose. As such, it has been decided to approach your honour to inaugurate the conference and ask Quaid-i-Sarhad Aurangzeb Khan to preside over it.

My Quaid-i-Azam, it is generally believed that you have never denied the request of the student community. Although Cawnpore has already been honoured by your visit when a tumultuous welcome was given to you but much time has passed since then and every Muslim child here seems eager to see his beloved and esteemed Quaid again. They will be dejected in case you express your inability to oblige us. For God sake do not disappoint them.

We are eagerly awaiting your positive response,

Your obedient servant,
HASNAIN KAZMI
Secretary,
Cawnpore Muslim Students' Federation

129

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/21-2

LAHORE,
13 February 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I take the liberty to approach and place before you an appeal from the poor Muslim cultivators of the Punjab. Sometime back my Quaid-i-Azam said that there is a Pakistani Ministry in the Punjab, but Chhotu Ram says there is a Congress Ministry. My Quaid-i-Azam cannot be wrong, yet there is some truth in what Ch. Chhotu Ram says.

Punjab is primarily an agricultural province and the prosperity of the people of this country depends, to a very great extent, on their ability to make the best use of natural resources. Five rivers of the Punjab provide the life-giving juice to soil, but this juice is controlled by the Irrigation Department. Unfortunately this Department has always remained under a non-Muslim Minister, with the result that Muslims have been rigorously excluded from it. Higher services are a monopoly of the non-Muslims and there are hardly fifteen per cent

Muslim engineers in the higher grades. The rules for recruitment to Class I [service] have been so framed that there is little likelihood of their ever attaining parity. Muslim employees of this department and the Muslim cultivators are being put to the greatest hardship. Moreover, Chaudhri Chhotu Ram has placed his right-hand man at the head of this Department and under his supervision, he is carrying [on] works and framing schemes to restrict and divert the supplies of the rivers of the Punjab to the land of the people of southern Punjab and the neighbouring provinces. Thus he is going to do a permanent harm to the interest of Pakistan and its people. If he succeeds in his efforts he will do more harm than any Congress Ministry could possibly do. As long as he is holding the command of the most vital department in the Punjab he can drive the Ministry to any evil and do irrecoverable loss [*sic*] to the interest of Pakistan. I must therefore beseech you to come to the help of the suffering millions of Muslim cultivators and avert the danger to Pakistan, by entrusting the command of the Irrigation Department to the safe hands of a competent Muslim Minister.

I beg to remain a servant of my people in the interest of Pakistan.

A MUSLIM ENGINEER OF IRRIGATION BRANCH

130

M. Gul Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/4-6
[*Original in Urdu*]

MIAN CHUNNU,
MULTAN,
14 February 1944

Janab Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am sending to you a short, if painful, letter. Ponder over it with a cool mind.

Muslims of the rural areas are not familiar with the name of the Muslim League. They have not heard your name either. On the contrary they know the Congress very well. They are well aware of the name of Gandhiji *Maharaj*. I would tell you why it is so. Even big Congress leaders take pride in visiting villages for doing propaganda

on behalf of the Congress but the Leaguers, who would not take their cars to villages, feel it an insult to visit such areas. The Congress leaders hold their big meetings in villages, but Leaguers hold even small meetings in big towns and cities. The Congressites make speeches in local languages but the Leaguers do so in English. In these circumstances why should the rural people not know the Congress and be unaware of the existence of the League.

At the Karachi session you have set up an Action Committee but I am sure they will not let you know the real conditions since, besides touring of big cities, they have not visited the villages even once. You do know well that it is the poor who make sacrifices while the rich stay put within their bungalows. Do you hope to achieve Pakistan through resolutions? If not, will the rich people offer sacrifices for its attainment. The reply is in the negative. Then why is it that you neither incline towards the poor, call them to yourself, nor try to reach them. Make your voice reach them in the Pakistani language and not in English, so that they can understand you. You can speak Urdu well. The difference was obvious from Allahabad to Delhi, and in Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] it was quite fluent. But in Karachi, you did not let Urdu come near you. I admit that people around you are English-educated. But those seated in front of you at the meetings of the League are mostly the poor who do not know English. If you really wish to reach them, you should be able to speak Urdu well. It is not something difficult. It is true that without the support of the rich, no political party can function, more so the Muslim League. The representatives of Congress, however, do get fares to attend meetings.

Now I want to make a point about the Punjab Ministry. You have made the announcement that in the Punjab, the Ministry has been formed by the Muslim League. In December 1943, I brought a serious case of anti-Muslim bias of the Superintending Engineer, Health Department, Punjab, to the notice of the Ministry through Nawab Sahib, the Provincial President. If the Ministry wanted to take action, they could have replaced the incumbent with a Muslim. Our demand was that according to the Government orders, fifty per cent of the posts of the department should go to Muslims, whereas only fourteen per cent of the posts had been given to them up to then. Far from removing the Mahasabhite Superintending Engineer, in January a Hindu SE was posted to fill a new post, even though an England-educated Muslim officer was available for it. Whatever the Hindu wants, he gets but for the Muslim every door is closed. This is the condition of your Muslim

League Ministry, which is supposed to safeguard the rights of the Muslims. As Sir Chhotu Ram is dominating the Ministry, whatever he wants is always done. If it had not been for fear that this letter may become too long, causing you inconvenience and wasting your time, I would have sent you a bundle of reports about the sufferings of the Muslims, and to show how their rights are being trampled on. Major Sardar Shaukat Hyat had become a Muslim Leaguer initially, but so many restrictions were placed on him and such a strict watch was imposed over him that it became difficult for him to work, nay, even to make a promise. Due to the 'courtesy' of the Punjab Govt., Syed Khalilur Rahman Shah, General Secretary, Provincial Muslim League, had to give up his Secretaryship. As a result of his quitting, Punjab Muslim League would suffer in that one of the best workers has left the organisation.

You had stated at the League session at Lyallpur that Muslim League does not need the Ministry, rather it is the Ministries that need the Muslim League.[1] But what is happening is just the opposite. First make the Muslim League strong, and then, to say nothing of Ministries, even Pakistan would be at your feet. Do not try to secure the Ministries. For so long as you do not organise the nation, the Ministries would not work under the Muslim League constitution and rules. Look at the Frontier Ministry; in Haripur, innocent Muslims are being arrested in large numbers, but nobody is questioning Hindus who are culprits too, since Muslims have been murdered as well. All Ministries are League Ministries only in name. Instead of rendering service to the Muslims, they are causing the greatest harm to the Muslim cause under the banner of Muslim League. In particular, if the Punjab Ministry were run by the Hindus, one would only be sorry that it was a Hindu Ministry, but it is most painful that a Muslim Ministry should be oppressing the Muslims. Neither the poor are with the League, nor are the govt. employees its supporters. Then who else is left?

I hope you would win my gratitude by forgiving my audacity in writing such a letter to you.

May I hope you will call up the Punjab Ministry to account for their anti-Muslim attitude of which the Public Health Department is an

example. I would be thankful for a reply.

Wassalaam

Yours obediently,
M. GUL MOHAMMAD
General Secretary, City Muslim League

[1]Presumably refers to Jinnah's observation during the Punjab Provincial League session at Lyallpur in November 1942 that Muslim Ministers in the Punjab could remain in office only with the League's consent See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 119-20

131

Working President, N. W. Railway Union, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/7-9

UMMAR BUILDINGS,
BRANDRETH ROAD, LAHORE,
15 February 1944

Dear Sir,

On the eve of discussion in the Central Assembly on the ensuing Railway budget, the Union begs to approach you with a hope that you will voice the following feelings of the N.W. Railway employees.

In face of a constant rise in the cost of living, the railway employees have been clamouring for increase in Dearness Allowance (D.A.) since long. The Rao Committee recommended the grant of D.A. in proportion to the cost of living index. In the Punjab, the cost of living index of October 1943 is 320 (base August 1939). On this basis, each employee of the N.W.R. is entitled to not less than Rs. 48 p.m. as D.A.

At present, in three or four cities on the whole of N.W.R., the rate of D.A. is Rs. 14, in a few others Rs. 11, and on the rest of the N.W.R. only Rs. 8 p.m. It is ridiculously meagre as compared to the rise in the cost of living. The amenities in the shape of cheap grains etc. amount to not more than Rs. 5 p.m. (it is notable that out [of] the whole list sanctioned by the Railway Board, very few articles are being supplied). The average of D.A. in cash and kind together, thus comes to about Rs. 14 at the most.

The strength of the staff on the N.W.R. is about 1,20,000. If they are given Rs. 48 p.m. each as D.A., the increase in railway expenses on this account cannot be more than Rs. 500 lakh while the net profit on the

N.W.R. for the year 1942-43 amounted to about Rs. 730 lakh, and for the year 1943-44, the figure must be more than 1,000 lakh (net profit for nine months, i.e. April 1943 to December 1943, amounting to 810 lakh). Thus the financial position of the railway is so favourable that the employees can be very easily granted this increase in D.A. and can thus be saved from starvation.

The official contention is that in view of the problems of war finance and inflation, this cannot be done. But in fact this is a perverted view of the problem.

The war cannot be fought by the jugglery of finance, neither can inflation be checked by denying D.A. to workers. The war is to be fought with war materials, which the workers are producing in workshops, and [being] transported to the front. Thus production, in fact, is the key base of defence. In the interest of successful prosecution of the war, the workers must increase production and improve transport; but for the same it is essential that their vitality must be maintained; hence they must be compensated for the rise in the cost of living.

The workers are in no way responsible for the rise in the cost of living. It is the result of the bungling of the Government of India. If countries like England could effectively control the prices of goods, and thus check the rise in the cost of living (in England the rise in the cost of living is 30%, while the rise in the wage index is 33%, thus the worker has been fully compensated), the Government of India also could do it; and in that case, the need for demanding constant increase in D.A. would have not arisen, nor would have inflation taken a serious turn.

Now that the Government has bungled, the workers must not be made to suffer for the sins of the Government.

Besides, everybody will realise that this is an absolute disregard of the established canons of public finance also. Equality of sacrifice is the cornerstone of a sound financial policy. But, here the workers are being constantly crushed economically, under the pretext of the absurd theories of inflation; while vast resources lie untapped. Of all the sections of the population of India, the worst sufferers, in this war, are the workers, and especially those employed in Govt. owned and Govt. controlled establishments; defence demands that their vitality and efficiency should not only be maintained but increased to enable them to increase production and improve and expedite transport.

Hence, from all considerations, it is desirable, practicable and necessary that this demand of the railway employees should be conceded.

This Union is already aware of the fact that you have never hesitated to advocate any just cause on the floor of the House. It is for this reason that we take the liberty of addressing this letter to you. We are sure that you will raise your voice in support of Railway employees.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Working President, NWR Union

132

M. A. Jinnah's Replies to the Questionnaire from Eveyln Wrench[1]

F. 1067/8-11

16 February 1944

With a view to making the chapter I am devoting to Mr. Jinnah in my book more human, my task would be greatly facilitated if I could have some personal information about Mr. Jinnah such as, for instance:

Q. When he was a boy, what were his chief ambitions? Had he any political thoughts in those days?

A. Went to the court with father and saw a barrister with gown and bands and enquired who this person was. On being told that he was a barrister, he immediately said "I want to become one", and in fact he did become one, and his dream of boyhood came true. He began taking interest in politics as a boy of seventeen studying in London.

Q. What public man exercised the greatest influence on his thinking?

A. Dadabhoy Naoroji.

Q. What was his favourite literature?

A. Shakespeare, Shelley, Milton, and political parliamentary speeches of British statesmen.

Q. How many years has he spent in England? And how many times has he been there?

A. As a student, five years. Four years' practice at the Privy Council. (1930 to 1935). In between, going almost every year to England and Europe for about three or four months' holidays.

Q. I think he was fifteen, or was it sixteen, when he went there as a boy. Where was he educated? Was he happy during his first years in Great Britain?

A. He was sixteen years when he first went to England as a boy. He passed his Little Go[2] in London and joined the Bar, Lincoln's Inn. During first few months he found a strange country and surroundings, not knowing a soul, and fogs and winter of London upset him a great deal, but he soon settled down and was quite happy.

Q. What were the things that he liked best when he was in England? And the things that he liked least?

A. Roast beef and apple tart, flowers and fruit. He liked fogs the least.

Q. Who is the Englishman he most admired, past or present?

A. Pitt, the Great [Younger].

Q. When was the moment when he first got the vision of Pakistan?

A. 1930.

Q. Does he subscribe to Mr. Nehru's views, as expressed to me in 1942, that the two greatest things that Great Britain has given to India is English literature and English thought?

A.. [No answer is on record.]

Q. Does he think that the emancipation of women in India will continue to develop rapidly?

A. Yes. Islam stands for the equality of women. There is abundant proof in history in that direction.

Q. When he wants to forget his office worries, what is his chief recreation?

A. Hardly any, as his profession was such that it never allowed him time for any recreation.

I hope that this will not be too much bother.

E[VEYLN] W[RENCH]

Author of *The Immortal Years, 1937-1944*, London, 1945.

A preliminary examination for admission to any of the Inns of Court, four law societies in London having the exclusive right of admitting people to the English bar. Jinnah was admitted to the bar by the Lincoln's Inn, one of the Inns of Court, in April 1896

133

Syed Hashimi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/25

ANJUMAN-I-TARAQQI-I-URDU,
1 DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
16 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you have not altogether forgotten me.

I have retired from Hyderabad [Deccan] service some years ago and am now assisting my old friend, Dr. Moulvi Abdul Haq, in his work of defending and propagating the Urdu language. I have no doubt you realise the importance of this work from your own political point of view.

We are now seriously examining the responsibility of establishing a full-fledged modern University with Urdu as its medium at some suitable place in British India. Dr. Abdul Haq wants me to see you in this connection.

I shall feel obliged if you would kindly spare a few minutes for the purpose any day convenient to you and let me know the time appointed.[1]

Yours sincerely,
SYED HASHIMI

[1]See No. 139.

134

Ahmad Shafi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/2

25 SANDA ROAD,
LAHORE,
17 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is after considerable hesitation that I have mustered enough courage to write you this letter.

Ever since that vicious attack on your life, one dreadful thought has

haunted me. Who will give us lead after you? To my mind there is imperative need of an understudy. You are the best judge of men and it may happen that your first choice may later disappoint you, in which case you need not hesitate to replace him by another. But the matter should be taken in hand at once. To devise a Committee of Action was an excellent idea but so far their performance at Lahore was disappointing. This is not the occasion to review their work but they have in a way underlined my anxiety for the future leadership of the Musalmans. Of course there are not many from whom you can pick and choose, but this paucity of good men is in itself a reason for giving a man the training which will make him a worthy successor of our Quaid-i-Azam. I need not argue on this point any longer and will close this letter with one word of personal explanation. This letter has not been written to push the personal interests of any one individual.

I remain,

Your obedient follower,
AHMAD SHAFI

PS. I hope that you will not mind this cheap advice from an obscure Musalman.

AHMAD SHAFI

135

Mahomed Ali Chaiwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/311-2

MAHOMED ALI & CO.,
SOLICITORS,
15 MILITARY SQUARE LANE, FORT,
BOMBAY,
18 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Recently there is an enquiry from two or three substantial parties for the purchase of your bungalow at Mount Pleasant Road. I have satisfied myself that they are bona fide purchasers and also shown the premises to them. Mr. Mahomedali Maniar has also got one such purchaser from Hyderabad, about whom he has had a talk with you. I have not still received a firm offer from any one of the parties although we have quoted Rs. twenty lakh to them.

The following representation has been made by us:

1. The total area is 15,300 sq. yards, out of which 6,300 sq. yards is leasehold for which annually you are paying Rs. 472-8-0 as ground rent, the rest of the land, viz. 9,000 sq. yards, is freehold. The purchaser would like to make sure whether it is so, and what kind of leasehold land the said 6,300 sq. yards is, whether it is of a perpetual leasehold tenure from the Government or of any other kind.

2. The second question would be about time of completion of sale. Usually two or three months are provided for completion of sale but as you are away I would like to know what time of completion I should provide.

3. As the seller (you) are in possession of the bungalow it is usual, according to law, that, on completion of sale, vacant possession will have to be given by you. Therefore, what provision should I agree to [to] give possession and when?

4. I understood from you that the bungalow is to be sold without furniture. If that is so, it follows that the furniture will have to be removed before completion of sale.

5. Whether any notice from Government or Municipality or any other local body has been received by you in respect of the bungalow, as it will have to be mentioned as a usual clause that no notice has been received by you up-till now.

The enquiry is made through intermediary parties who want to settle about their brokerage. Although the usual payment is two per cent in ordinary transactions, this being a big transaction, what brokerage should I agree to [to] be paid by you and also the usual practice is to provide for costs of sale half and half, including stamp and registration. You know that recently the Government of Bombay have increased the stamp and registration duty [by] fifty per cent, that is, it now comes to about seven per cent on the agreed price and half share on the part of the seller would come to about Rs. 70,000 on 20 lakh. The other costs will be nominal, about a couple of thousand rupees, and even if brokerage at one per cent is agreed to, i.e. about Rs. 20,000, the total amount that will go from the purchase price will be about Rs. one lakh on your side. So whatever price is agreed to, these deductions will have to be made, but if the price at which it is to be sold is net, the purchaser will take the above facts into calculation and offer a lesser price which would mean the same thing. Of course the broker will like to have payment from you and that amount will have to be fixed with the broker as you may suggest.

This letter is written in anticipation of getting offers from the intending purchasers in order to enable me to talk or negotiate with them on the lines which you may suggest. I have only written the

above with a view to getting your guidance[1] on the points mentioned above in my talk or conversation with the purchasers.

With best compliments,

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMED ALI CHAIWALA

[1]No. 140.

136

Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, CP & Berar II/22

BURHANPUR, C. P.,
18 February 1944

Dear. Mr. Jinnah,

I regret to inform you that the land adjoining *'Idgah* in Burhanpur is not yet transferred to the Musalmans of Burhanpur. On enquiry, I was told that the matter was pending with the Government but so far no progress seems to have been made in the matter.

I would therefore request you to do the needful in the matter and please remind the Home Secretary to ask the C. P. Government to expedite the matter.

I shall be thankful for a kind early reply to this.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ASGHAR

137

Mohamed Sharif Toosy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1107/348-51

C/O D. B. C. HIGH SCHOOL,
CHAWINDA, SIALKOT,
20 February 1944

My dearest Quaid-i-Azam,

I have read in the *Eastern Times* that you will be inaugurating the annual session of the Punjab Provincial League on March 8 at Sialkot. I am at present employed as Headmaster of a high school in the same

district where the provincial session will be held, and so I can conveniently arrange to see you. I would, however, beg to know if you have definitely decided to visit Sialkot.

The draft manuscript[1] has long since remained unattended owing to your everyday increasing engagements and activities. I do not know even if the whole of it has been typed or not. I beg to suggest that in case you come to Sialkot, the draft may be brought to be reconsidered and revised or even supplemented in regard to its concluding chapters. I am prepared to devote my fullest attention to see that the draft is finally completed.

The Viceroy's speech[2] has come as a great surprise. His reference to India being a geographical and natural unit is a contradiction in terms. Geography has so often been altered under the force of circumstances. To cite a few examples: France and Gr[eat] Britain have altered the geography of Syria by splitting it up into four independent units—Lebanon, Syria proper, Palestine and Transjordan. Again, Holland and Belgium geographically form part of Germany or France and yet they are recognised as independent States. So is the case of Norway which is a part of Scandinavia, and of Portugal which is a part of Iberian Peninsula. India itself, in spite of its being a so-called geographical unit, is politically split up into British India, Portugese India, French India and independent India comprising Nepal and Bhutan States. The island of Ceylon, which is culturally one with India and is so closely connected with it, is politically a separate unit. No country in the world can claim permanent geographical frontiers.

The examples of Canada, Scotland and England, Switzerland, U.S.A., etc., cited in Viceroy's speech do not apply to India. The people in all these countries were one by religion and culture and the racial differences, if any, merge [*sic*] into insignificance in face of the spontaneous desire on the part of their respective peoples to unite in their own common interest. The French minority in Canada, and the Scots in Great Britain, deliberately chose to merge their fate into that of the majorities as in that way alone they could best serve and safeguard their interests. Separation in their case meant loss of economic opportunities in exploiting the untapped resources of Canada and the British Empire.

I am writing a series of articles on this subject. In the meantime, I would request you to study some relevant chapters of my book on *Nationalism In Conflict*.[3] Therein I have proved by instances from British Dominions that their constitutions do not furnish parallel examples for India. I beg to close

this letter now as it may be unnecessarily prolonged.

Yours sincerely,
MOH[AME]D SHARIF TOOSY

Probably refers to *Pakistan and Muslim India*. Its second edition was published in 1946 by Home Study Circle, Bombay.

[2]In his speech in the Indian Legislative Assembly on 17 February 1944, Wavell said ".. You cannot alter geography From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit .. That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of differing cultures or religions, history provides many examples " See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 398.

[3]No. 156.

138

M. A. Jinnah to Vijaya Anand

F. 191/33

20 February 1944

Dear Sir Vijaya,

I am in receipt of your letter of February 11th[1] and thank you for it.

With regard to the release of political prisoners and the ending of the deadlock, I have already expressed my considered views more than once in my recent speeches and statements[2] that I have issued to the press, and I am unable to add anything more to what I have already said. As regards your suggestion, the kind of meeting that you propose is entirely a matter for the Hindu leaders to determine and decide. I don't think I could make any further contribution at present.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 127.

[2]Jinnah had stated that if Gandhi withdrew his threat of mass movement there was no reason why he should be detained any longer. Jinnah was also prepared to negotiate a settlement with Hindus but the political aims of their organisations were different and lacking agreement amongst themselves See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of Quaid-i-Azam*, III, 1797 & 1827.

139

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Hashimi

SHC, Delhi/26

NEW DELHI,
21 February 1944

Dear Mr. Hashimi,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th instant[1] inviting me to lunch, and to meet a few friends of yours, next Saturday, the 26th February 1944, at 1 p.m. It would give me very great pleasure to meet you and your other friends and accept your invitation with thanks.[2] You need not take the trouble of sending the car as I shall be able to manage it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Hashimi, Esq.,
Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu,
1 Daryagunj, Delhi

[1]Not traceable. However, see No. 133.
[2]On this occasion the question of establishing a University with Urdu as medium of instruction was discussed. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 390.

140

M. A. Jinnah to Mahomed Ali Chaiwala

F. 1127/313-4

NEW DELHI,
21 February 1944

Dear Mr. Chaiwala,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant[1] and thank you for it. The particulars of the bungalow are as follows:

i. The area is about 15,300 or 15,500 sq. yards. About 6,300 sq. yards is the leasehold for 999 [*sic*] years, for which the annual rent payable to Government as ground rent is Rs. 472-8-0. The rest of the land is freehold and, therefore, practically it is a freehold land.
ii. The question of completion of sale. In this case I would require

six months to make arrangements in order to be able to give possession in the event of sale.

iii. Possession to be given on completion of sale.

iv. The bungalow is to be sold without furniture but I am willing to sell the furniture for a reasonable price with the exception of [a] few things which can be arranged.

v. No notice from Government or Municipality or any other Local Body has been received by me in respect of the bungalow.

vi. Brokerage, as it being a big transaction, should not in any way exceed one per cent and I leave this matter to you to settle as to the minimum amount of brokerage but in no way should it exceed one per cent. I am willing to pay half the cost.

2. If the firm offer is given for twenty lakh, on the above basis, I authorise you to accept it.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Chaiwala, Esq.,
15 Military Square Lane, Fort,
Bombay

[1]No. 135.

141

Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, CP & Berar II/23

BURHANPUR, C.P.,
21 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The recent speech of H. E. the Viceroy[1] about the scheme of Pakistan is most disappointing and mischievous. Since the time I have read it, I feel I am very upset over the issue.

I hope you will shortly be issuing an authoritative statement[2] on the speech of the Viceroy and, if necessary, a special meeting of the League Council and the Working Committee may be convened to discuss the matter.

I take this opportunity to place [my] humble services entirely at your disposal. I am quite prepared to make any sacrifice in the cause of Pakistan and its achievement. And I feel that time has come for

some effective steps to be taken in the matter.

I wish you all success. I hope this letter reaches you safely and in time.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMED ASGHAR

[1]See No. 137, note 2.
[2]See Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 398.

142

Sheikh Niaz Ali Qadari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/10

'Alaihi Tawakkaltu wa Ilaihi Uneeb[1]

14 FEROZPUR ROAD,
22 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent a letter and a copy of my book, *A Muslim's Inner Voice*, by registered packet on the 5th instant[2] at your Bombay address, and requested for expression of opinion and help in the sale of the book. I have not yet sent the book to any Indian newspaper as I am waiting to know your views. I shall be obliged if you will very kindly favour me with a reply as early as possible.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. NIAZ ALI QADARI
Advocate, High Court

[1]"In Him I trust
And to Him I turn."
Al-Qur'an, XLII. 10.
[2]See F. 1102/2-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

143

M. A. Jinnah to Bakht Jamal Khan

F. 878/25-6

NEW DELHI,
22 February 1944

Dear Mr. Bakht Jamal Khan,

This is to inform you that I was unable to appoint you as a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League as your Provincial Muslim League had not included your name in the quota allotted to it, which they were entitled to nominate as members of the Council of the All India Muslim League. Under the rules, I cannot appoint a member of the Working Committee unless he is a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League. From this you will not gather that I do not appreciate your services that you have rendered as the President of the Provincial Muslim League of your Province and as a member of the Council and the Working Committee. I hope that whatever may be the differences amongst you in your Province, you will, I have no doubt, stand by the League, work for the League and do all you can to uphold our cause. Such differences as may have arisen will have to be now considered by the Committee of Action that I have appointed and I hope that they will soon visit your Province and see that all disputes and differences are settled justly, fairly and amicably. There should be only one watchword for us all: *Forget and Forgive*. Stand united and work for our cause, then alone we shall be in a position to achieve our goal of Pakistan.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Bakht Jamal Khan Sahib,
Village Noardeh,
Tehsil Swabi,
District Mardan, NWFP

144

Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/249

MUSTAFA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
23 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending the final accounts of the Civil Defence herewith[1] and a cheque for the balance standing in my name at the Imperial Bank as

Chairman of the Committee through Syed Zakir Ali Sahib.

The account books and files also are being made over to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, as desired by you,[2] by Syed Zakir Ali. I am keeping with myself the copies of the confidential reports I sent to you from time to time about the conditions and personalities in the various provinces.

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman, Civil Defence Committee

See F. 761/250-53, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See No. 103.

145

Resolution Passed by Gujrat District Muslim League

F. 1102/11
[*Original in Urdu*]

[GUJRAT,]
24 February 1944

The District Muslim League, Gujrat, presents the following resolution for the consideration of the Provincial Muslim League.

In order to elect the Muslim League Assembly Party leader, the following factors should be kept in view:

a. The leader should be a true representative of the people. He should be fearless and not be overawed by the imperialist power; regardless of his personal interests, he should be prepared to sacrifice all at the call of Quaid-i-Azam and carry out his orders unflinchingly.
b. In case the Muslim League Assembly Party gets a chance to form its Ministry, it should on no account sacrifice principles. While making an alliance with any other party, the national interest should be held supreme.
c. The cause of Pakistan should be pursued in the Assembly, as being done in every nook and corner of the Punjab, due to which the Muslims are now occupying seventy-five seats in the Assembly. If we get a chance to form a Ministry, the achievement of Pakistan should be the supreme consideration and all our efforts should be directed to achieving that goal.

d. Muslim League Ministers should accept minimum emoluments in view of the economic condition of the masses.
e. The Quaid-i-Azam should be requested to personally visit Punjab and settle the issues of Cabinet formation or alliance with other parties. If he is unable to do so, the General Secretary, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, may be requested to attend to these matters.
f. An urgent meeting of the members of Muslim League Council and other prominent persons should be convened in Lahore to deliberate on these important matters and ascertain the opinion of the general public.

HAKIM MUHAMMAD SARDAR
General Secretary,
District Muslim League

146

Raghunandan Saran to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/29

6 METCALFE ROAD,
KASHMIRI GATE,
DELHI,
24 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Daum, Director of Messrs General Motors (India) Ltd., Bombay, is extremely keen to meet you. At present he is engaged in making a survey of the industrial position of the country with a view to making recommendations to his principals in regard to the feasibility of manufacturing automobiles in this country. Somehow, he feels shy in establishing contact with you on his own. Hence, the need for me to approach you with a request to spare a little of your precious time[1] for a personal discussion of the subject with him at your convenience. But for my illness, I would have made this request personally to you.

Trust you are in best of health.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
NANDAN

[1]See No 150

147

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/286

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

My return was rather delayed because the Hakim in Bombay insisted on my staying on there for additional ten days. I came back two days ago via Lucknow. I have to inform you that I am better than I was when I first saw you in Bombay, but the progress that I am making is still very slow indeed. The Hakim and also Dr. Roy insist on my taking life very lightly and they demand my keeping away from worry, work and strain. I am not allowed to do serious office work with the result that I have to sit and see my elder brother carry the whole burden of work and responsibility. More than usual or expected, his hands are full.

I spoke to him on my return and conveyed your message. He feels that so long as I remain ill, it will not be possible for him to divert his attention from business which at the moment demands even more time than he is able to give to it. I see justification in his view.

He is telegraphing you today expressing sincere regret for not being able to accept your very kind invitation to join the Committee. I am afraid he cannot do otherwise so long as I remain a dead weight.

With regard to the machinery, [for *Dawn*] I have heard nothing fresh besides that the matter has been put up for early consideration and decision. I am continually pressing, and when I hear from them, I shall advise you.

Have you purchased the building in Daryaganj? I wonder if Dalmia can give the Federation of Muslim Chambers two rooms somewhere in Delhi? We are really very much pressed for office accommodation and Noorur Rahman, the Organising Secretary,

has half-killed himself in his search for a suitable place. Our present office is situated at No. 268, Mohamed Husain Road, Karol Bagh, in one of the bedrooms.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

148

M. Fazlullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/27

2 DILKHUSH MANSION,
PHATAK HABASHKHAN,
DELHI,
28 February 1944

MUSLIM DESTITUTE CHILDREN HOME

Sir,

With humble submission I beg to say that it has been my cherished dream to start a 'Home' like that of Dr. Barnardo[1] in England for the Muslim destitute children and to dedicate my life to this noble cause for my community.

[*Para 2 omitted*]

I shall feel obliged if you kindly give me a few moments for an interview to talk on this matter.

Thanking you,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
One of the humblest servants,
M. FAZLULLAH

[1] Dr John Thomas Barnardo (1845-1905) was founder and director of "Homes" for destitute children. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. III, 1967, 174.

149

Khalid Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/13

ALIGARH,
28 February 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The new ministry of Muslim University Union has taken charge of the office. We want to avail of the first opportunity to pay our homage to our respected leader and to receive guidance.

The tentative programme of your visit to Aligarh has been drawn up in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-President of the Union and the Secretary, University Muslim League, will be waiting upon you in Delhi on first of March.

We intend to reach Delhi by 11 in the morning.

I hope you will appoint some time for us on that day.

Yours respectfully,
KHALID ALI

150

Earl C. Daum to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/94

GENERAL MOTORS INDIA LIMITED,
14 E CONNAUGHT PLACE,
NEW DELHI,
29 February 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I want to thank you most sincerely for the time which you were kind enough to put at my disposal yesterday. It was especially appreciated knowing how busy you must be, and I can assure you that I found it most worthwhile and interesting.

As I promised, I am enclosing Lord Huntingdon's book *Commonsense about India*.[1] I am sure you won't agree with much of it, but at the same time I think you will find it stimulating especially coming as it does from a prominent Englishman.

Sincerely,
EARL C. DAUM

[1]While acknowledging the book, Jinnah promised to read it and also expressed his pleasure for the talk held with him. See *SHC*, P&P I/95. Not printed.

151

Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

F. 257/1-2

8 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
1 March 1944

My most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation have now finally decided to hold their annual session on the 18th and 19th of March, and they are requesting Mr. Hossain Imam to preside over it. Mr. Imam is, I understand, at Delhi, and we feel that if he knew that the session had your blessings, he would consent to honour us.

I hope that in the light of the encouragement you gave to us during our interview at Delhi, we may be assured that you will fill us with pride and joy by inaugurating our session on the 18th.[1]

The Punjab Assembly session commences on the 3rd and is due to continue till the 22nd. Your presence, whilst the Assembly is in session, will be of unbounded significance for all of us.

With deepest respect to Miss Jinnah and yourself from both me and my wife,

Yours obediently,

MUMTAZ DAULTANA

[1] Jinnah informed him that he would arrive in Lahore on 18 March and discuss the matter with him. See F. 257/3, *QAP*. Not printed.

152

S. A. Rashid Hashmi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/3

DARUL-ABBAS,
LUDHIANA,
1 March 1944

Sir,

In a meeting of the members of Anjuman-i-Talim-ul-Qur'an, Ludhiana, it was proposed and required by a majority of votes that I,

on their behalf, bring to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam that an amendment regarding legacy in Shari'at Bill is going to be placed before the House in the Central Assembly on the 2nd March 1944. I, therefore, request you very kindly to have a sympathetic attitude in the House. It is purely an Islamic law. It is our duty as a Musalman to support it anyhow.

Please make arrangement also that the Act be applied to the pending suits as well. This would be a great service to the community. I also deem it necessary to state for your kind information that in the Punjab High Court the practice is somewhat different. To our astonishment the High Court, in the following suits, gave preference and supremacy to custom over *Shari'at*:

i. 1944 P.L.R., page 39
ii. 1943 P.L.R., page 229

Kindly plead this pure Islamic cause and oblige. Thanks,

Yours faithfully,
S. A. RASHID HASHMI
Secretary,
Anjuman-i-T'alim-ul-Qur'an

153

Kavasji H. Katrak to F. M. I. Quereshi

F. 1127/319

245 STAFF LINES,
KARACHI,
1 March 1944

Dear Mr. Quereshi,

I had a phone message from Mr. Yusuf Haroon[1] that he will pay me the purchase price of the Flagstaff House on the 5th instant. 5th is a Sunday, so I shall be glad if you will arrange with Mr. Kotwal to have all the papers ready, so that the sale deed may be registered and the property transferred on Monday the 6th instant. If you let me know that everything is complete and the registration can be done on the 6th, I will arrange for the parties concerned to be at the Sub-Registrar's Office on that day. If Monday does not suit you, please let me know

the date convenient for you to have the property transferred to the name of Mr. Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
K. H. KATRAK
Kt., OBE, JP

[See No. 160.

154

S. M. Qasim Rizavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/193

SHAH CHIRAGH MOSQUE,
THE MALL,
LAHORE,
1 March 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The deputation of the P.M.S.F. which met you on the 26th February 1944 gave the Reception Committee the gist of the talk it had with you. Considering your presence essential, they have decided to postpone the session to 18th and 19th March 1944,[1] instead of 4th and 5th March.

I regret to say that it is not possible for Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung to be present at the session and we have, therefore, extended an invitation to the Hon'ble Hossain Imam Sahib to preside over the session.

I hope this adjustment in dates would suit your programme, and will enable you to be present at the session.

Awaiting an early and favourable reply.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
S. M. QASIM RIZAVI
Secretary, Reception Committee,
Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

[1]See No. 151. Jinnah inaugurated the conference. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 425-7.

155

Report by Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan & Others

F. 579/68-76

1 March 1944

This Committee was appointed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at its meeting held in Karachi on December the 23rd, 1943, to hear and decide the objections filed before it by Dr. Alam and others against the elections held on December the 5th, 1943, at Lahore by the Provincial Muslim League Council of Punjab, of its office-bearers, representatives for the Council of the All India Muslim League and delegates to the Karachi session of the All India Muslim League.... The Committee recorded the evidence of nearly twenty witnesses and heard arguments of the parties....

The elections held on December the 5th, 1943 are challenged in the petition of the objectors on the ground that the meeting of the Council convened at Lahore was illegal and unconstitutional and all the proceedings including the elections were therefore void. It is further alleged that the resolution empowering the President to nominate the Punjab representatives to the Council of the All India Muslim League was never put to the vote at the meeting and even if it was, it could not be deemed to be legal as it involved a violation of the right of individual members and was opposed to the letter and spirit of the constitution of the All India Muslim League as well as that of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. Similar objection is taken to the nomination of the delegates to the Karachi sessions.

We shall now proceed to deal with the objections in the order in which they are given in the petition of objections.

The first objection to the meeting of December the 5th is that this meeting was held outside the Mochigate at 3 p.m. while the notice sent to members was that it would be held in Barkat Ali Hall at that very time. It is true that the meeting was not held in Barkat Ali Hall but in a tent just opposite the Hall. The reason for the change of venue, if it could be called that, was that this Hall could not be secured for this meeting because it had already been lent for another meeting.... Nearly 180 members were present at this meeting and none of them presumably had any difficulty in finding their way to this meeting place except one solitary individual who came fairly late and has now come forward to depose that there was no one to point out to him the place of the meeting....

The second objection is that the agenda of the meeting was not sent

to several members and thus rule 23 of the Punjab Constitution has been infringed. Some witnesses have been produced by the objectors who have deposed to this fact. They have also filed letters from certain members in support of this, but none of them deny receiving the second notice issued by post cards. Moreover, the notice and agenda of the meeting were published in the leading newspapers of the province....

Next objection is that members were invited and allowed to take part and vote at the meeting of the Council, who had not paid their annual subscriptions within two months of December 1942 and had therefore ceased to be members of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League....

Indeed, most of the members present at the meeting were the elected representatives of their District and City Leagues. They must necessarily be two-*anna* members of some primary League in their districts and cities, otherwise they could never have been returned to the Provincial Council from their District and City Leagues. It is true that Raja Ghazanfar Ali Sahib has admitted in his evidence that he could not become a member of any primary League, but he falls in a different category. He is a member of the Provincial Legislature.... A note in the notice of the meeting issued to the members to the effect that they should pay their subscriptions at the meeting shows that the office was acting in accordance with the practice obtaining in this province for several years past. Two old members of the Provincial League have deposed that this has been the custom in past years. We recommend that this rule be so amended that all ambiguity is removed.

Another objection is that the notice and agenda of the meeting was not sent to the office-bearers of the All India Muslim League, although according to the Constitution of the All India Muslim League they were members of the Provincial Muslim League Council. The respondents concede that no such notice was issued to them, but they contend that in previous years also no such notices were sent out.... We do not think that non-issue of these notices in any way invalidates the meeting.

It has been urged in arguments that the Chairman of the meeting, Sh. Sadiq Hasan, gave rulings instead of taking votes on objections raised at the meeting and that this was constitutionally wrong and improper on his part. We are not prepared to accept the correctness of this argument, as in our opinion the Chairman alone can interpret the constitution and give rulings on points arising out of it. In our opinion the Chairman was perfectly right in deciding those objections by his rulings.

The election of the President is also challenged on two other grounds:

one is that notices calling for nominations were not sent to all the District and City Leagues and the other is that notices calling for nominations ignored the provision of rule 23 read with rule 8....

It has also been brought to our notice that no invitations to attend this meeting were sent to the members of the Central Legislature from Punjab, who according to the Constitution are ex-officio members of the Provincial Council.... The respondents reply that none of these members ever paid any subscription to the Provincial Office in the previous years and so they were not enrolled as members. As their names did not appear in the Register of Members, hence [*sic*] no notices were sent to them....

It has also been argued with some vehemence that certain non-members were present at the meeting, who participated in the proceedings, and thus this meeting became illegal and its proceedings void. Two witnesses have been produced by the objectors, who state that they voted at the meeting although they were not members nor had received any notice to attend this meeting. The objectors and respondents both agree that a point of order was raised at the meeting that some non-members were present. The Chairman thereupon called upon the non-members to separate themselves from the members and sit at a different place. Some people complied with the order of the Chairman and removed themselves to another place, but these two, knowing fully well that they were not members, continued to sit with the members and vote at the meeting....

The petitioners have urged with great earnestness and vigour that the defects stated above are of such serious nature that they would make the meeting held on December the 5th illegal and all its proceedings void. In view of our findings on these objections we are not prepared to hold that any fundamental principles or mandatory provisions of the constitution were violated which would make the meeting unconstitutional. On the contrary our view is that they merely amounted to irregularities which should be condoned, having regard to the many handicaps under which the Provincial League still labour in the various provinces for want of an efficient and well-paid staff. We hold that the elections of the office-bearers held at the meeting were perfectly valid. Another point on which great stress has been laid is that the election of members to the Council of the All India Muslim League should have taken place as contemplated by rule 11 of the Constitution of the All India Muslim League and rule 27 (b) of the Punjab Provincial League Constitution and not by nomination by the President. There is no doubt that the Constitution of the All India Muslim League requires the members to be elected by the Provincial Councils and so

does the constitution of the Punjab Provincial League....

We hold therefore that the election was not valid on this ground alone, and it is not necessary for us to go into the second question whether in fact the resolution was properly voted upon and carried by the meeting....

As regards the nomination of the delegates to the Karachi session of the All India Muslim League, we have also come to the conclusion that the delegates were not properly elected, nor was the President authorized to nominate them, and we therefore hold that the delegates were not properly nominated. In the end, our findings are that the meeting was valid and the election of office-bearers is in order, but the nomination of the members by the President to the Council of the All India Muslim League is not valid, nor the appointment of the delegates was properly made.

NAWAB MOHAMED ISMAIL KHAN
CHAUDHRY KHALIQ-UZ-ZAMAN
QAZI MOH[AMMA]D ISA
Members of the Committee
Appointed by the AIML Working Committee

156

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Sharif Toosy

F. 1102/12

1 March 1944

Dear Mr. Toosy,

Many thanks for your letter of the 20th ultimo.[1]

Yes, I have been forced to go to Sialkot and I hope to be there as I understand they are going to fix the Conference for the 31st of March 1944.

With regard to the manuscript referred to in your letter, I regret to say that I have no time even to look at it. It is impossible for me to make any progress with it at any rate at present.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohamed Sharif Toosy, Esq.,
Head Master,
D.B.C. High School,
Chawinda, Sialkot

No. 137.

157

K. A. Chishti to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/27

ARABIC COLLEGE,
DELHI,
1 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am really very sorry for not calling in time yesterday. But as I explained to you it was due to the fact that I was a member of the deputation which waited on the Hon'ble Sir Azizul Haq on behalf of the College. The members of the staff and the students of the College are grateful to you for your very kindly accepting our invitation to be the chief guest at our annual dinner on the 4th of March 1944 at 8:30 p.m.[1] We are all looking forward to your visit.

With respects and regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. A. CHISHTI
Principal

[1]See *SHC*, Students II/28. Not printed.

158

H. M. Amin-ud-Din Sehrai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/7

BHATI GATE,
LAHORE,
2 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is apparent from the latest press reports that you are inaugurating the fourth session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation to be held in the middle of March 1944, at Lahore.

Your arrival in Lahore will mark a new landmark in the renaissance and revitalization of Punjabi Musalmans. Your personality affords a bulwark against the inroads of Hindu–Brahmanical oligarchy upon the material as well as spiritual aspirations of Islam. I venture to take

the opportunity of inviting your attention to the All India Anti-Satyarath Prakash Conference, being held in Lahore on 17, 18, 19 instant under the presidentship of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. I, as Secretary of the Reception Committee of the proposed Conference, seek your favour of inaugurating this Conference. The aim of this Conference is to implement the resolution passed at the Karachi session of the All India Muslim League[1] by finding out ways and means for the proscription of the book, i.e. *Satyarath Prakash*.

The Conference will not only subscribe to the protection of the spiritual basis of our nation's existence; rather it is bound to cause fissures between [*sic*] Hindu–Sikh united front. The Conference implies immense possibilities of weakening Hindu aspirations of employing the Sikhs as a pawn in furthering their stranglehold upon the Muslims.

Your participation will not only help the cause of the community; rather it will start a new vibration of self-determination in the hearts of young workers. Besides, a legal committee to enquire into the legal aspects of this problem has been formed that will go into the details of this case. Maulvi Abdul Qadir Khan Naumani, M. A. (General Secretary, N.W.R. Muslim Employees Association), has been appointed Secretary of the Committee.

Anticipating an early reply,

Yours obediently,
H. M. AMIN-UD-DIN SEHRAI
Secretary, Reception Committee,
All India Anti-Satyarath Prakash Conference

[1]Resolution No. III demanded proscription of Swami Dayanand's book, *Satyarath Prakash*, which contained objectionable, insulting and provocative remarks against the holy Prophet (PBUH), and prosecution of the publisher. See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 470-1.

159

M. Sondhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/317

CANTONMENT BOARD,
LAHORE,
2 March 1944

TRANSFER OF RIGHTS

Dear Sir,

Reference your letter dated the 19th February 1944.[1] Under the

provision of Section 73 of the Cantonments Act, 1924, the original sale deed is necessary for the purpose of transferring the property[2] in your name in the assessment register maintained in this office. The deed in question may, therefore, kindly be sent at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,
M. SONDHI
Captain
Executive Officer

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Refers to the purchase of bungalow No. 53. See No. 65, Vol. III, 161.

160

Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/318

786 NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have sent you a telegram yesterday[1] regarding the amount for the bungalow that you have taken. I had a talk with Sir [Kavasji] Katrak yesterday[2] in presence of Mr. Quereshi. He was very much anxious to get money at once and I have told him that I will pay the amount on the 4th March 1944. I have asked my office to pay the amount and when your cheque comes, it will be credited in your account. They will send you full account from time to time.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON

[1]Not traceable, however see F. 1127/320, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See No. 153.

161

A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 773/71

PAISA AKHBAR STREET,
LAHORE,
3 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to my letter dated 16-12-1943,[1] in which I sent you a draft scheme for the progress of the *Eastern Times*,[2] I am looking forward to your visit to Lahore during this month, when I hope you will very kindly help me[3] to get on the right road for turning the *Eastern Times* into a full-fledged morning daily.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. HAMID
Managing Editor,
The Eastern Times

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Started publication in 1931.
[3]Jinnah wrote to him saying he would discuss the matter with him when he visited Lahore. See F. 1011/3, *QAP*. Not printed.

162

Fatima Begum to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/194

NAWANKOTE, MULTAN ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I understand from the press reports that you intend visiting Lahore in the very near future. Will you very kindly book one date for ladies' meeting for me?

Please let me know the date[1] you decide so that I can arrange for the Muslim ladies all over the Punjab to attend this gathering.

I have decided to give my college building and the land it stands

on, as a legal *Wakf* to the institution. This is my personally earned property and I want to *Wakf* it to the Jinnah Educational Board, now a duly registered body. I will make the announcement on this occasion in your presence.

I look forward to hearing from you a favourable reply and in the meantime wishing you a very good health, and a long, long life,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
FATIMA BEGUM
Principal,
The Jinnah College for Girls

[1]Jinnah wrote that 26 March would suit him. See F. 878/38, *QAP*. Not printed.

163

Jamil Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/15

43 MUMTAZ HOUSE,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
4 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It was two or three days past that the daily *Dawn* reported that you are coming to Aligarh to inspect the War efforts of the University. The news has been embarrassing and is liable to cause misunderstanding in the minds of those who are constantly finding fault with the policy of the League.

I, therefore, hope that you will honour me with a reply and thus set at rest the minds of the general body of students.

Sincerely yours,
JAMIL AHMED
President, Study Circle,
Muslim University Muslim League

164

Sheikh Niaz Ali Qadari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/28-9

'Alaihi Tawakkaltu wa Ilaihi Uneeb

14 FEROZEPORE ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter dated 13-2-44,[1] received by me on March 1 with your Secretary's forwarding letter dated 26-2-44, in which you are [*sic*] pleased to inform me that beyond reading the book with interest you are not in a position to do anything for me. As advised by you, I sent the gist of my letter to you and of your letter to me to Mr. Shams-ul Hassan and enquired from him if he is [*sic*] going to do anything for me.

I believe your cold reply, which does not admit of even a review or any suggestion being given, was communicated without reading the book. Since self-aggrandisement, or gathering riches, is not in my view, and I have laboured to serve Islam for the love of it, I will go on my way in spite of no help from even the so-called pillars of the Muslim League. I trust in God alone for His benevolence. I, however, see no transgression of His Commands in seeking encouragement from Muslim brethren also whether they will afford it or not.

It is reported that you will attend the annual meeting of the Provincial Muslim Students' Federation at Lahore in the current month. May I know if you can please agree to give me a few minutes interview during your stay here.

Thanking you again,

Yours sincerely,
S. NIAZ ALI QADARI
Advocate

PS. As opinion from none of the Muslim Premiers and a few other selected Leaguers has been received so far, I have today sent the book for publication and review to various newspapers, mostly Muslim for the present , in India. They were also sent by air mail to six selected papers in the USA and England on the 25th ultimo.
S. NIAZ ALI QADARI

[1]Not traceable.

165

Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/84-5

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

KASUR,
5 March 1944

Most exalted Quaid-i-Azam,

You remember that in the months of September,[1] October[2] and November,[3] I sent you several invitations for participation in the Kasur Conference, but you had no time then. Now I learn that you are soon coming to Punjab. I have many times explained to you the importance of Kasur. I believe that during your tour to Punjab, you will very kindly spare a few hours for Kasur as well . The Bombay–Bhatinda Express passes through Kasur to Lahore. You can drop in the morning at Kasur for a few hours and proceed to Lahore in the afternoon by car or train as you like; or while returning from Lahore you may come to Kasur in the morning and leave for Delhi by the Bhatinda–Bombay Express at night.

At Kasur you need not make a long speech; your mere presence is enough and a few words from you will do.

If you permit, I can come to Delhi to discuss the details with you orally.[4]

Hoping to be favoured with an early reply, and always at your command,

Yours obediently,
RABB NAVAZ KHAN
Advocate
General Secretary, Lahore Dist. Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 35.
[3]F. 579/63, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]Jinnah advised him not to come to Delhi but to see him in Lahore as he could not promise a visit to Kasur. See F. 878/30, *QAP*. Not printed.

166

Izz-ud-Din Paul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/195-6

HALL BAZAR,
AMRITSAR,
6 March 1944

Sir,

It is with gratification that we have learnt from the office of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation that you are shortly paying a visit to this province and would be reaching Lahore on or after 15th instant.

On this auspicious occasion, I, on behalf of Amritsar Muslim Students' Federation and Muslim population of this great historical city, extend you a cordial welcome and request you to favour us by paying a short visit to us.[1]

I am aware that it would be an encroach[ment] upon your most valuable and precious time but you will be fairly repaid by inspiring and infusing the spirits of the Muslims with your enlightened ideas. The day and time most convenient to you may kindly be intimated as early as possible so as to enable me to make arrangements to communicate the information to every person of our community of the impending visit of our beloved leader.

I hope you will not reject my humble request which is synchronized with the most sacred wishes of all the Muslim citizens of Amritsar.

Yours most faithfully,
IZZ-UD-DIN PAUL
President,
Amritsar Muslim Students' Federation

[1]Jinnah regretted his inability to visit Amritsar. See F. 878/37, *QAP*. Not printed.

167

M. A. Jinnah to Hasnain Kazmi

SHC, Students II/108

6 March 1944

Dear Mr. Hasnain Kazmi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th February 1944[1] and I fully

appreciate all that you say but having regard to my various commitments, it is not possible for me at present to visit Cawnpore. I, therefore, beg of you not to take the trouble of coming all the way to Delhi as I require no persuasion from anybody but I want you to appreciate that my presence at present is more necessary in other parts of India which I am going to visit and I am not unmindful for Cawnpore or U.P. *Insha Allah*, before long I may be able to come to your province also, but in the meantime you must organize yourselves and carry on the policy and programme of the League vigorously whether I can come or not to Cawnpore or your province. You also know that I have appointed a Committee of Action and they are preparing their programme and I hope that they will soon visit your province also, but in the meantime, you in your various towns and districts must go ahead in organizing the people in attending to their social, economical [*sic*] and educational uplift and generally to help the Musalmans as organised and well-disciplined people not altogether depending on the outsiders. You have my best wishes and Centre is not slow in encouraging and supporting the Musalmans everywhere in every way they can.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hasnain Kazmi, Esq.,
Secretary, Muslim Students' Federation,
Cawnpore

'See *SHC*, Students II/107. Not printed.

168

Secretary, Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/3-4

55 MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
7 March 1944

Dear Sir,

The Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, has been given to understand that you propose to visit Lahore from 15th to 31st March 1944. It is proposed by the Chamber that an address of welcome be presented to you and also a Garden Party arranged in your

honour during your stay here. The Chamber shall feel most grateful if you could so kindly agree to the two above-mentioned proposals and inform me of your decision at your earliest convenience, if possible by wire. If you agree, which we have every reason to believe you will, kindly intimate us the date and time convenient to you for the proposed function.[1]

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary,
The Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce

[1]Jinnah replied on 13 March that 24 March would suit him. See F. 878/34, *QAP*. Not printed.

169

Maratib Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/31

CAMP JHANSI,
8 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You would kindly remember my request for giving me an opportunity of having a dinner party in your honour during your visit to Lahore this month, and I shall be very grateful if you will kindly let me know the date between 20th and 25th March suiting your convenience.[1]

With kindest regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Yours sincerely,
MARATIB ALI

PS. Kindly reply at 'Ashiana', Lahore.

[1]Jinnah replied on 13 March that 21 March would suit him for the proposed dinner See F. 844/1, *QAP*. Not printed.

170

S. A. Rouf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/18

PAKISTAN ROAD,
BARPETA, KAMRUP, ASSAM,
8 March 1944

Dear brother-in-Islam,

The third annual session of the Assam Provincial Muslim League will be held on the 7th and 8th April 1944 at Barpeta Town. Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, M.L.A., of Lucknow has kindly consented to preside over the function.

I believe your kind presence will be a source of inspiration to us. I, therefore, request you to grace the occasion by your presence.

Our volunteers will be ready to receive you at the Barpeta Road Station on B.A. [Bengal-Assam] Railway.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours in Islam,
S.A. ROUF
Chairman, Reception Committee

171

M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/2

35 A FEROZEPORE ROAD,
LAHORE,
9 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was delighted to read in a recent issue of the *Dawn* that the question of sending a Muslim League delegation to foreign countries to counteract anti-Muslim propaganda is under your close examination. There can be no manner of doubt that the proposed delegation of Indian industrialists—Hindu sympathisers and supporters of the Congress—will utilise the opportunity provided by the tour to impress the Congress viewpoint on the British and the American public and run down the Muslim League. I, therefore, write these few words to pledge

my whole-hearted and active support to any measure you may consider necessary to take to counteract such propaganda.

I am glad to hear that you are paying a visit to Lahore in the middle of this month. In my last letter[1] I requested you to keep one evening free for me when you come to Lahore. I shall feel greatly honoured if you will accede to my request.[2]

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. RAFI BUTT

[1]Appendix II. 17.
[2]Jinnah wrote to say he would fix a date for the meeting after he had arrived in Lahore See F. 878/35, *QAP*. Not printed.

172

Mozaffar Ali Qizilbash to M. A. Jinnah

F. 413/1-2

NAWAB PALACE,
LAHORE,
9 March 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to the correspondence that the Lahore District League conducted with you in September[1] and October[2] last, on the subject of your kindly presiding over a Conference at Kasur, I now again venture to request you to please spare a little time for Kasur during your tour in Punjab. I understand that you are shortly coming to Lahore and will stay here for a week or so. Kasur is a big Muslim town in the heart of the *Majha* (Lahore and Amritsar Districts) where the Sikhs are most organised. We have also tried to awaken and organise the Muslims of this *'ilaqa,* established a strong network of League and fixed the League banner. The people of this *'ilaqa* are highly anxious to see you.

You may preside over one sitting only and need not deliver a long address either. Your mere presence and a few words of encouragement will do.

Kasur falls on the way from Lahore to Delhi. You can easily break journey at Kasur and attend the meeting there or, still better, you can visit Kasur during the days of your stay at Lahore. Kasur is only 33 miles from Lahore on Grand Trunk Road, and by car it is a very comfortable journey, not taking more than an hour at the most.

Kindly let me know the date and time that will suit you so that we may start making arrangements for this meeting.

I will also deem it a personal honour if you will have a meal with me and meet the workers of the Lahore District League and other Leaguers.

Yours sincerely,
MOZAFFAR ALI QIZILBASH
MLA
President, Lahore Dist. Muslim League

[1&2]See No. 165, notes 1 & 2.

173

Mohammed Sharif Uppal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/86-7

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

PAKISTAN—OUR GOAL

CHOWK JHANDA,
LAHORE,
9 March 1944

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It has been resolved by the local Refaqat (Communal Harmony) Committee to present an address of welcome to you on your forth-coming visit to Lahore. The local (primary) Muslim League also will participate in the function and will present an address.

Kindly intimate us the date and time[1] that suits your convenience and programme, as early as possible, to enable us to make the necessary arrangements. Please also state whether you would like to address a public meeting or the function may take place at a meeting of select gentry.

The love, affection and kindness you have ever shown towards the Muslim youth urges me to hope that you will kindly accede to our request, inspired by the deep-rooted love and the ever-increasing respect and reverence that we have always kept for you and the Muslim League. Moreover, we the Punjabis, the would-be sword-arm of the Pakistan State, deserve special consideration and encouragement at your kind hands.

You have awakened us from the deep slumber that took over the

nation since our downfall in India. You have inspired us to new ideals, to high aspirations and from poverty to power. You have made us the indispensable third party in the Indian politics—a solid achievement. Today we are rightly proud of our goal, our flag and our leader. Quaid-i-Azam! Muslim India salutes you in gratitude.

Long live the Quaid-i-Azam!

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMED SHARIF UPPAL
B.A.
Secretary, Refaqat Committee

Jinnah replied that it might be possible to fix a date for the meeting after his arrival in Lahore. See F. 579/88, *QAP*. Not printed.

174

Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/321

786 NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
10 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had gone to Bombay and have returned last evening.

As regards your property, the Flagstaff [House], I have to inform you that the Deed of Conveyance and the Indemnity Bond were duly executed by the vendors on the 6th instant,[1] and as per instructions of Mr. Quereshi we have issued following three cheques to the debit of your account and against an equal credit:

i.	Cheque favouring Mr. Sohrab K. Katrak	Rs. 1,10,000-0-0
ii.	Cheques favouring Mr. Moolchand Chhatamal, the broker	Rs. 1,850-0-0
		Rs. 1,150-0-0
	Total	Rs. 1,13,000-0-0

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON

[1]See No. 160.

175

A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/6

FEROZEGANJ, MAYO ROAD,
LAHORE,
10 March 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

We understand that you are shortly honouring our city with your presence and that you intend staying here for some days.

May we take this opportunity of requesting you to very kindly allow us to avail [ourselves] of this opportunity to present you [with] an address of welcome and a small purse at a special function of Muslim railwaymen.

You were recently pleased to similarly honour our parent body—the All-India Muslim Railway Employees' Association at Delhi. It will be a source of consideration [*sic*] inspiration to Muslim railwaymen in Lahore, of whom there is a very large number, if you will very kindly accept the request now made.

Kindly indicate the time and date most suitable to you for this function, preferably after 6 p.m., on any working day or at any time on a Sunday, so as to fit in with your other multifarious engagements.[1]

An early acceptance will greatly oblige.

Yours sincerely,
A. HAMID
General Secretary, NWR Muslim Employees' Association
and
Editor, Eastern Times *and* Paisa Akhbar

[1]Jinnah replied that 26 March would suit him. See F. 1011/4, *QAP* Not printed.

176

Mozaffar Ali Qizilbash to M. A. Jinnah

F. 413/3

NAWAB PALACE,
· LAHORE,
10 March 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to your correspondence ending with your letter dated the 26th February 1944,[1] with Sayed Sakhi Hassan, B.A., B.T., *Imam-ul-Madaris,* Amroha, which was published in the press. The Punjab Shia Political Conference intends inviting the Shia leaders to meet you, as suggested by you, in your letter dated the 11th December 1943,[2] to the above-named gentleman. As you are already aware that we are whole-hearted Leaguers and have always worked for the League and followed your commands, we feel that a few words from you will remove the few doubts that the Shias may have, in general, in regard to their religious freedom in Pakistan.

I have already addressed all the different Shia bodies and prominent Shia leaders on this subject. On hearing from you I will be able to give them a date to arrive at Lahore to meet you. Hoping you will be able to spare some time to meet these gentlemen while you are at Lahore,[3]

Yours sincerely,
MOZAFFAR ALI QIZILBASH
President,
Punjab Shia Political Conference

[1]Not traceable. However, see *SHC* (14). Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Jinnah met a Shia deputation on 30 March. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice,* III, 445-6.

177

Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/89-90

PERSONAL

KASUR,
10 March 1944

Most exalted Quaid-i-Azam,

Very many thanks for your reply dated 7.3.44.[1] Yet I must point out that in your case there is absolutely no question of any Leaguer being displeased on your refusal.

2. I may [make it] clear that excepting Sialkot and Kasur no place in this province has publicly notified its intention or readiness for holding a meeting. The invitations of other places are just formal ones. Of course, if you promise them, they may hold some sort of meetings.

3. The request of Kasur is an exceptional one. We advertised many times through hand-bills, posters and newspapers that a conference would be held at Kasur on 23rd and 24th October 1943. Then we postponed it on the ground that cholera had broken out at Kasur and its neighbourhood and that you were not available. We had collected some funds as well. As soon as cholera cleared [*sic*], the public demanded a conference from us. Then we put forth the excuse that the leaders had to go to Karachi for a session of the All India [Muslim] League. Thereafter, we pacified the public by saying that winter was yet very severe.

4. Now the public, especially those who made contributions for the conference, are demanding some sort of a meeting from us. They say now [that] there is no epidemic, season has cleared and the Quaid-i-Azam is also coming to Punjab, why we were not holding a meeting? You want to eat away the money. So we have got to hold a meeting. If so, why not hold it in your presence?

5. This is the point, my Quaid-i-Azam. One thing more goes in favour of Kasur. It is only one-hour run from Lahore. You can come by car and go back.

6. I venture to make one suggestion. 23rd instant is the Pakistan Day when you can go to one place only. If you like, we may hold our meeting on the 23rd with three sittings, viz. (i) before noon, (ii) afternoon, and (iii) at night. You may preside over any one of the sittings according to your convenience.

7. I may make it perfectly clear that we shall not demand from you a long speech. I will arrange for other speakers, you will just preside over one sitting and make a few remarks of encouragement.

8. In case you agree, kindly intimate me of your consent telegraphically so that we may start propaganda [*sic*] and arrangements.

Yours obediently,

RABB NAVAZ KHAN
General Secretary,
Lahore Distt. Muslim League

[1]See F. 878/30, *QAP*. Not printed.

178

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 851/36-8

ZARAFSHAN,
LAHORE,
10 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

After seeing you in Delhi on the 5th instant I returned to Lahore the same evening. As I mentioned to you, I went to Delhi solely for the purpose of seeing you and also to request you to kindly approve of a public meeting of Muslims under the auspices of Lahore City Muslim League or, if this is not possible, then you may kindly agree to attend Pakistan Day meeting on 23rd March. You did not favour the idea of a public meeting. As regards Pakistan Day meeting, you said that you may possibly attend it. In any case, the arrangements for it are going ahead. I am writing to say that should you have changed your mind about the public meeting other than the Students' Federation Conference and the Provincial League Conference, then please let me know.

2. I also requested you to kindly give me the pleasure of attending a function at my house in your honour to which you had agreed and promised to put it down in your diary. I am looking forward to your fixing the date. The function will be an afternoon party.

3. I hope you will let me know four days in advance[1] to enable me

to send out the invitations.

Yours sincerely,
NAWABZADA RASHID ALI KHAN

PS. On behalf of all members of the Lahore Muslim League and myself, I again request you to kindly agree to attend at least Pakistan Day meeting.

[1]Jinnah replied that he was unable to plan a programme until his arrival in Lahore. See F. 344/98, *QAP*. Not printed.

179

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

CALCUTTA,
10 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Just a line to inform you that I have this day returned [to] Sir Adamjee the sum of Rs. 15,000 that he kindly advanced towards the loss that the *Star of India* was incurring. Our investments too have been returned.

I am slightly better. Although my recovery is slow, I am glad to say it is definite. Calcutta is warming up.

The kite-flying and propaganda in the non-Muslim press and on the platform in regard to the dwindling majority of the present Ministry has all ended in smoke. The last division has taken the wind out of the sails of the opposition.[2] Both Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Fazlul Huq looked very crestfallen on that day. The Government has a very safe majority, and unless it does something seriously wrong or completely closes its eyes to the machinations of the opposition without taking necessary counter-steps, I feel that there is nothing for us to worry.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 406.

[2]On 7 March 1944, two cut motions moved by the Opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly were put to the vote and defeated by 30 and 20 votes, respectively. See *Star of India*, March 8, 1944.

180

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/22

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
10 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

I am writing letters to all directors nominated by you to communicate formally their acceptance to serve as directors on the Board of the proposed organisation[1] and to attend the meeting on 7th and 8th April 1944, at your residence in New Delhi. Articles of Association are being finally drawn along with other documents. I hope all these will be ready in time and after the meeting on 7th and 8th of April, we should be in a position to start our work.

With kind regards,

I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
MIR LAIK ALI

A set up by the name of Al-Meezan was established to promote industrial and other development of Muslim community.

181

Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/6

ISPAHANI'S TEA AGENCY,
FARANGI MAHAL,
LUCKNOW,
10 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In view of the feelings of the Muslim public and importance of the Palestine question, I would humbly suggest that a day should be fixed as Palestine Day.

In case it will be difficult to celebrate Pakistan [Day] and Palestine Day each [*sic*] separately, the two may be incorporated in one and may

be observed as usual on the 23rd instant.

I may mention that Jami'yyat al-'Ulama has fixed 17th instant for Palestine Day.

We all very much appreciated your timely warning to Mr. Churchill[1] and Musalmans have been very much encouraged by it.

Salaam and respects to you and Miss F. Jinnah,[2]

Yours sincerely,
JAMAL

[1]See Annexes I & II.
[2]Jinnah thanked him saying his suggestion was receiving careful consideration. See *SHC*, UP VI/7. Not printed.

Annex I to No. 181
M. A. Jinnah to Winston Churchill
Telegram[1]

17 February 1944

America-Zionist propaganda supported by influential quarters causes alarm, serious apprehension. Any departure from White Paper and definite assurances given to Muslim India by Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy, on behalf His Majesty's Government, would be further act [of] flagrant injustice to Arabs and breach of faith. Not only Muslim India but entire Muslim world would deeply resent it. Consequences fraught with gravest danger.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 381.

Annex II to No. 181
Evan Jenkins to M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW DELHI,
12 March 1944

His Excellency asks me to write and tell you that he has had information from London that the Prime Minister has received your telegram[2] about Palestine. The Prime Minister is fully conscious of the interest of the Muslim world in the Palestine question and will bear it in mind.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 764.
[2]Annex I

182

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/7

CONFIDENTIAL

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
11 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have consulted Mr. G. M. Sayed, and it is my painful duty to write this letter to you. You know that allegations of bribery have been publicly made against Khan Bahadur Khuhro; and it is also said publicly that he has collected funds through the officials for the League, which he has also misappropriated; in the murder case of the late Mr. Allahbakhsh, the accused have made confessions in which they have implicated him and his agent (*Kamdar*), whom also he has not produced. I will first ask him that he should resign and vindicate his character, or I will have to resign and form another Ministry. The public is also blaming us that because he continues in office, the assailants of the late Mr. Allahbakhsh cannot be traced. The head of the province is also of the same opinion.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN

183

M. Iftikharullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/8

WOOLNER HALL,
LAHORE,
11 March 1944

Sir,

The Punjab University Union has resolved in its meeting held on the 3rd of March 1944, to present you with an address of welcome on your forthcoming visit to Lahore. I give below the resolution that was adopted unanimously.

Resolved that an address of welcome should be presented to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, on behalf of

the Punjab University Union Society, on his forthcoming visit to this capital [of] the land of five rivers.

We earnestly hope that valuing the sentiments of the student community, as you have always been very kindly doing, you will afford a chance to them to express their feeling of sincerity and indebtedness to an eminent leader of theirs.

Hoping for a favourable reply,

Yours obediently,
M. IFTIKHARULLAH
President,
The Punjab University Union Society

184

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1065/8

LAHORE,
13 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have seen the news in the press that you are paying a visit to the Punjab and will be reaching Lahore shortly. I believe that the news is correct, and if so, I would request you to be kind enough to give me the pleasure of dining with me on a date that may suit your convenience during your stay in Lahore.

I would also like to invite the members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly to meet you at a tea party on any afternoon that you may be able to spare. I hope you will kindly be able to find the time for this.[1]

Yours sincerely,
KHIZAR HAYAT

[1]No. 192

185

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Alam

F. 878/33

13 March 1944

Dear Dr. Alam,

I have received your telegram[1] and many thanks for your kind offer

of hospitality to stay with you during my visit to Lahore, but I have already fixed up and I shall be staying with the President of the Provincial Muslim League.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Mohamed Alam,
Lahore

[1]See F. 760/17, *QAP*. Not printed.

186

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

F. 372/13

14 March 1944

Dear Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan,

Many thanks for your telegram.[1] I am leaving Delhi on the 17th by the Frontier Mail and shall be reaching Lahore on the morning of the 18th March. I thank you very much for extending your hospitality and asking me to stay with you. Miss Jinnah is accompanying me and so also my Personal Assistant and I hope that you will be able to make arrangements without any inconvenience to you. More when we meet.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan,
Nawab of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road, Lahore

[1]Nawab of Mamdot had invited Jinnah and Miss Jinnah to stay with him during their visit to Lahore. See F. 372/18, *QAP*. Not printed.

187

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/9

CONFIDENTIAL

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
14 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I got your wire,[1] and informed Mr. [G.M.] Sayed and K. B. Khuhro. They told me they had also received a wire from you.

As anyone will tell you, I am not at all a party to the quarrel between Mr. Sayed and K. B. Khuhro. They quarrel between themselves, and then make up. I have not done any harm to anyone all my life.

As I have written to you, it is the head of the province who has been wanting to send K. B. Khuhro away long ago, but it is I who have been protecting him all along. After all the enquiries made by the head of the province throughout his tour in Sind, he has been convinced that K. B. Khuhro is not desirable.

K. B. Khuhro is not even producing his *Kamdar* against whom there are serious allegations of complicity in the Allahbux murder case. The rumour is that he has been done away with. In any case, no one knows where he is. The head of the province and the public at large think that K. B. Khuhro is taking advantage of his position as a Minister.

Yesterday, K. B. Khuhro sent a number of M.L.As. to me, but I told them that, as far as I was concerned, I was not against him.

I need scarcely assure you that I am quite above intrigue of any sort. On the contrary, the head of the province thinks that K. B. Khuhro exercises a sort of charm over me.

I have thought it necessary to let you know the real position in this matter, so that you may be able to judge the whole thing for yourself.

With kind regards to you both,

Yours sincerely,

GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]Not traceable.

188

Rahman Ali to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, CP & Berar II/26

JUBBULPORE,
14 March 1944

Dear Sir,

In view of the fact that our various complaints in the shape of appeals against the defects and drawbacks in the Provincial Constitution have so far gone unheeded, it was considered necessary to adopt a resolution in a meeting of the District Muslim League Council, Jubbulpore, dated 11 March 1944, in order to remind the All India Muslim League about the injustice being shown to Jubbulpore League in the matter of differences that have arisen between the District League, Jubbulpore, and the Provincial League, C.P. and Berar. Consequently, the Council of the District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, met on 11 March 1944 and; besides transacting other business, resolved unanimously that the sub-committee formed at Karachi to reform and properly organise the Provinces' Leagues and to decide the internal disputes therein be informed that the Provincial League, C.P. and Berar, has not paid any attention to the grievances and demands urged by the Jubbulpore League, nor has any satisfactory reply been given to us which might placate our feelings. We strongly believe that this attitude of the Provincial League is responsible for the inactivity in the District Leagues of the Central Provinces and Berar. As a corrective measure is necessary to be adopted by that august body, the sub-committee mentioned above, we invite the attention of the members constituting the above sub-committee to bring about such necessary changes and alterations in the *Dastural 'Amal* (constitution) of the C.P. and Berar Muslim League as may be acceptable to the various District Leagues of C.P. and Berar. A perusal of the various demands made by us in the shape of appeals against the Provincial Muslim League to the All India [Muslim] League might prove very useful in arriving at a decisjon in the matter referred to above.

We, therefore, request for an early action in the matter and at the same time submit a copy of the resolution No. 1 dated 11 March 1944·

passed at the meeting of the Council of the District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, of the same date.

Yours faithfully,
RAHMAN ALI
Secretary,
District Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.

189

Mohammed Din Sufi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/5

MANDI BAHAUDDIN,
DIST. GUJRAT, PUNJAB,
15 March 1944

Sir,

I have received letters from Mecca[Makkah] and Madina revealing the facts that on account of blockade of ways for pilgrimage, a severe famine has taken place there and so our brethren at those holy places are suffering starvation. Moral and religious obligations, which the Islamic brotherhood has laid on us, demand that we should immediately stand up and attend to their call.

Would you, being the admitted leader of the community, kindly take the initiative and negotiate [with] the British Government for assistance in foodstuffs to the Arabs. The Government be approached to arrange the shipping facilities and then an appeal be made to the community for assistance. I may kindly be informed of your wise decision so that I may not fail in my duties in this respect.

Yours most sincerely,
MOHAMMED DIN
Editor, the Sufi

190

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/287

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
15 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am asked by the Calcutta League Secretary to request you kindly to issue an appeal to the Muslim voters of Calcutta to vote for and return the candidates set up by the Muslim League in the coming Calcutta Corporation elections. And to ask the electorate to follow the example of the Muslim voters of Ahmadabad, who only recently registered a complete victory, not losing a single seat to the Muslim henchmen of the Mahasabha and Congress.

The elections will take place on the 29th instant. Your statement will be timely if it is published in the press by the 20th or 21st instant.[1]

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]See. No. 217.

191

Razi R. Khawaja to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/3

JARANWALA,
15 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A daily paper in Urdu to speak for the All India Muslim League is essentially needed. It should be published from Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, so that it could be provided to the people who live far from Delhi and are unable to get *Dawn* in time owing to the great distance which intervenes in between. I intend to start a daily having the above-mentioned qualities.

Now-a-days, it is almost impossible till I get sufficient amount of

paper in hand. Paper quota is very difficult to secure, unless All India Muslim League itself takes interest and you yourself are zealous to achieve it.

In this connection, I want to see you immediately, rather during your stay at Sialkot when you come there to preside [at] the Provincial Muslim League's session. Hoping to be favoured by an immediate letter.

Yours faithfully,
RAZI R. KHAWAJA
Kh. Ghulam Rasul & Sons,
Govt. Contractors

192

M. A. Jinnah to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan

F. 334/8

15 March 1944

Dear Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th March[1] and your kind invitation. I shall be very pleased indeed to dine with you on Saturday, the 25th March, and also it will give me a very great pleasure indeed to meet the members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly at an afternoon tea-party that you propose to give, and beg to inform you that I can have the pleasure of meeting them on Monday, the 27th March, at 5.30 p.m.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hon'ble Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,
Premier, [the Punjab]
Lahore

No. 184

193

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Shahabuddin

F. 437/1

NEW DELHI,
16 March 1944

Dear Mr. Shahabuddin,

I wonder what has happened with regard to the matter[1] which we discussed in Delhi during your stay here. I am still waiting for a definite reply. Please let me know without any further delay.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Shahabuddin,
52 Amir Ali Avenue,
Calcutta

Relates to Ahmad Ispahani's proposed membership of the Planning Committee. See No. 222.

194

Sheikh Niaz Ali Qadari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/42-3

'Alaihi Tawakkaltu wa Ilaihi Uneeb

14 FEROZEPORE ROAD,
LAHORE,
16 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you on the 4th instant[1] and requested you to give me a few minute's interview during your impending stay in Lahore. I am still waiting for a favourable reply.

Circumstances force me to bring it to your notice that I have written *A Muslim's Inner Voice* in about two years. It is a reply to a violent Hindu Congressite's book *Tragedy of Jinnah*.[2] I have honestly justified your speeches and acts by quotations from the holy *Qur'an*. I have also, quoting the same holy authority, ruined [*sic*] the position and work of Congressite Muslims and proved by quotations from the

Hindu sacred books that beef has been allowed and actually used by the Hindus.

I can claim that this propaganda for the Muslim League and your leadership stands unparalleled and that you will appreciate the book if you thoroughly read it. Your attitude of callousness has no doubt pained me, particularly when I have written it for the love of the work and want nothing but encouragement from those whom I have voluntarily befriended. I go even so far as to say that it would be appropriate if you utter a few words drawing public attention to this book in your speech[es] in Lahore and Sialkot and give me time to meet you.

Thankfully,

Yours very sincerely,
S. NIAZ ALI QADARI

[1]No. 164
[2]See No. 213.

195

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab M. Ismail Khan

F. 761/248

17 March 1944

My dear Nawab Ismail Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd February,[1] along with the account up to 22nd February 1944, and also beg to acknowledge the receipt of two cheques for Rs. 3,593-14-0 and another for Rs. 29, signed by Syed Zakir Ali, as the remaining balance in your hands out of the various advances that were made. I also note that the account books and files are being made over to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and that the copies of the report that you sent to me from time to time are kept by you.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan,
Mustafa Castle,
Meerut, U.P.

[1]No. 144.

196

M. Hassan Latifi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/44

THE CHATEAU,
LUDHIANA,
17 March 1944

Dear Sir,

It is just to convey to you a bit of news that I picked up this evening. I have heard from a reliable person that Mirza Basheer-ud-Din Mahmood[1] is coming to Ludhiana (the original source of *Qadianism or Mirzaiett*) on 23 March with one thousand disciples. Peace of this town is in danger. I am writing to you as fast as I could. I hope you would be well.

With regards,

Yours fraternally,
LATIFI
B.A.
Journalist

[1]The second head of "Ahmadiyya" community.

197

Muzaffar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/197

ISLAMIA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN,
COOPER ROAD,
LAHORE,
17 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall be most grateful if you could kindly spare some time for receiving an address from the staff and students of the Islamia College for Women, Cooper Road, Lahore, which is run under the management of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam.

2. I would have come personally to you to make this request but I am leaving this evening for Campbellpur to attend the wedding of my niece and would be back in Lahore by the 21st instant. A copy of the

address will be sent as soon as I hear from you.[1]

With respects and all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MUZAFFAR KHAN
K.B.
President, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam

[1]Jinnah replied that he would like to discuss the matter before consenting to receive on address. See F. 905/7, *QAP*. Not printed.

198

Secretary, Muslim Students' Federation, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 760/20

LAHORE,
17 March 1944

Session dates fixed eighteen nineteen. Wire approval.[1]

SECRETARY, MUSLIM STUDENTS' FEDERATION

[1]Approval was telegraphed the same day. See F. 760/19, *QAP*. Not printed.

199

Abdul Majid Khan Lodi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/31

PILIBHIT, U.P.,
18 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

From a reading of your speech at Aligarh I found that a commercial firm has recently been floated with a view to imparting business and commercial training to youngmen. I want to be put in touch with the promoters of the company so that I may be of any service to the youngmen of this district and of surrounding places. The youngmen of northern India particularly Rohilkhand are very backward and it

will be to their good if there be any such opening. Trust, you will be pleased to do the needful.

Yours obediently,
ABDUL MAJID KHAN LODI
Advocate
President, City Muslim League

200

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1081/2

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
18 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Three days ago, things began to look troublesome in Assembly because Fazlul Haq & Co. with Mahasabha money bags were very active amongst some of the unreliable supporters of the Government. The division, three days ago, gave a majority to the Government of seventeen votes and this had begun to show a demoralising effect. Government, however, and every member of it, worked night and day most actively, [and] put up a very good show last night. The House adjourned at 9.50 p.m. and the vote showed one hundred and twenty-three for Government against ninety-five for the Opposition. Confidentially, we have still in reserve eight to ten votes. Some members have not yet returned to Calcutta and others are lying ill in Calcutta. I do not think there will be any necessity for bringing them to the Assembly on stretchers. However, we have had two very exciting days full of worry.

I give below[1] a certain portion from a letter written by Mr. Nurur Rehman, Organising Secretary of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which speaks of the backwardness of the Musalmans. It is really heart-rending to carry on with this material at our disposal.

The excitement is having a bad effect on my nerves again and yet I cannot go away from Calcutta for fear that one vote may, God forbid,

at some time or other, be valuable to the Government.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS. A letter from Peshawar informs me that there are considerable difficulties in establishing a Muslim Chamber there. It appears that there is a Merchants Association which is open to both Hindus and Muslims and all the influential Muslim merchants are members of this Association.

[1]Not traceable.

201

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/11

IDARA-I-'ALIYYAH,
ICHHRA, LAHORE,
18 March 1944

My dear Jinnah,

I have learned just this minute that you are in Lahore and attending some occasion.

Events of the past some months have made you cause a breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League, and I have yet to know if I am to blame for that. My conviction is that Musalmans and Hindus must come to an understanding at this critical moment, in order to gain Pakistan as well as independence for India; but you, in your fury, are losing these precious moments amidst despair and inaction.

I am open to conviction, if you can convince me otherwise. You told Khaksars at Quetta that I should have written to you, or met you, if I thought you were mistaken. I have persistently written, and now write again. I shall be pleased to meet you if you come to Ichhra; but if my humble invitation does not suit you, I do not feel at all small if I come over to you. Please let me know per bearer, as I think we must come to an agreement.

I hope you are well,

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

202

M. A. Jinnah to Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi

F. 1092/223

19 March 1944

Dear Mr. Inayatullah Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th of March[1] late last night and I regret very much indeed to note that you have thought fit to accuse me of having caused the breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League, and further you convey and insinuate that I am, to use your own expression, "in my fury" opposed to Hindu-Muslim understanding under any circumstances. There is no truth whatsoever in these allegations that you make against me and you should know that there is no justification for it. I have repeatedly made my position clear by my statements and speeches that have been broadcast in the press.

However, as you say you are open to conviction, may I draw your attention to the fact that now All India Muslim League has appointed a Committee of Action, in whom are vested all the powers of organising the Muslim League, and request you to get in touch with the Chairman, Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, whose address is, Mustafa Castle, Meerut, U.P., or the Convener, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, whose address is, 8B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi, as they are free from accusations and reflections that you have cast on me both in this letter under reply and by your previous writings and statements that you have issued to the press heretofore, and I hope that in that atmosphere they may be able to convince you that the policy and the principles and the programme of the League are in the best interest of Muslim India. I am informed that the full Committee of Action is going to meet at Delhi on the 25th instant. I am releasing this letter to the press as I notice that you have already published yours without waiting for my reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

No. 201.

203

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 915/185-6

IDARA-I-'ALIYYAH, ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
19 March 1944

My dear Jinnah,

Your reply[1] to my letter of last night,[2] received after much persuasion after sixteen hours, settles that I am not to blame for not meeting you for an understanding between the Musalmans and the Hindus, or even between the Musalmans themselves. My assertion, therefore, that you made an attempt to cause the breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League, stands true. Please reconsider the position in which you have involved yourself by this refusal. I can assure you that the Khaksar is not against the Muslim League in spite of everything that has happened.

Your reference to the Committee of Action as having been given powers to organise the Muslim League, is most amusing as this means that you consider Muslim League to be a disorganised body so far. I assure you that the disorganisation is solely due to your inaction and despair, also, if I may add, to the expectant sentiments you arouse at the shows you make in public and the high words you give to them. I can respectfully assure that the Musalman public is tired of all this.

I have asked you to reconsider your decision not to meet me, but I confess here that I shall be one of your lieutenants if you show real action. As regards your Committee of Action, I shall certainly give my best attention to it if it shows any action.

As a last word, I can only say that if you, as the Quaid-i-Azam of the Musalmans of India, do not show any real action in the matter of Hindu-Muslim understanding or in getting Pakistan for the Musalmans, I shall be compelled to the conclusion that the Musalmans of India must leave you alone and try their luck elsewhere.

With best expectations that I shall get a more prompt reply,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1] No. 202.
[2] No. 201.

204

J. J. Singh to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 760/53

NEW YORK,
19 March 1944

American and Indian friends most respectfully urge you to see Gandhiji to work out program to hasten India's freedom.

J. J. SINGH
President, India League

205

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 334/9

LAHORE,
19 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had asked you to meet the members of the Assembly and you had kindly fixed the 27th afternoon for the purpose. However, you told me yesterday that it was the members of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly whom you really wanted to meet. I have consequently confined my invitations to the members of the League Party only. The exact time and place of the party will be communicated to your Secretary.

Yours sincerely,
KHIZAR HAYAT

206

Salma Tasadduque Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/91-2

27 EMPRESS ROAD,
LAHORE,
19 March 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had just sent my man to Nawab Sahib [of Mamdot] to inquire if it

shall be possible for you to give some time to me and my husband to enable us to pay our respects to you. I learn from him that a very large number of visitors are waiting for an interview and there is no likelihood of your being free till tomorrow afternoon. I am, therefore, writing this letter to you. Our main object to see you, apart from paying our respects to you, was to request you to have tea with us on any day that suits you. We shall feel greatly honoured if you could accede to our request. We are very keen that you should meet the leading citizens of Lahore, representing all shades of opinion.

We would like to come and make a personal request in this connection, but have chosen to write to you in view of the fact that you are so very busy and possibly you may get booked up till we are able to see you.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
(MRS.) SALMA TASADDUQUE
Secretary, Punjab Muslim Women League

207

S. A. Hadi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, CP & Berar II/28

JUBBULPORE,
20 March 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

I humbly beg leave to express the ardent wish of the Musalmans of Jubbulpore in particular, and of C.P. and Berar in general, that the august presence of Quaid-i-Azam is essential at the 33rd annual session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference, to be held at Jubbulpore on 16, 17 and 18 April 1944, inasmuch as the educational conditions of the Muslims of C.P. and Berar, besides others, deserve your kind and personal special attention and notice. The one aspect of Muslim League would thus be fulfilled. As according to you, Quaid-i-Azam, national integrity without education is useless.

Here it seems quite pertinent that the dire necessity of holding the All India Muslim Educational Conference at Jubbulpore in C.P. may precisely be stated to you, Quaid-i-Azam. The Urdu education in the village and town primary schools is utterly inadequate; the number of secondary schools with the provision of Urdu as optional subject and as the medium of instruction, and that of the aided schools, is negligible. The trained Muslim teachers for other subjects are scarce and stipends are

rare for them to receive training. There is a long-felt want and dismal disregard of the chair of Islamic History and Culture in the university as well as in all the schools. The aspect of female education is still worse. The Musalmans have been debarred to [*sic*] derive the benefit of technical education in the Govt. Technical School of Nagpur. There is no reservation of studentship for Muslims in Arts, Science, Medical, Commercial and Agriculture Colleges. Over and above, the number of seats in these institutions is low. The Muslamans of C.P. and Berar are monetarily so much depressed that they cannot develop their latent talent although intellectually they do not lack; as such they are not well-placed in the struggle for existence. The revenue is not adequately allotted to Muslim education.

[*Two paras omitted*]

I am sanguine that you would surely condescend to our long-cherished desire and consider our request by acceding to our invitation to visit the conference.

I am,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Yours obediently,
S. A. HADI
General Secretary,
Reception Committee, All India Muslim Educational Conference

208

Mohammad Ishaque Adham to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/9-10

86 ZAILDAR ROAD,
LAHORE,
20 March 1944

Most respectful [*sic*] Quaid-i-Azam,

Allow me to introduce myself with the following:

I am a student of Economics (final year M. A.), practically at the end of my educational career. Within these two months, I would be entering the actual struggle for existence. I have absolutely no intention of getting a government job. I can write plays for radio, articles for magazines and also short stories. Moreover, I have got some land which I intend to settle upon. I have got a small sum of money which would

be utilised in the promulgation [*sic*] of some remunerative [*sic*] industry. I am not married and my parents do not depend upon me. Three of my brothers are Commissioned Officers. This is my worldly state of affairs.

You would be wondering why I am so particular about my family history. Now I come to the main object of my letter, which is that due to these circumstances I am open to any service which may be demanded by my faith and my country. I can sacrifice my all without much regret and therefore I can dare more than many people. From my adolescence onwards I have been searching for some ideal on which to concentrate all my energies and potentialities. After all these years I have found Pakistan to be the only ideal which is worth achieving and I will make it the pivot of all my activities throughout my life.

I would be an M.A. in Economics within these two or three months, and on its strength I can say that I can do a little bit of service under your expert leadership and advice. The Committee for Planning has fired my imagination because it is my special study and I am also writing a book on it, *The Elements of Rural Replanning*. Therefore I can be of service in that sphere. Moreover, there are many other things that I can do, namely compilation of statistical returns, collection of data, research into the field of industry and trade, etc., etc., all problems concerned with planning.

I am a practical man. I do not indulge in sentimentality and I always perform what I have promised to do and therefore can be relied upon.

Therefore, Quaid-i-Azam, give me a chance to serve on the staff of the Committee for Planning and see for yourself what can be done with [*sic*] me.

I would be, indeed, very much honoured if I am permitted to attend your gracious audience. If you feel inclined to that, please intimate me with your [*sic*] desire. I would not take more than half an hour and can give you some very practical suggestions etc.

Your willing slave,
MOHAMMAD ISHAQUE ADHAM

209

Jinnah Sports Club, Transvaal, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/166

SPRINGS, TRANSVAAL,
[SOUTH AFRICA,]
20 March 1944

Sir,

I am directed by my Executive Council to convey to you that at its

sixth annual general meeting held yesterday, you were unanimously elected a life-Patron of the Honourable Jinnah Sports Club, Springs, Transvaal.

My Executive Council feels that it will be a great privilege for the Club to have your esteemed patronage. My President, Mr. Alimiasahib Choughulay, extends his sincerest thanks and looks forward to receiving your reply agreeing to the appointment [*sic*].

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Honorary Secretary,
The Honourable Jinnah Sports Club

210

Naseer Ahmad Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/8

55 MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
20 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to remind you that you had so graciously consented to receive an address of welcome from the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce on the 24th instant at 6 p.m.

In the meantime, our President, Sir Syed Maratib Ali, and myself would like to have an interview with you to discuss the work we are expected to do in the economic field and which is directly connected with the incidentals [*sic*] of Pakistan.

I shall, therefore, feel much obliged if you could give us an appointment.

Yours sincerely,
NASEER AHMAD SHAIKH
Vice-President,
Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce

211

Chiragh Din to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 760/23

GURDASPUR,
21 March 1944

Gurdaspur District League representatives solicit interview twenty-sixth instant. Wire time.[1]

CHIRAGH DIN

Jinnah fixed 26 March for the interview. See F. 760/24, *QAP*. Not printed.

212

M. Ferozeuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/64

KASUR,
21 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I venture to welcome you most heartily on your present visit to the Punjab and pray for complete success in your sublime mission of uniting the Musalmans of India—particularly in bringing about the solidarity of the Muslims of the Province as well as in creating the requisite political awakening in them. I will also offer my respects to you at Lahore in person and it will simply oblige me if you can kindly give an idea of the date and time that will suit you. It would, of course, be presumptuous on my part to persist in my request, knowing as I do how exceedingly busy you are bound to be.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
M. FEROZEUDDIN
M. A., LL.B.

213

Kailash Chandra to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/11-2

JHANG,
21 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Perhaps you have known my name through the press, because I am one of your first biographers. Of course, I have written very strongly about you, for I differed from your ways and politics. After I had written the *Tragedy of Jinnah,* I have changed my views about Pakistan. I like to accept the views of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on the point. A few doubts, however, have crept into my mind. I wish to seek an interview with you to seek enlightenment about them. I shall, therefore, proceed to Lahore day after tomorrow. I shall feel obliged if you kindly grant me some time any day between the 25th and 31st of March. A reply to this letter may be sent at my Lahore address which is given below.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
KAILASH CHANDRA
B.A., LL.B.
Pleader

PS. I am enclosing a leaf[1] about the reviews of my book on you.

[1]Not traceable.

214

A. A. Jawaid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/74

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

27 QUADRANGLE,
GOVERNMENT COLLEGE,
LAHORE,
21 March 1944

Sir,

I had the pleasure to call upon you on the 20th afternoon. On my asking you some questions, you kindly asked me to send those questions by post. I hope you will still be remembering those questions, which are the following ones:

i. Muslim League never took any action at the time when Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung was driven out of Kashmir.
ii. Why does Malik Khizar Hayat Khan feel a hitch in declaring the Punjab Government a. Muslim League Ministry? Why was Major Shaukat Hyat Khan obliged to take back his resignation in last summer?
iii. Policy of Muslim League? Violence or non-violence, whereas Mr. Gandhi's policy is the latter one.

Hoping to receive the answers very soon,

I am your humble servant,
A.A. JAWAID
A second-year student

215

A. G. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/93-4

GURDASPUR,
21 March 1944

Sir,

I am authorised by the Working Committee of Gurdaspur City Muslim League to avail myself of the opportunity of your being amongst us here in the capital of Punjab and lay before you certain

grievances of the Muslims of Gurdaspur with a view to obtaining your valuable advice for our guidance. As we know that you are always too busy, therefore, it is requested that you will kindly be pleased to spare some time for the poor Muslims of Gurdaspur at any hour convenient to you on [*sic*] 25th to 27th March 44.

A reply by return post shall highly oblige as I intend to leave here for Lahore by the evening of 24th March 44.

Yours obediently,
A.G. KHAN
President,
City Muslim League

216

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/17-8

ZARAFSHAN,
QUEEN'S ROAD,
LAHORE,
21 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

During the last three days I have been receiving representatives of the city Muslims, petty traders, working-class people, man in the street and representatives of the general mass of the Muslims in Lahore who really form the backbone of our people—those who will make the real sacrifices for Pakistan when the time comes. They are all extremely desirous of hearing you on the 23rd March at the Pakistan Day meeting. They have insisted that I should again approach and request you to give them the opportunity of hearing your goodself in Urdu even though it may be for a few minutes. At the Students' Conference you have spoken in English which very few of these people could understand. That was the gathering of the educated ones. This request is from the masses who will come to 'Pakistan Day' meeting which will be held under the auspices of the Lahore City Muslim League and for which I have sent a circular to 1,000 leading Muslims of Lahore and issued 1,000 posters—copies of which I have given to your Secretary for your perusal.

In the end I respectfully submit to you to consider what I have said above. I do earnestly hope that my request on behalf of these people

will meet with your kind agreement.

Yours sincerely,
NAWABZADA RASHID ALI KHAN
President,
Lahore City Muslim League

217

Kailash Chandra to M. A. Jinnah

F. 177/5

18 MAYO ROAD,
LAHORE,
21 March 1944[1]

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you a letter from Jhang[2] asking for an interview to discuss a few points regarding Pakistan with you. I wanted a reply at my Lahore address given above, but so far I have not received any.

I shall feel obliged if you kindly reply per return and oblige.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
KAILASH CHANDRA

[1]This letter is in fact dated 27 March; it has come to be printed here through an oversight.
[2]No. 213.

218

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Telegram[1]

LAHORE,
21 March 1944

Hassan Ispahani, Calcutta

I appeal to the Muslim electorate particularly Muslim public generally to support whole-heartedly Muslim League candidates coming Calcutta Corporation elections. Follow example of Ahmadabad. Wishing you cent per cent success.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 410.

219

Willis Kingsley Wing to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/14

522 FIFTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK,
21 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am still without any word from you about the Doubleday Doran contract which we sent to you many months ago. I have written you since on several occasions but up to date have heard nothing.

I have just discussed the whole question again with Doubleday, who remain very interested in having you do a book along the lines originally contemplated. Both the publisher and I are distinctly enthusiastic, but are disturbed by not having any word about this up to now.

If you have decided that you prefer to write the book before signing the contract, I should very much like to know of this at the earliest, preferably by cable. If you have signed the contract and it has been sent, the probabilities are that it has been lost somewhere in the mail, and I shall be glad, on receipt of a cable, to see that duplicate contracts are forwarded to you at once.

If, on the other hand, you have decided not to go ahead with the project at all, would you be good enough to inform me, and return the unsigned contracts to me here at your convenience?

In my latest discussion with Doubleday they reiterated that they are deeply interested in a book on the Muslim world, and they can think of no one better qualified than you to do it.

Faithfully,
WILLIS WING

220

M. H. Saiyid to the Editor, Tribune

F. 1011/6

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
23 March 1944

Dear Sir,

Mr. Jinnah has seen your report under the heading "Evading the

Issue" in today's *Tribune* and I am asked to inform you that there is absolutely no truth in the news that you published on the 22nd, which was as follows:

> That it was proposed to extend an invitation to Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Ministerial Party, including its Sikh and Hindu Members. But the League leader could not be persuaded to accept the invitation.

Mr. Jinnah will be obliged if you will correct this false information that you may have received and will feel obliged if you will disclose the name of your informant or the source of your information so that the public may judge its reliability upon which you were pleased to give publicity to this news.

Yours faithfully,
M. H. SAIYID
Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

The Editor, *Tribune*,
Rattan Chand Road,
Lahore

221

Abdul Wahab Osmani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/20-1

[*Original in Urdu*]

PANIPAT,
23 March 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Hope you are all right. I reached Lahore on the 1st of March. But after staying there for four days, I came to know that you were to come there on the 18th instant. Hence I could not call on you there. However, I have been studying the prevailing situation all along. By following the Hindu press I have come to the conclusion that both the Congress and the Mahasabha parties of the Punjab were trying to provoke a clash between Chaudhry Chhotu Ram and yourself. They consider both of you as their opponents. God forbid, in the event of a clash between you two, one is bound to suffer. Both the Congress and the Mahasabha would consider it as their success. I expect you know that in case you

fail in the Punjab, it might have adverse effect on other provinces. I hope you will make a decision after deep deliberation. In my view, the Muslim League can succeed in forming the Ministry only by making an alliance with Ch. Chhotu Ram. In the present politics of the Punjab Assembly, you can succeed by handling Ch. Chhotu tactfully. I have worked on him with some success but I cannot come to Lahore and could [*sic*] not, therefore, arrange a meeting between you two. May you, hopefully, find someone to arrange your meeting with Chaudhry Sahib. If you act on the lines I have suggested you can hope to form a Muslim League coalition Ministry. In case you do not think it feasible, then you may postpone the issue in an appropriate manner. However, the decision is yours. You have not secured an agreement in writing with the scheduled castes. In this situation I am not confident of your success. I hope you are keeping in view the whole position.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL WAHAB OSMANI

222

Khwaja Shahabuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 437/2-5

52 SYED AMEER ALI AVENUE,
CALCUTTA,
23 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter.[1] I am sorry I could not communicate to you the result of my conversation with Mr. Ahmad Ispahani earlier on account of the fact that immediately on return from Delhi, for the first two or three days I could not make [*sic*] time and then Mr. Ispahani's daughter was very seriously ill and he wanted a few days' time before he could discuss any important matter. Anyhow, I managed to make [*sic*] time and both my brother, Sir Nazimuddin and I went and talked to Mr. Ispahani last evening. He is extremely busy and also worried a great deal over many things and therefore very reluctant to assume more responsibility. However, I think we have been able to persuade him to agree to it, but he has asked me to write and tell you that he will be coming over to Delhi by the 7th or 8th of April in connection with the meeting in which you are also going to be present.

He would meet you then in Delhi and discuss and settle this question.

As far as I am concerned, I have explained to you my difficulties, but however busy I am and whatever may be the claims on my time, I cannot refuse your command.

May I again emphasize the necessity of having another man from Bengal and that person to be [*sic*] Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M.L.A., representative of the Dacca University in the Assembly and at present Chief Government Whip. In my interview with you I got the impression that you very kindly agreed to include him and I hope you will do so. In this connection, if I may suggest, it is necessary to have a very well [*sic*] and efficient Secretariat; because, however capable the Committee you set up, it will not be possible to do any work unless there is an able Secretary assisted by an efficient staff and necessary equipment.

Please convey my compliments to Miss Jinnah. With kind regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
K. SHAHABUDDIN

[1]No. 193.

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/285

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 17th instant[1] from Delhi and your telegram of the 21st idem[2] from Lahore.

The contents of your telegram have been given wide publicity and leaflets are being printed and distributed all over Calcutta.

With regard to Ghulam Mohammed, I have written to him to reply to your letter regarding machinery as soon as possible. I do not know why so much time is wanted to decide so simple a matter.

My brother and our family have passed through most anxious times during the last sixteen days. My niece, Ahmed's second daughter, who is 17 years old, suddenly fell ill and her condition grew so serious

that I forgot my illness and my brother forgot office and work. Our whole family was like a batch of lunatics. It was only since the last two or three days that the child has shown signs of improvement and she has been declared to be out of danger.

With work, worry and illness, each of which separately is a burden unbearable, I must say that the concluding lines of your letter have caused me much grief. You know that at no time have we brothers taken your words or advice lightly. We have obeyed every order of yours with pleasure. We have not hesitated to render the little service that we were called upon to do at any time when such a demand was made. I am pained to find that you feel that we are not considering the matter of planning more carefully and seriously. Please dispel such an idea from your mind.

My illness coupled with our own worries and work have, my brother says, made it impossible for him to accept the nomination to the proposed Committee. He has, however, assured you of his most loyal and sincere cooperation from without. I request you not to misunderstand.

Nazimuddin and Shahabuddin had a very long talk with my brother two nights ago. I was not in the house at the time, but I am told that my brother will be going to Delhi in the first week of next month and will be seeing you when he gets there. By then you will have returned from your tour of the Punjab.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

HASSAN

[1]Appendix II. 26.
[2]No. 218

224

Manzoor Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/22

GUJRANWALA,
24 March 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The Musalmans of this District have pressed us to approach you

with the request to address a public meeting at Gujranwala, while on your way to Sialkot or back from that place. We are fully conscious of your innumerable engagements and the heavy task which you are shouldering. This is why we had resisted so long the temptation of making such a request. But now we feel our inability to suppress this desire any longer.

Every day people from all corners of the district pour in to our office and demand that we should provide them with an opportunity to hear their beloved Quaid-i-Azam. Certainly it will be a negation of our duty, if we were not conveying this request to you. Therefore, we entreat you to very kindly pinch up [*sic*] some time in order to address a public meeting at Gujranwala. We may bring it to your kind notice that Gujranwala is not only the centre of this District but is also the premier industrial town of our Province.

Hoping to receive a favourable reply.

Obediently yours,
MANZOOR HASAN
Secretary,
City Muslim League

225

Makhdum Murid Hussain Quraishi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/95-6

MULTAN CITY,
25 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I welcome you on your arrival in our province and have a great desire to see you and give you my invitation to participate in the marriage ceremony of my only dear son, Moh[amma]d Sajjad Hussain Quraishi, being held on the 1st of April. I am informed you are going to Sialkot to attend the Provincial League session the same day. It would have given me a great pleasure indeed had you been here at Multan on this happy occasion. But thinking this will deprive the vast gathering of my brothers from [*sic*] your meeting and valuable speeches,

my conscience has directed me to sacrifice my own personal desire against the cause of my nation.

Being very busy in the marriage arrangements of my son, I am afraid I will not be able to see you before your departure from the province; therefore, I take this opportunity to bring a very important matter to your notice, with a full hope that you will pay due consideration to it.

It is a fact that large tracts of land are lying undeveloped on account of dearth of manpower in Sindh; and the Govt. there is trying to improve this situation to their possibility [*sic*]. In my opinion this deficiency can be suitably made good from Punjab, which will be very beneficial for the Sindh Govt. as the colonists of Punjab are well-known [and] experienced in it. In case the Punjab refuses this manpower or the Sindh Govt. denies [*sic*] to accept it, this will adversely affect our Pakistan Scheme, for which we are crying day and night.

To have a deeper view in this matter, I may point out to you that Sindh is forced to import manpower for these undeveloped areas so as to make its irrigation and barrage schemes successful, which need can only be met from the neighbouring provinces. If the supply of manpower is allowed from other neighbouring territories except Punjab, it will mainly consist of non-Muslims, which will certainly give [*sic*] a great decrease in the percentage of Muslim population in Sindh. I understand that a certain manpower has been allowed from Rajputana States, Gujarat, Kathiawar, etc., which was mainly non-Muslim. Large numbers of Kohlis, Bhils, Meghwars, etc., have migrated and settled in Sindh as colonists. The Hindu Zamindars of Sindh are also trying their best to have non-Muslim tenants. All this has greatly affected the present percentage of Muslim population, which is decreasing day by day. If this state of affairs is allowed further progress [*sic*], I am afraid it will reduce our percentage to such an extent that it will greatly affect our main Pakistan Scheme.

I have heard that the Sindh Govt. lately asked the Punjab Govt. to accommodate some Hurs in the Punjab, which she [*sic*] refused, while the Bombay Govt. accepted this request; and the Hur settlement is going to be constructed there. If this is true, the Punjab has not only lost a golden chance of cooperation, but also failed to discharge the duties of neighbour. It could easily take some Hurs and settle them on its waste-lands lying vacant [*sic*]. By doing so, Sindh would have certainly come under a perpetual obligation and the ties between these two provinces would have been strengthened. Now I understand that

Sindh Govt. is again considering to [*sic*] affiliate the new Medical College at Hyderabad, Sindh, to the Punjab University. If it is true, this is another chance for Punjab to bring that province more closer [*sic*] to it.

I have written very briefly on the matter, and if you agree with my views, and think proper, please do speak about it to Muslim Ministers of Punjab in detail. There are countless similarities and common factors between Sindh and Punjab, and if steps are taken to bring the relations of these two Muslim provinces closer and deeper with each other, it will certainly result in great progress towards our common cause of Pakistan. In case of our inattention towards this matter, I am afraid we will lose a golden chance and our this shortcoming will in no way be fulfilled [*sic*] afterwards.

In the end, I hope you will kindly give a deep consideration to this matter, and do inform me of your views.[1]

Trust you are in the best of health. My hearty prayers are always with you.

Always with best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MURID HUSSAIN
Kt., Khan Bahadur, Nawab
Honorary E.A.C., MLA (Central)

No. 232.

226

Said Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/67-70

SHAHDARA,
LAHORE,
25 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had an interview with you on the 24th March and during the talk I asked you whether I can be of any service to the Muslim League in the Planning Committee which you were forming. You asked me about my so-called qualifications for that job. I mentioned them to you but you told me to put them on a piece of paper and send them to you. So I am doing that.

i. I am M. A. (Economics) and M. A. (Political Science).

ii. After concluding my studies I joined the survey section of the

Department of Industries, Punjab, as an Industrial Investigator.

2. With the coming of provincial autonomy under new reforms, nearly all the Provincial Governments set up survey sections for taking stock of the existing industries and finding out the scope for further industrialisation. It was the first thorough-going survey of its kind undertaken in the history of the Punjab, and it covered cottage industries as well as large-scale industries. We were given an elaborate questionnaire and we had to make investigation regarding the kind of industry, size of industry, kind of ownership, capital invested, men engaged and labour problems, output, marketing of the product, difficulties of the industry, help which the Government could render, sources of raw material, and so on. With reference to the cottage industry we had also to find out the extinct and decaying cottage industry which had suffered on account of competition with the large-scale industries or for some other reasons, and to suggest whether it was desirable to help them and if so in what ways. We had also to find out new sources of raw material and the scope of establishing new industries. After finishing the survey work, we had to write a report on that. I was given Lahore District, the most important district of the Punjab. I worked for three years in that department and then, for reasons mentioned in my previous letter to you, I left it in 1941.

3. After leaving the Govt. job, with the help of some European experts I started a button factory under a limited concern. It is a fairly large-scale factory with more than two hundred men engaged in it. We have also opened its branch in South India. An enamel factory is nearing completion and will start production within a month or two, and schemes are being made for a chemical factory.

4. For my further qualifications I would like you to refer to my previous letter to you which I left with your P. A. and which is lying with you. Will you please ask your P.A. to find it out for you, for he will remember it.

5. In view of the fact that you do not know me well, and if you will not be willing to entrust me with such a responsible job, I would request you to get me in touch with that body when it is formed and functioning, for I think that I can be of some help to it.

Yours faithfully,
SAID AHMAD
Managing Director,
International Manufacturing Company Ltd.

Note. I hope you will inform me about your decision.

227

H. S. Suhrawardy to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

F. 1092/224

WRITERS BUILDINGS,
CALCUTTA,
25 March 1944

My dear Nawab Sahib,

On behalf of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Relief Committee and on behalf of myself, I wish to thank you for the gifts that you are sending for the distressed people of Bengal. I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for what you are doing. I am sure it will please you to know that we have today sent to the *mofussil* a mobile medical unit and are preparing to send more of such units. There is every danger of a recrudescence of cholera and smallpox which have not yet quite subsided, and non-official relief organisations can do marvellous work in this direction. I hope you will not take it amiss if I continue to appeal to you for further aid. The Government of Bengal is doing all that it can, but there is always room for more and more relief. With your assistance, the Muslim League will be able to do some work in this direction, and I hope that our brothers in the Punjab will make it possible for us to carry on the work.

I have just received a railway receipt for two bags of old wearing apparel which you have been good enough to send to us. Please accept my most grateful thanks. It will be of the greatest use. Our present needs are clothes and medicines, and where medicines cannot be sent, then money to enable us to purchase those medicines and to send relief parties everywhere.

Once more my grateful thanks,

Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

Nawab Iftikhar Husain,
Nawab of Mamdot,
Lahore

228

S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, CP & Berar II/132

FORT PANDHARKAWADA,
27 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of the 22nd instant.[1] Words fail me to thank you adequately for the high honour done to me by again considering me worthy of your confidence. No honour is greater for me than that of being associated with you as an humble colleague.

Since my return from Karachi I was confined to bed by a serious attack of influenza. Now I am much better and able to move about.

Your silence over the speech of the Viceroy[2] is significant and is more eloquent than a spirited retort on the point of geographical unity. I have issued a brief note. A copy of it is enclosed herewith[3] for your information.

My province has been longing for your soul-inspiring *darshan*. Your short visit will electrify the whole province and create warmth and life even in those places which appear cold and lifeless. Only a week's time will suffice to visit places like Burhanpur, Akola, Nagpur, Raipur, and Jubbulpore. The programme will be so arranged as to cause you the least inconvenience. The places which once enjoyed the honour of your visit will be dropped if their inclusion in the programme will be considered inconvenient.

With prayers for your health,

Yours sincerely,
S. A. RAUF SHAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Annex.
[3]See *SHC*, CP & Berar II/133. Not printed.

Annex to No. 228

Speech by Viceroy in the Indian Legislative Assembly[1]

[*Extract*]

17 February 1944

The relevant portion in the Viceroy's speech read as follows: "On the main problem of Indian unity, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this. You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many

internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. What arrangements you decide to make for two great communities and certain other important minorities, as well as the Indian States, to live within that unit and to make the best use of its wealth and opportunities is for Indians to decide. That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of differing cultures or religions, history provides many examples. The solutions of the problem have varied. England and Scotland, after centuries of strife, arrived at an absolute union; in Canada, the British and French elements reached a federal agreement which operates satisfactorily; the French, Italian and German elements in Switzerland agreed on a different form of federation. In all the above there were religious as well as racial differences. In the United States many elements, racial and religious, have been fused into one great nation with a federal structure, after the bitter experience of a disastrous civil war. In Ireland the conflicting elements have so far failed to unite, and Ireland has a sort of Pakistan, though the analogy is of course, only relative. The Soviet Union in Russia seems to have devised a new modification of its already flexible system, which will also no doubt repay careful study. These examples are before India for her constitutionalists to study. It is for her to say which will most nearly fulfil her own needs. But no man can alter geography.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 398.

229

Chhotu Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/225

LAHORE,
28 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Honourable Premier told me, on the 20th or 21st March, that you had expressed a desire to see me in order to discuss certain important questions relating to Punjab politics. Although I have no clear recollection, the indication seemed to be that I was to see you after the dinner

which he proposed to give in your honour on the 25th March. However, as the dinner had to be cancelled in consequence of the death of General Sir Umar Hayat Khan,[1] the opportunity for my interview with you failed to materialise. Now I am free to see you on any day at any time convenient to you between today and the 7th April, except on the 29th March and 2nd April.

Yours sincerely,
CHHOTU RAM
[*Revenue Minister, Punjab*]

Maj Gen. Nawab Sir Malik Mohammad Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana, father of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Tiwana, twice Premier of Punjab.

230

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/4

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
29 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether I have your permission to serve on the 'Educational Sub-Committee' appointed by the Committee of Action.[1] My membership of the Sub-Committee will not interfere with any other work which you may entrust to me.

With kind regards to you and Miss Fatima Jinnah,

Very sincerely,
A. B. A. HALEEM
B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law

[1]Jinnah informed him that he might serve on the Educational Sub-Committee provided it did not interfere with the work which he proposed to entrust him. See *SHC*, AIML/5. Not printed.

231

L. Ram Ratan Gupta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 192/11

2 CANNING LANE,
NEW DELHI,
30 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please pardon me for writing this personal letter to you in spite of my not having the privilege of being personally known to you. My justification in doing so is that I want to come in contact with you. I wish to be excused for my presumptuousness and ask your permission to say that ever since I began to take interest in politics and public questions I have developed a respect for you for your sturdy independence, mature judgement and nationalistic leadership. I would very much like to have the benefit of your advice in matters which come up before the Legislative Assembly from time to time and problems confronting the country. I hope you will give me an opportunity of meeting you in this connection. Any date, time and place convenient to you will suit me.

With respects and regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. RATAN GUTPA
MLA

232

M. A. Jinnah to Makhdum Murid Hussain Quraishi

F. 579/97

LAHORE,
31 March 1944

Dear Nawab Sir Makhdum Murid Hussain,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th of March[1] and I thank you

very much for it. How I wish I could participate on the auspicious occasion of the marriage of your son, Moh[amma]d Sajjad Hussain, which is going to take place on the 1st of April, but unfortunately it is not possible for me to do so owing to my commitments here. It would certainly have given me very great pleasure indeed to be there but that is not to be. Let me, however, congratulate you most heartily on this happy event and I wish both bride and the bridegroom every happiness.

I would have been really very pleased to meet you if you could have come round to Lahore, but I quite understand that you have to attend to marriage arrangements of your son.

The important matters to which you have drawn my attention in your letter, will undoubtedly receive my utmost attention and consideration, and later on I may be able to communicate with you with regard to the various matters to which you have been good enough to draw my attention.

Thanking you for your good wishes and with kindest regards and best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Sir Makhdum Murid Hussain Quraishi, Esq.,
Multan City

·No. 225.

233

Chaudhri Faqir Chand to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/29
[*Original in Urdu*]

PANIPAT, DIST. KARNAL,
31 March 1944

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

May God's blessings on you increase. It is hoped that you are well. I could not pay my respects to you in Lahore because of ill-feeling between me and two other persons. That is why I could not accompany

the group of members of my community who came to meet you. In this situation neither I nor you could have arrived at any conclusion.

A meeting of our entire group of members is scheduled to be held on 2 April at Jullundur where I hope to succeed, and then all the eight members will present themselves before you at Delhi.

I have read in the papers about a three-hour meeting between you and Sir Chhotu Ram. I am a small fry whereas you are a great man. If you call Dr. Abdul Wahab Osmani[1] to Lahore immediately, the matter between you and Chhotu Ram would be settled successfully. This is because Dr. Osmani and Chhotu Ram were important members of late Sir Fazl-i-Husain's party and very close relations existed between the two, as stated verbally by me at Delhi. Now it is up to you to act.

Hoping that you are well,

Your well-wisher,
CHAUDHRI FAQIR CHAND
MLA

[1]See. No. 221.

234

Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/30

KASHMIRI BAZAAR,
LAHORE,
31 March 1944

Dear Sir,

As I have already intimated you verbally the first edition of *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* has entirely exhausted. I, therefore, request you to kindly permit me to reprint it.

I wish to print three thousand copies of the second edition on the same terms on which the first edition was printed, vide our agreement dated 27.3.43. If you agree to the proposal, kindly confirm and oblige. In anticipation of your confirmation I enclose a cheque for Rs. 300 in

settlement of the second addition.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

235

Resolutions by Jubbulpore Muslim League

SHC, CP & Berar II/25

JUBBULPORE,
[Undated] March 1944

THE FIFTH [*SIC*] PAKISTAN DAY ANNIVERSARY

On the 23rd March 1944, the Jubbulpore Muslims celebrated the Pakistan Day Fifth Anniversary with pomp and glamour under the presidentship of Mufti Maulana Mohammad Burhanulhaq, President, Town and District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, at Jinnah Chowk. The participants numbered several thousand including several non-Muslim brethren also. After recitation from the Holy *Qur'an*, the following resolutions were carried out [*sic*] unanimously:

RESOLUTION No. 1

This general meeting of Jubbulpore Muslims declares its firm and strong determination for the achievement of its political goal, Pakistan. It believes that Pakistan is the only peaceful and progressive solution of the Indian political deadlock. This meeting, with the full force of its sentiments, wants to inform the Government that we Muslims are bent upon to achieve [*sic*] our rightful and legitimate share of Government, and hereby declare that no scheme or solution other than Pakistan will satisfy us. We, in this general meeting, assure with sincerity, the All India Muslim League and our Quaid-i-Azam that they will not find us lagging behind other Muslims in this march for Pakistan and we pray to God for giving a long life and success, in his mission, to our Quaid-i-Azam.

RESOLUTION No. 2

This general meeting of Muslims views with anxiety and hatred, the policy of President Roosevelt concerning Palestine affairs and reminds the British Government of her promises, undertaken in 1939 in

the White Paper. We want to tell the Government clearly that Palestine has always been the motherland of Arabs, and never of Jews, and hence, looking to the religious attachment which the Muslim world has got with the sacred land of Palestine, we, as a part, have our sympathies too, towards the Arabs. We raise agitation [*sic*] with our strong feelings against the policy of America and the British Government and expect complete justice from the British Government in this matter. We hope that the British Government will act sensibly and will not cause an everlasting trouble by forming the Jews nationality into the Arabs one in Palestine [*sic*].

RESOLUTION No. 3

This meeting sees with great unrest the tyrannizing and unjust attitude of the Gwalior Government, adopted towards the State Muslims, and expresses its opinion with surety that the responsibility for this lies not only with the Maharaja of Gwalior and his officials but with the British Government also, to a great extent. Whatever the troubles and pains the Muslims receive at the hands of the State officials, come with the help of the British Government and hence this gathering of Muslims reminds the Government of her duties, and wants her to stop this unjust treatment of the State Govt. with her powers and influence, and to get [*sic*] the same liberal treatment as is accorded to the other subjects.

RESOLUTION No. 4

This meeting thinks to be very injurious to the Muslim cause, the hostile attitude of Maharaja Patiala towards Urdu, which is to be adopted [*sic*] through his *Farman* that, from April 1944, Urdu will be abolished from the State offices. This means, to we [*sic*] Muslims of Jubbulpore, that the State Muslims in spite of being in a majority will have practically no share in the State services. We strongly press the British Government to stop this *Farman* from coming into force through her influence as this is based only on a communal spirit, caused with the influence of Hindu Mahasabha. We hope that the British Government will safeguard the linguistic rights of the majority of the State subjects.

[*Resolution No. 5 omitted*]

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary, Town Muslim League

236

Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/32-3

[*Original in Urdu*]

RAJA BAZAR,
RAWALPINDI,
1 April 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Your stay in the Punjab has caused an extraordinary wave of happiness and joy to sweep through the Islamic circles. It has caused unrest among enemies of Pakistan who are seething with commotion and concern but are unable to produce a reasoned response to your arguments. I am extremely happy that the rationale of the demand made on behalf of the Muslim League Workers' Board had been vindicated. It appears our demand was premature and, therefore, suppressed. Nevertheless, we Muslims of Rawalpindi assure you of our unflinching loyalty and pledge to spare no sacrifice at your bidding, *Insha Allah.*

The Pakistan Day was observed on 23 March 1944 with pomp and circumstance without precedent in the past ten years in Rawalpindi. A copy of poster had been sent [to you] for perusal. Until the Unionist label is discarded, the Unionists will continue to masquerade as Muslim Leaguers. Sir Chhotu Ram's movement of grouping and mobilizing the Jats is so sinister that no honourable Muslim can tolerate it. This in essence is a replication of the abortive campaigns launched by Congress to contact the Muslim masses. Please direct the Provincial Muslim League to take effective steps to thwart it. If the people are made aware of this dangerous scheme it will be finished off in a week's time. My suggestion is that a special week be observed to expose and denounce Sir Chhotu Ram's misleading campaign and to induce the Muslim masses to gather on one platform. This will sweep off Chhotu Ram's insidious move. You have to persuade the elite to make their contribution to this good cause.

The Muslims of Rawalpindi Division request you to perform your journey to Kashmir via Rawalpindi and to intimate your definite and detailed programme. We further request your approval of our humble suggestion that you address just one public meeting on the way to Kashmir. I am certain God is especially kind to you, and that

your journey to Kashmir would help afford guidance to, and infuse fresh life into, Muslims *en route*.

I am making this humble submission on behalf of the sincere workers of District Muslim League, Muslim Students' Federation, Cantonment Muslim League, City Muslim League and Murree Primary Muslim League; it portrays the true feelings of Muslims of Rawalpindi Division.

Please send a reply by return of post and oblige.

Yours sincerely,
SYED GHULAM MUSTAFA SHAH GILANI
General Secretary,
District Muslim League

237

Address presented by Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1142/15

KASHMIRI BAZAR,
LAHORE,
2 April 1944

Sir,

Words fail to express fully our deep sense of gratitude and thanks for your so kindly accepting our invitation, in the midst of your multifarious engagements which are, indeed, of vital importance to the well-being and uplift of the Muslims of India. We are equally thankful to our guests, who have joined us in welcoming you, the uncrowned king of the Muslims.

Lahore, as you are aware, is the metropolis of Pakistan, the place which has contributed highly to the intellectual renaissance of Indian Muslims, the soil on which the political future of the Muslims of India was finally decided and which has nursed Islam's great thinker, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. Since your arrival here you have met mostly the dignitaries, politicians and other leaders, but this afternoon, Sir, you find yourself amongst people who occupy an important position in the building of a nation. We mean persons who belong to the honourable profession of publishing.

Nobody could be better acquainted than you with the part that the literature of a people plays in disseminating new ideas, creating new

forces, and awakening the masses, and the important role the publisher plays in the making of a nation. Indeed it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that the publisher forms the backbone and the mind of the nation and it is he who brings people from darkness into light. But this afternoon it is our painful duty to inform you that the Muslims are hopelessly backward in the publishing field, just as they are lagging behind in many other respects. The calamities which this deficiency has wrought are too apparent to us. Besides this, unfortunately, the Muslims of India have been suffering from a sense [*sic*] of inferiority complex. To remedy this evil, it is essential that the Muslims of India should be reminded of the fact that they are not a minority community, but they are a great nation in this country with a distinct and separate national culture and a civilization, history, language and a glorious heritage of their own. Lastly, the importance of religious grounding for the Muslims of India cannot be too strongly emphasized. Muslims cut adrift from their religious teachings are sure to sink and lose their very existence in the world. On the other hand, ours is an uphill task. We are confronted with great obstacles [such] as the dearth of production material which is entirely in the hands of the non-Muslims. Then there is great paucity of good writers on Islamic subjects. But now, by the grace of God and by your honest efforts, we are surmounting difficulties, and rays of light are dawning.

For our part we take pride in the fact that we have not been unmindful of this important aspect of nation-building and have done our utmost in this connection by publishing useful literature on Islamic History, Politics, Religion and allied subjects. We have been publishing books not only to make the extant Islamic literature available to the intelligentsia but to produce useful literature which stands the test of scholarship and also caters to the requirements of the Muslim India. In other words, Sir, we are doing our best in creating intellectual and moral forces necessary for the rejuvenation of the Muslims. We have also produced a good amount of literature on Pakistan, and the reception it has got is a testimony, if at all one were needed, to the popularity and appeal that Pakistan has for the Muslims of India. It is our privilege to say that we have thus contributed our humble unit [*sic*] to the cause which is dear to us all—the achievement of our own national homeland.

Nevertheless, we assure you, Sir, of our whole-hearted co-operation and support, and of our humble services to the Muslim nation.

In the end, we cannot adequately thank you, Sir, for accepting our

invitation and giving your blessings to us by your presence here.[1]

I subscribe myself to be,

Sir,

Your loyal and obedient servant,

SH. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

Publisher

[1]In his reply, Jinnah appreciated the valuable work done by Muhammad Ashraf in the publication of Islamic literature, and added that "he had received much education" from Ashraf's publications. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 451.

238

Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 851/43

KASUR,
3 April 1944

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

Most exalted Quaid-i-Azam,

Neither the Ministers nor the Mamdot party will organize the League in this province. Kindly encourage the workers over the head of the Ministers as well as Mamdot. If this is not possible, please give up for ever the hope of a strong League organization in the Punjab and, consequently, that of achieving Pakistan; do not worry yourself any longer; call a halt to your activities. A list of workers can be supplied on demand.

2. The Punjab MLAs are not yours. They belong to the Governor. You have already spent seven long years over them. Now ignore them and concentrate your attention on mass contact in the Punjab. I would, however, not oppose the idea of forming the Muslim League bloc in the Punjab Legislature. Start with a small beginning. Thus you will also be able to judge whether those who claim to be with you are really so.

3. Any service?

Yours obediently,

RABB NAVAZ KHAN

239

Maulana Muhammad Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/10

MUSLIM TOWN,
LAHORE,
3 April 1944

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall have the greatest pleasure if you can spare an hour on any evening during your stay at Lahore to have a cup of tea with me, when, as a mark of the great regard which every Muslim has for your selfless services, I desire to present to you a set of my English writings on Islam, including a copy of my translation of the holy *Qur'an*.

If you accept this humble invitation, please let me know the time and date which would suit you, so that I may be able to invite a few selected friends for the occasion.

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD ALI
President,
Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha't-i-Islam

240

M. A. Jinnah to Maulana Muhammad Ali

F. 664/11

LAHORE,
3 April 1944

Dear Maulana Muhammad Ali,

I have received your letter dated the 3rd of April[1] and I was very pleased to meet Maulvi Mohamed Yakub this morning. I have already explained to him how sorry I am that I am unable to have the pleasure of accepting your invitation for tea as I am leaving for Delhi tomorrow and in between there is no time as I have already made various commitments. I hope my next visit to Lahore may materialise very soon and I shall consider it a very great honour indeed to meet you and accept

the set of your English writings on Islam and the precious gift of the translation of the holy *Qur'an*.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Maulana Muhammad Ali,
President,
Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha't-i-Islam,
Muslim Town, Lahore

·No. 239.

241

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

CALCUTTA,
3 April 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just now received a letter from Nurur Rahman, the Organising Secretary of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, advising that the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce had, on the 22nd ultimo, written to him asking for affiliation. This is indeed very good news. Confidentially, news from Bombay is also good. The Chinoys have fallen out with Jamil, the Secretary of the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bombay. They have resigned from that body and have thrown their weight into [*sic*] the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce where they propose to establish a majority and then apply for an affiliation to our Federation. The latest news is that these people, including Sikandar Dehlavi and Habib Rahimtoola, have obtained the necessary majority. Sultan Chinoy will be elected President and the Chamber will be affiliated to the centre. There is an understanding between me and these people that our old undertaking holds good, that is to say, Sir Sultan Chinoy's candidature for the first Presidentship of the Federation will be backed by Calcutta. In view of all this, the prospects of getting on the way early are really bright. All this is extremely pleasing. Now our most difficult hurdle seems to be getting of a place in a good locality wherein we can establish our Federation's office. Without an office and a telephone, we shall not be able to render the service that our constituents will require of us.

I shall be glad to know from you as to whether you have purchased the building in Daryagunj. If you have not, I shall be most grateful if you will please exercise your influence with Dalmia and secure for the Chamber two respectable and airy rooms in a good locality for the Federation.

Now, coming to the printing press and machinery I quote below a telegram received from Hyderabad only two days ago:

> Government agreeable disposing IDM plant as lying in Bombay and Hyderabad [for] BG[2] rupees eighty thousand. Intertypes without magazines. Government press will be supplied three magazines rupees fifteen hundred each extra. Above quotation exclusive cost packing and freight which will be borne by you. Detailed letter follows.

The promised letter has not been received by me. I shall send it to you immediately I receive it. In the meantime, I request you to keep these negotiations confidential as there are hundreds of hungry wolves scouring the country in search of printing machinery.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 413-5.
[2]British Government.

242

Murtaza Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/17

LAHORE,
4 April 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

During our talk at the tea-table on the 1st of April,[1] some of us painfully felt that you were grossly misinformed about the work of the Muslim press of Lahore by some interested persons. When the conference was over, editors of the daily *Inqilab* and the daily *Ehsan* asked me to arrange for another conference with you, so that they may be able to explain their position and tell you how the facts stand.

I asked your Secretary on the phone if you will be able to give us time. His answer was that your time is already booked. So I, on behalf of my friends and myself, request you to give us the earliest possible opportunity to meet you and put before you our defence. I hope you

will be coming back to Lahore soon.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MURTAZA AHMAD KHAN
[*Editor, the daily* Shahbaz]

[1]Refers to tea party given on 2 April by Muslim journalists of Lahore. See No. 245.

243

Naseer Ahmad Sheikh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, OM II/14

P. O. BOX NO. 207,
LAHORE,
5 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you must have reached Delhi safely. I wanted to see you yesterday at Lahore, but on enquiry I learnt from your P.A. that you were too busy to give me the privilege to do so. I understand from Sir Maratab and Mr. Butt that they gave you an assurance to pay on demand Rs. 25,000 each towards the publication of an English daily, *Muslim League,* from Lahore. My cheque for an equal sum can be sent any time you call for it. So, now only the fourth man remains to be found. Kindly let me know whether I should try to search for one or would you arrange it yourself.

As perhaps Dr. Bashir Ahmed talked to you, we are trying to create a group of businessmen and scientists to assist and supplement the work of the All India Muslim Industrial Planning Committee. A meeting has been convened on 16th instant for this purpose.

I hope you remember your kind promise to honour me by dining confirmation.[1]

Looking to you for guidance and praying for your long life,

Sincerely yours,
N. AHMAD SHEIKH

[1]See No. 269.

244

George S. Arundale to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/18-9

ADYAR, MADRAS,
6 April 1944

Dear friend,

May I put before you the following propositions:

That we are rendering a great disservice to Gandhiji and to his fellow-prisoners as we reiterate demands for their release and achieve nothing, thereby pathetically disclosing our unceasing weakness.

2. That our greatest service to him lies in showing to the world that we can carry on his spirit, and in its power hasten India to her freedom.

3. That we must have ready for him, when the time comes, an India preparing to enjoy or definitely enjoying a substantial measure of self-government even if the war be not over.

4. That the preliminary steps to the preparation for the fulfilment of such substantial measure of self-government are:

a. The agreement of all parties to postpone, without prejudice, the consideration of major demands about which there may be sharp differences of opinion;
b. The concentration on a [*sic*] greatest common measure of agreement for the duration of the war, so that a common front may be presented for the establishment of coalitions and responsible governments at the Centre and in the Provinces;
c. The setting up of a national machinery to explore the nature of all major differences with a view to their resolution where possible, on the principle that a united India is preferable to a divided India in so far as minorities have equal rights with majorities [*sic*];
d. The taking of preliminary measures to explore the possibilities of a national constitution, a national system of education, and a national economy.

5. That we recognize the prosecution of the world war as an essential element in the gaining of India's freedom.

6. Will it not, I submit, be infinitely more profitable both to India and to Gandhiji if you and others of equally well-known status concentrate on continuous constructive work on the above lines?

7. I shall be very glad if you can find time to reply to this letter,

giving me the benefit of your advice and suggestions with regard to the points I have submitted above.[1]

Sincerely,
GEORGE S. ARUNDALE

[1]See No. 281.

245

Abdul Majid Salik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/34-6

RAILWAY ROAD,
LAHORE,
6 April 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was deeply shocked to hear from a friend what transpired at the tea-party given by Muslim journalists to meet you in Lahore on the 2nd of April. I was one of the hosts, but could not attend on account of a previous family engagement.[1]

You administered a sharp rebuke to the Muslim papers for getting subsidies from the Government, selling away their freedom of expression for a mess of pottage. One of the journalists tried to explain to you the real position, but you did not pay any heed to his requests.

I am at a loss to understand what did you mean by that false accusation. If you had received some such report it was your duty as a public man to call upon those papers to explain the real position before accusing them.

I am constrained to assert that the leaders of the Muslim League are not the monopolists of honesty in public life. There are people who have been serving the cause of the community throughout their life with the greatest fortitude and sacrifice.

It is really very painful to recollect that you were definitely discourteous to the Muslim journalists, who have always honestly served the cause of [the] community, published hundreds of articles in support of Pakistan when even you did not agree to it, and have always extolled to the skies the name of Muslim League and its Quaid-i-Azam. Was this the reward of all the services rendered to the community?

Some of the mischief-mongers, of whom, excuse me, there is no dearth among people around you, told a bare-faced lie about the position of the Muslim press and you, without ascertaining the facts

from the press, formed your opinion about them, and slandered them in public. This sort of discourtesy and unkind attitude towards your own devotees ill behoves a gentleman of your high position and intellectual equipment.

Muslim journalists had to tax their patience to the utmost in not challenging your accusation there and then, simply because they put the cause of the community and the honuor of their leader above every personal consideration.

These papers have already stood the test of time and have most successfully resisted the fierce onslaughts of the Ahrars[1] and the Khaksars[2] who flourished mostly in the Punjab. They have always given a right lead to the Muslims. It is only through their persistent efforts that the Punjab Muslims have rallied under your banner and left for good the Ahrar and Khaksar camps.

The free and honest Muslim press of the Punjab never expected such shabby treatment from the man whom they have served the most and whom they considered an embodiment of responsibility and consideration.

Would you kindly reconsider your position in the matter and make due amends, if possible. It is neither wise nor prudent to offend and estrange your own people for nothing serious.

A kind and early reply[3] is solicited.

Yours,
ABDUL MAJID SALIK
[*Editor,*] *the daily* Inqilab

[1] An organisation set up in December 1929 by Muslim supporters of the Indian National Congress, mainly from the Punjab, to devise a more radical social programme than the Congress was then prepared to adopt. The Ahrar movement cooperated politically with the Congress and joined the non-cooperation movement of 1930. It was also implacably opposed to the Ahmadiyya movement. See P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, 1972, 216.

[2] A para-military movement founded in 1931 by Allama Inyatullah Mashriqi with a view to regenerating Muslim society. See Naresh Kumar Jain, *Muslims in India, A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1979, 211-2.

[3] See No. 259.

246

Muslims of Sheikhupura to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 878A/79-81

CHUHARKANA MANDI,
DISTRICT SHEIKHUPURA,
6 April 1944

Sir,

It is with profound respect and marked deference that we the signatories take liberty to approach you through the medium of the following few lines for your sympathetic consideration in the sanguine [*sic*] hope that you will be kind enough to redress our grievances.

We are residents of Chuharkana Mandi, District Sheikhupura. The population of the place is no less than ten thousand. The Hindus are in a bare majority. This is not unknown to anybody that Muslims are backward in the sphere of business. So is also the case here. In Mandi Chuharkana there exist no less than 150 firms. Out of this number, there are only two firms managed and owned by the Muslims. This number, however small and ignorable, is not being tolerated by their Hindu neighbours who are always contemplating to efface [*sic*] them.

The destinies of the district are under the sway of Hindus. The Deputy Commissioner is a Hindu. He has entrusted the work of price control to L. Panna Lal who is nevertheless [*sic*] a bigot[ed] Hindu. Next comes the Price Control Inspector, L. Vashno Dass, who openly favours his brethren and is avowedly and antagonistically [*sic*] against the Muslims. He does not allow even a single chance to slip to harm, by [*sic*] or foul means, the Muslim firms.

His recent visit to Chuharkana, nay, his onslaught on the Muslim firms of the locality, is a bare testimony to the fact that he is badly prejudiced against the Muslims. He came here, stayed at the place of Hindus, revelled and enjoyed with them. He overlooked the blemishes of nearly all the Hindu firms, spared their stocks one and all. He locked up and sealed the stocks of the Muslim firms for not holding permits thereof. He overlooked the following Hindu firms who were equally in the fault and had no permit whatsoever.

[*List of non-Muslim firms omitted*]

However, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the Muslims he also reported against one Pt. Amar Nath, who as a matter of fact neither owns any firm, nor is an active or silent partner in any firm, and nor

holds any stock. It was simply to disillusion the Muslims that he techniqued [*sic*] this course.

The Control Inspector also spared the following, who, though they themselves had licences, yet they dealt with those or through those who had no such licences:

[*Names omitted*]

In short, our reputation and property are in sheer danger. The capturing [of] our stocks is sure to result in heavy monetary loss and to our ultimate ruin. If the action of the Price Control Sub-Inspector was in faithful discharge of duty or observance of law, then naturally the question arises as to what actuated him to spare the Hindu firms. The Price Control Inspector's attitude towards the Muslim firms has created deep resentment in the whole of the community and is being sorely felt. He appeared to act like a dictator and even his tone towards us people was most haughty and upbraiding.

In the end, we pray, Sir, that immediate steps may kindly be taken to save us from these oppressions, firstly by transferring him from the spot without any delay and then ordering an open enquiry into his dealings and conduct. Secondly, by posting some impartial officer instead of L. Panna Lal. Thirdly, by looking into the matter of this *mandi* in particular and sending up those firms who have got scot-free simply by dint of their connections with a particular class or clan.

Hoping to meet [with a] favourable response and thanking you in anticipation,

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servants,
MUSLIMS OF SHEIKHUPURA[1]

[1]The document bears the signatures in Urdu of Ghulam Gilani, Yusaf Khan, Rahmatullah, Feroz Din and Sattar Muhammad.

247

Malik Obaidullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/39-40

AMRITSAR,
6 April 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be pleased to know that the Anjuman-i-Usmania, Amritsar,

in addition to its existing activities for the furtherance of education, is seriously considering the various plans for the promotion of technical education among Muslims. Your recent pronouncements[1] on this subject have provided inspiration and guidance to the Anjuman. As an earnest of its goodwill, the Anjuman has completed the scheme for the establishment of an industrial school for Muslim girls in the near future. We are making strenuous efforts so that the opening of the industrial school may synchronize with our annual conference which is to be held on the 29th and 30th April, 1944. In this connection, it is a pleasure to learn that you will return to the Punjab towards the end of this month. I have the honour to request you to perform the opening ceremony of the industrial school.

A deputation of the Anjuman is reaching Delhi this weekend and will have the privilege to wait upon you and ascertain the exact date and time when you will be able to come to Amritsar. The deputation will also submit to you the details of the scheme of the proposed industrial school and will have the benefit of your guidance and valuable advice in that respect.

I may reiterate here that the Anjuman regards it "a consummation" most "devoutly to be wished"[2] that you may bless the new institution by performing its opening ceremony.

Yours sincerely,
MALIK OBAIDULLAH
B.A., LL.B.
Honorary Secretary,
The Anjuman-i-Usmania

[1]Presumably refers to Jinnah's speech at Aligarh on 10 March 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 413.
[2]Quoted from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

248

M. A. Jinnah to Zahur Ahmed

F. 878A/82

7 April 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of March 1944[1] and thank you for it.

I did not reply to the kind invitation which was sent to me by telegram on behalf of the Iqbal family, because I could not possibly accept any engagement except through the Chairman[2] of the Reception

Committee, and while your invitation was pending and before I could settle the programme with the Chairman of the Reception Committee, I was informed that owing to heavy rains the Conference had to be postponed. I am not going to Sialkot for dinners and lunches but to meet people and participate in the deliberations of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference. While I thank you and all others, who had approached me, I have already informed the Chairman of the Reception Committee that I shall have no time to attend to the social functions.

As regards your differences that you have drawn my attention to, it is entirely a matter for the leaders of the Provincial League to arrange and manage in such a way as will redound to the credit of the Muslim community. I am forwarding your letter to one of the leaders whose names you have mentioned, as Nawab of Mamdot, you know, has gone to Assam as decided by the Committee of Action.[3]

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Sh. Zahur Ahmed, Esq.,
Sialkot City

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Nasir Ahmad Malhi.
[3]The Committee was formed by Jinnah on 27 December, 1943, with Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan as Chairman and Nawab of Mamdot as one of the members, "to undertake immediately the work of organizing, co-ordinating and unifying the Provincial Leagues and the entire Muslim League organization in consonance with its constitution, rules and programme." See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 487.

249

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/10

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
8 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith[1] a press cutting from the local *Daily Gazette* dated the 7th April 1944, embodying Mr. Yusuf Haroon's latest outbursts against us in public. The reports of his speech appearing in the cutting, even as it is, is not complete. He, in fact, has said in the open air public meeting that if we did not do as he would wish us to, he would see to

it that we met the same fate as the late Mr. Allah Bakhsh. I submit this is a highly irresponsible statement to make in public; it shows we are at the mercy of individuals who can create any confusion, can say away anything in public, without even the organisation having had an opportunity of considering things. Yusuf's speech—not as reported by him to a friendly press but as recorded on the spot—indicates that it is grossly provocative, involves incitement to violence, and is almost actionable. What am I to do now? I submit all these facts in the hope that you will be pleased to see to it that we got a better treatment at the hands of youngmen of this type who feel they have complete sway over Muslim League and those that are associated therewith, and who in their enthusiasm do not mind exceeding the legal limit.

The facts to which this speech relates are as follows.

On the occasion of *Yarveen Sharif* on Wednesday, the 5th April 1944, a procession was to be taken out in the city with the Muslim National Guards in it. There are orders from the Government of India according to which wearing by members of any organisation [of] uniforms resembling military uniforms and marching in streets in military formation has been banned in all provinces. In view of these orders, Mr. Yusuf as head of the Muslim National Guards was told by a police officer to see that the Government of India orders are not breached. Mr. Yusuf spoke to me on the telephone and I tried to explain [to] him the whole thing. He, however, said that Sir Reginald Maxwell has told him that such were not the orders of the Central Government but that it was left purely to the discretion of the Provincial Government. I told him that it was not so and [that I] would show him the orders if he wanted. He of course did not see me, nor did he try to verify the truth of what I had told him. Instead, he "took the law into his own hands", as he mentions in his speech. Mr. G. M. Sayed did speak to me after Yusuf had spoken and the former was satisfied with my reply.

With best regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. GAZDAR

Enclosures 1 & 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 249

DOES GAZDAR REFLECT MUSLIM WILL?[1]

Yusuf's Emphatic "No"

SHC, Sind I/11

Karachi, Thursday—"We, the Muslim Leaguers, will not, we are determined not to, take our political instructions from the irresponsible [*sic*] Central Government which our leader, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, has never hesitated to criticise. If our Provincial Ministry finds that it is forced to the humiliation of merely executing the orders given to it from above, and when it is powerless to assert itself as the custodian of the people's natural rights and liberties, then the only honourable course left for us is to withdraw our representatives from the Sind Government. That is the only honourable course left."

In these stinging words which were received with wild cheering, Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, M.L.A. (Central), General Secretary of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, addressed a meeting of Muslim National Guards at the conclusion of a procession to celebrate a Muslim Saint's day on Wednesday evening. The Hon'ble Pir Illahi Baksh, Education Minister, presided and associated himself with Mr. Haroon's remarks.

Mr. Haroon said that, for some inexplicable reason, a police officer had come to him and conveyed the information that Government had decided not to permit a procession with a band or of volunteers wearing uniform. Mr. Haroon retorted that the only ban placed on uniforms by the Central Government was that they should not resemble military uniforms and the organisers had taken jolly good care to see that the ban was not disregarded. He was not aware of any power vesting in Government to restrict their liberty to come out in uniform of a non-distinctive character and with a band, although he would give an undertaking straightaway that they would not march in formation.

Continuing, Mr. Yusuf declared that his approach to the Home Minister proved futile and, therefore, he took the law into his own hands in the full knowledge and belief that the law, apart from official prejudice, was on his side. Thereafter, a police officer came and said that Government had revised their original order on reconsideration. Mr. Yusuf retorted that it implied a virtual climb down for the Home Minister. (Cheers).

Mr. Yusuf went on to say that, if the Ministers were powerless to assert their authority, they must vacate office (cheers). They used to

say that the late Mr. Allah Baksh was not representative of the Muslim will or the national will. Was the present Home Minister, who found it difficult to interfere with executive will, any more representative of the Muslim will in Sind (cries of 'no', 'no')? They had it from their leader, Mr. Jinnah, that no League Minister could or should bring the League or its ideals into disrepute.

Concluding, Mr. Yusuf who spoke in a moving tone gave expression to sentiments reproduced in the first paragraph of this report.

Winding up the proceedings, the Education Minister declared that the ...

[1]The *Daily Gazette*, Karachi, 7 April 1944.

Enclosure 2 to No. 249

CONGRESS-LEAGUE COMBINATION[1]

SHC, Sind I/11

Karachi, Thursday—The recent combination of the Congress-League parties in the Central Assam in inflicting heavy defeats on Government was really the forerunner of sustained unity between the two large communities inhabiting this vast sub-continent, for which a large part of the credit should go to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, was the deliberate opinion of Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, MLA (Central), who stated that he was not speaking with a sickly sentimentality but with an inside knowledge of things which he could appreciate and understand intelligently.

Mr. Haroon on arrival from New Delhi was interviewed by the *Daily Gazette* with a request to explain the significance of the recent combination of the League-Congress elements in the Assembly.

Mr. Yusuf said: "I must, at the very outset, pay my heartfelt thanks to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar for his selfless mission which involved many a delicate negotiation in circumstances which might have broken the heart of any other man lesser than Rajaji. It was principally due to his endeavours that Mr. Bhulabhai Desai[2] came down to Delhi and, what was more, started talking with the rank and file of the League Party and made an effort to understand our point of view. Both sides willingly recognised the truth that uniformity was not unity and that, if unity was to be established, each side must make an earnest attempt to understand the other side and its difficulties.

Continuing, Mr. Yusuf declared that the rejection of the Finance Bill and the Executive Council grant, not to speak of the proposed increase of railway fares, was the least part of this temporary unity which, he

hoped, would become permanent in due course. He revealed that only the other day the leader of the Congress Party [in the Indian Legislative Assembly], Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, gave an "at-home" to the members of the League Party when an opportunity was given to the two principal opposition parties to move with one another socially and understand one another's aims and objects.

Mr. Yusuf Haroon deplored what he called the "small-mindedness" of Mr. V. D. Savarkar[3] who rushed to congratulate a few Hindu members who could be counted on one's fingers for voting with Government. "Mr. Savarkar," said Mr. Yusuf, "originally declared that Indian nationalism would suffer because the Congress was willing to give the League a blank cheque which never materialised. Today, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha is giving a blank cheque tenable for all eternity in favour of the British Government which was exploiting the disunity in the ranks of Hindus and Muslims of India. I hope Mr. Savarkar will now come forward with a new edition of the *Gita*[4] presenting Sir Reginald Maxwell[5] as the latest incarnations of Hindu divinity. Albeit Mr. Savarkar and his small-minded coterie to of admirers, we are shortly going to achieve unity on the land. In that sense, we shall, of course, throw our challenge to the British Government".

Mr. Yusuf denied that Mr. Jinnah was in any way opposed to this unity. He added that Mrs. [Sarojini] Naidu[6] deserved more than gratitude at the hands of the people of this country for initiating this unity. But for her, Rajaji's hands might have been weakened. They were fools who thought that Mrs. Naidu and Rajaji were pulling in opposite directions.

[1]The *Daily Gazette*, Karachi, 7 April 1944.
[2]Leader of Opposition in the Indian Legislative Assembly.
[3]President, All Hindu Mahasabha.
[4]*Bhagavad Gita* (Song of the Blessed One, i.e. Krishana), and sacred Hindu text, an episode in the epic, the *Mahabharata*, expounding, *inter alia*, the doctrine of devotion to the Supreme Being.
[5]Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, until 4 April 1944.
[6]Member, Working Committee, Indian National Congress.

250

M. A. Jinnah to Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana

F. 1102A/38

NEW DELHI,
8 April 1944

Dear Sir,

I have received your telegram[1] and have to-day wired you as follows:

Your telegram. Will reach Sialkot twenty second. Letter follows.

I hope to get to Lahore a day or two before, and reach Sialkot in the afternoon of April 22nd.

Please arrange for me to meet all the office-bearers and the executive of the Punjab Provincial [League] and the District League at Sialkot, and I do not want my time to be taken up in social functions. Kindly, therefore, do not accept any invitations without consulting me beforehand. If there is any insistence for any social function, let there be only one function, a tea party in the afternoon, which can be arranged under the auspices of the Provincial League and under the presidentship of Nawab Iftikhar of Mamdot, who is the President of the Provincial League. It will be for the Reception Committee to arrange this function.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. JINNAH

[Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana,]
Secretary, Punjab Muslim League,
Sialkot

[1]Not traceable.

251

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/43

NEW DELHI,
8 April 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here is the basis for a settlement which I discussed with Gandhiji in March 1943[1] and of which he expressed full approval. He then

authorised me to signify his approval to these terms, should I be able to convince you of their being just and fair to all. As the Government have refused to relax any of the restrictions imposed on him to enable him to discuss or negotiate terms of any settlement, I write this to you on his behalf and hope that this will bring about a final settlement of the most unfortunate impasse we are in. You are aware of the intensity of my desire for a settlement. I was very glad when I found it possible to obtain Gandhiji's approval of these terms. I hope that you will bestow your fullest thought to the justice and fairness of these proposals and help to terminate a condition of affairs which is steadily causing all-round deterioration in the country.

Yours sincerely,
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]See No. 603, para 4, *TP*, III, 831.

Enclosure to No. 251

F. 98/42

[C. R. FORMULA][1]

CONFIDENTIAL

Basis for terms of settlement between the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League to which Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah agree and which they will endeavour respectively to get the Congress and the League to approve:

1. Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period.

2. After the termination of the War, a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

3. It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

4. In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and

for other essential purposes.

5. Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

6. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

[1]Subsequently published by the Central Office of All India Muslim League, Delhi, in a pamphlet, *Jinnah-Gandhi Talks*, in 1944, Appendix B, 85-6.

252

K. A. Wadud to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/41-2

14 DAYAL SINGH MANSIONS,
THE MALL,
LAHORE,
8 April 1944

Sir,

It gives me much pleasure to hear the news that under your guidance a daily newspaper, *Eastern Times*, will shortly be issued from Lahore. I wish you every success in your enterprise and, as far as my experience guides me, it will be a sure success.

In the year 1943, I approached the *Dawn* for some managerial appointment. I am enclosing herewith copies of letters[1] which I received from the General Manager, the *Dawn*, Delhi, for your perusal.

To put my energies and experiences for the nourishment of such a League's daily had always been my inner desire which ever prompted me to communicate with you for an appointment in the *Eastern Times* at Lahore. In the year 1943, on certain grounds I could not join the *Dawn*.

You need efficient, experienced and well-qualified staff for this particular newspaper and I am confident you will give me an opportunity to serve you with all what [*sic*] I have gained so far in the *Statesman*.

Since I could not find anybody here who should guide me to see the proper authority to request him to avail [himself] of my services, I apologise for encroaching upon your so precious time, for which I would request you to kindly excuse me.

Wishing you good luck and awaiting for [*sic*] an early favourable reply,[2]

I beg to remain,
Sir,
K. A. WADUD
M.A.
Superintendent, the Statesman

[1]See F. 1102A/43-5, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]No. 387.

253

Muslim Villagers of Durgapur to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 532/27-8

BURDWAN,
8 April 1944

About twenty Muslim villages under Galsi Police Station of Burdwan, Bengal, going to be permanently acquired by Bengal Government. Driving out villagers from homes and hearths. Immediate intervention solicited.

MUSLIM VILLAGERS OF DURGAPUR

254

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 308/289-90

8 April 1944

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of March 22[1] at Lahore and also your letter of April 3[2] on my arrival at Delhi. I do not think that there was any kind of misunderstanding, may be that the reporter did not quite catch me, but I certainly meant the 'Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry' at Delhi. The Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce was waiting for my arrival and they have already, after discussing the matter with me, applied for affiliation to Delhi, and I note from your letter of the 3rd that you have in fact received intimation from them and they will be affiliated in due course.

I think your latest news with regard to Bombay is correct but I am

not sure that you should continue your old understanding. The real work was done by our people. I should suggest that Sir Adamjee should be the first President because he is the man who really represents commerce and industry.

As regards your office in Delhi, Mr. Nurur Rahman had come to see me before I left for Lahore, and I hope to see him again very soon and see what can be done, but nothing definite has materialized so far in securing a building.

As regards the printing press and machinery, we must proceed at once to examine it. I think you do it or leave it to me and also send me the promised letter as soon as you receive it. The offer has been made to us and we shall accept it subject to examination of the machinery, and, therefore, the question of anybody else chipping in does not arise. Anyhow, I quite agree with you that we should keep the negotiations confidential. Therefore, please send me the letter as soon as possible and let me know whether I should proceed to examine the machinery and take delivery direct, in which case I shall send a competent man to examine it. Don't delay this matter and let me have your immediate instructions.

I am sorry Ahmed [Ispahani] was not able to come, but I hope that he might from Lucknow drop in here for a day, and I am really glad that he has agreed to serve on the Planning Committee. It will add to the prestige of the Committee and he will undoubtedly be one of the most valuable and helpful person in serving the objects that we have at heart.

I am in Delhi according to my present programme till the 17th; then I will have to go to Lahore and from there to Sialkot, where the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference is meeting.

Hoping and praying that you are now all right and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 241.

255

Rabb Navaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/21-2

KASUR,
LAHORE,
8 April 1944

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

Most exalted Quaid-i-Azam,

I congratulate you on the statement[1] that you gave to the press on the eve of your departure from Lahore to Delhi and which has been widely appreciated in this province.

2. Musalmans of the Punjab are so much tired of the Unionists that they would have lost faith in you even, if you had delayed this statement for some time more.

3. Now kindly find out enough time to come into direct contact with the Punjab masses. Thus you will create your own solid following. In this programme, I will give you as much time as you require of me.

4. May I know when you are coming to Punjab?

5. I believe that the next time that you come to this province you will be kind enough to visit Kasur as well. I will be very much obliged if you kindly inform me at least ten clear days beforehand to enable me to make adequate arrangements and to do the requisite propaganda.

6. Ninety per cent of the Kasur population is Muslim. You will feel delight to know that the trade of almost all sorts over here is in the hands of Muslims who will feel convenient to attend the meeting at night or on Friday when they observe the off-day. However, you can give us any date and any time that suits you.

I am,

Yours obediently,
RABB NAVAZ KHAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 456-9.

256

Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/32

KASHMIRI BAZAAR, LAHORE,
8 April 1944

Dear Sir,

Hoping that you will be having some rest after your heavy work in Lahore.

I am extremely thankful to you from the core of my heart for the honour you bestowed upon me in accepting my tea. Besides this I am highly indebted to you for the appreciation and praise you credited to my work, and since then I feel elated and encouraged. I have begun to feel that I have some worth in this transitory world and I am not only a cog in this machinery of life and death.

As suggested by you, I take the courage to remind you of your photograph of your student days, which you told me here, is with your old class fellow from U.P. and the address of whom is with Mr. Saiyid. Now please arrange to favour us with that photo so that we may decorate the biography.

Moreover, please confirm your sanction for allowing us to print *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*.[1]

With regards,

Yours faithfully,
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

[1]No. 234.

257

M. A. Jinnah to Sh. Muhammad Ashraf

SHC, P&P I/31

8 April 1944

Dear Mr. Shaikh Ashraf,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st March 1944[1] and the cheque for Rs. 300 as royalty, and I agree to allow you to print 3,000 copies of the second edition of *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* on the same terms on which the first edition was printed, as per terms of agreement dated the 27th March 1943 and those terms will be binding on both the

parties *mutatis mutandis*.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Esq.,
Publisher & Bookseller,
Kashmiri Bazaar,
Lahore

[1]No. 234.

258

Mahmudul Husan Butt & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/46-8

C/O THE GRINDING WHEEL WORKS,
AMRITSAR,
9 April 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

On the fourth of April 1944, I had the honour, along with some of my comrades, to see you at the Amritsar Railway Station, and we discussed with you the proposal of forming the Muslim Labour Federation.

Muslim India will always be indebted to you for the lead you have given to the Muslim masses. Their political exploitation from different quarters has been halted, mainly on account of your activities. Out of the heterogeneous elements which always tended to pull in different ways, you have created a solid mass. Now we see our goal clear and straight and have something to live for and to die for.

It is, however, a painful fact that a very considerable part of the Muslim masses, that is Muslim labourers, is still in the clutches of the Communists. Their exploitation is going on in full swing. This is a positive threat to Muslim interests. The Muslim labourers are drifting towards materialism and atheism, and those who should be in the vanguard of Pakistan Army would be found in the enemy's camp. Such a state of affairs is unbearable and must be stopped at all costs and in the first instance.

In this connection, we have started work after obtaining your approval, and there is no doubt that you would be pleased to know that Muslim labourers and a number of Muslim labour [*sic*] workers of the Punjab

have warmly responded to our call. The preliminary steps are being taken to organise the Muslim labourers in this Province. But in order to carry on this great task on a large scale and in an organised form, your guidance and your patronage are the first conditions.

We hope that you will find time for this all-important task and set apart a day for our deputation to see you so that the matter may be discussed in all its details and the right line of action may be proposed by you. Since you are coming to the Punjab, most probably towards the end of this month, any day during this period will be appropriate.

In the meantime, we are looking forward to any communication for our guidance.[1]

We remain yours,
MAHMUDUL HUSAN BUTT
Provincial Organiser, Muslim Labour Federation
ZAHURUL HASAN DAR
GHULAM MOHAMED
SAIF UD DIN SAIF

[1]Jinnah advised him to secure an appointment from his Secretary for between 22 and 25 April 1944. See F. 1102A/58, *QAP*. Not printed.

259

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Majid Salik

F. 1102A/51

NEW DELHI,
10 April 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 6th,[1] and I am really surprised that you should have written this letter. It seems to me that you are totally misinformed as to what took place at the tea-party which was given to me by the Muslim journalists and for which I was thankful to them. Although you were not present there, you have taken for granted everything that you heard and have written to me, to say the least, such a discourteous letter on that basis. I can hardly discuss the whole thing in a letter, as it was really a private talk amongst ourselves, but let me tell you that the accusations that you have made against me are

absolutely without foundation and unjust.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Majid Salik, Esq.,
The daily *Inqilab*,
Railway Road, Lahore

[1]No. 245.

260

S. A. Rahman Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 965/45

SHAMSHAD MANZIL,
ROSHAN ARA ROAD, SABZI MANDI,
DELHI,
10 April 1944

Sir,

I am very much grieved to hear about the proceedings of the meeting held by the Arya Kumar Sammaj on 4th April 1944, in which they have explicitly dishonoured the holy *Qur'an* and the Prophet [PBUH]. As a Muslim I cannot tolerate their absurd criticism that has greatly hurt my religious sentiments, and I strongly protest against their anti-Muslim activities, and request that such type of speeches and debates may be banned, and those who insulted the holy *Qur'an* and the Prophet [PBUH] be tried and punished.[2]

Yours faithfully,
S. A. RAHMAN QURESHI

[1]An identical letter was received from a Mr. Aftab Ahmed. See F. 1102A/84, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]The AIML had, on 25 December 1943, taken strong exception to the irreverent and profane remarks about the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in the book titled *Satyarath Prakash* by Arya Samaj leader, Swami Dayanand. See Resolution III in Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 470-1.

261

M. A. Jinnah to F. W. Bustin

F. 1102A/49-50

10 April 1944

Dear Mr. Bustin,

With reference to our conversation while I was in Lahore, I hope you have thought over the matter and I shall be obliged if you would let me know with regard to the two matters that we discussed, as soon as possible:

i. The printing of our proposed daily English newspaper in Lahore; and
ii. the accommodation for staff.

I may suggest that so far as the printing proposal is concerned, we may start with 3,000 copies as the minimum and thereafter so much more for every extra one thousand copies. I may be able to give you a more detailed scheme when I reach Lahore, as I propose to do on or about the 19th. In the meantime, I have got in touch with Mr. Pothan Joseph and he is going to let me have his idea, but the main thing is whether you have finally decided to do this work for us, and also, as you know, the question of accommodation is also very important; either it should be in your premises, where a suitable portion may be allowed to us on business terms, or we must find some place close to your premises.

I really thank you for your volunteering to help us and on getting further information from you, I shall arrange that Mr. Pothan Joseph should accompany me and then we can have a talk together.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

F. W. Bustin, Esq.,
Editor,
The *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore

262

M. A. Jinnah to Ibadat Yar Khan

SHC, P&P I/97

10 April 1944

Dear Mr. Ibadat Yar Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 8th,[1] and I regret very much

indeed that I cannot comply with your request. If I start doing this and make a precedent of this character, I shall be flooded with such requests, as there are so many books and publications springing up now-a-days.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ibadat Yar Khan, Esq.,
U.P. Muslim Students' Federation,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

[1]Ibadat Yar Khan had requested Jinnah to write a review of his book titled *Pakistan*. See *SHC*, P&P I/96. Not printed.

263

M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/83

35A FEROZEPUR ROAD,
LAHORE,
11 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Since my last meeting with you I have been reflecting as to what further contribution I can make to the success of the proposed English daily. As I have said before, my services are at your disposal for the advancement of the noble cause of the Muslim nation so dear to your heart. I shall be glad to look after the commercial side of the paper and do all I can to ensure its success by placing it on a sound commercial footing. My experience and connections in the business world can be freely drawn upon for the purpose of securing advertisements, organising agencies for sale, and settling matters connected with the technical equipment necessary to bring out a first class daily.

I hope you were able to find three more contributors to raise the guarantee fund to rupees one lakh.

I am very glad to observe that your fortnight's stay in Lahore has had a very encouraging effect on the Musalmans of the Punjab and I hope that the League with its growing strength has already captured the imagination of the Muslim masses in other provinces as well.

It is my firm conviction that if Muslim businessmen and industrialists are properly mobilised and stand firm behind the League, the

Muslim nation's future will be ensured; but this cannot be achieved unless we have true well-wishers of the Muslim nation at the helm of affairs in the administrative sphere.

You will be interested to hear that Sir Chhotu Ram in the course of a speech at Lyallpur session (of the Jat Mahasabha) frankly recognized that so long as religion forms the basis of distribution of political rights in the constitution of India, it was the inherent right of every religious community to organize itself for the protection of its political rights; and those who did not do so would stand to lose. Every Jat, he said, would have complete freedom to join the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akali Dal, the Liberal Federation, or the Indian Christian Association, and to work in his individual capacity for the achievement of Pakistan, Akhand Hindustan, Azad Punjab, United Punjab, or Purna Swaraj; but the Jat Mahasabha platform could not be utilized either to support or oppose any of these political ideals.

I personally consider that this is the direct result of your visit to Lahore that even Sir Chhotu Ram has started advising the Muslim Jats to join the League for the protection of their political rights and that if the Muslim Jats did not do so, they would be losers.

I am glad you are shortly coming to Lahore again.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. RAFI BUTT

264

Wilayat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/56

DAR-UL-LIAQUAT,
KARNAL, PUNJAB,
12 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very sorry I could not meet you in Delhi on April 10 at the appointed time owing to the death, which occurred the same day, of my aunt. I had, therefore, to leave for Karnal in the morning.

I am glad you have decided upon an extensive tour of the Punjab. I should be grateful, therefore, if, in the course of your forthcoming tour, you would visit Karnal before this summer is out and spend at least a day with us. I hope you will be kind enough to accede to our

request for a visit which, I am sure you will agree, is long overdue. I should like to have an interview in this connection. Will you please let me know when you can see me.[1]

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
WILAYAT

[1]Jinnah informed him that for the time being there was no possibility of his visit to Karnal and that he did not have to come to Delhi either. See F. 1103/25, *QAP*. Not printed.

265

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/12

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
12 April 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 7th instant.[1]

I am sorry I have to complain again about my ill-assorted team here. They are still persisting in their intrigue against one another. I have been doing all in my power to keep them together, but it is a very difficult task indeed. Nevertheless, I will continue to do all I can to bring about harmony and cooperation between them.

Hoping you are doing well [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN

Not traceable.

266

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay III/52

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
12 April 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 8th instant.[1]

With regard to the Bombay news, I shall be only too glad not to

have a man like Sultan Chinoy as the first President of the Muslim Federation. You, however, remember that it was your advice that Calcutta should, in spite of the backing out by Bombay of its part of the undertaking, keep the Presidentship open for Chinoy if he came in. With this advice in my mind, when I was last in Bombay I gave in to the proposal made by Habib Rahimtoola and Sikander Dehlavi regarding their capturing the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce and affiliating it to the Federation on the understanding that Sultan Chinoy, who has severed his connections with the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Bombay, should be made the first President. If you are able to influence these youngsters who, I am told, will do anything that you order, then I will be only too glad to drop Sultan. You know how much I dislike the fellow for the dirty trick that he played on me on the eve of the last meeting in Delhi to form the Federation. I shall be very glad to have your advice in the matter. I am sure you must have discussed the Federation question with brother Ahmad during his very short stay with you in Delhi.

With regard to the printing machinery, I have just received a letter from Hyderabad, a copy of which I am enclosing for your attention. So far as I can see, this machinery which was the property of the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay has not been used for more than three years and should be in first class condition. The price demanded, however, is on the heavy side. It should really be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 65,000 including the three magazines for the intertypes. You may either write a personal note to Ghulam Mohammed making this counter-offer, or if you want me to do it, I shall, with pleasure. If on the other hand, you feel that the price asked is reasonable, then no counter-offer may be necessary. Nooruddin is very sore with me because he had his eyes and heart set for the machinery for the Alliance Press which is badly in need of same. I am between two stools—a most unenviable position.

Mamdot and Isa were here for a few hours before proceeding to Assam. They are expected back on the 14th and will be leaving by the Bombay Mail for Itarsi on the 15th afternoon. They will be meeting the Working Committee of the province on the 14th.

I am indeed very happy to note the developments in the Punjab. Chhotu Ram, Baldev Singh, and those of the Muslim League who are playing the double game, must be bearded without further delay. A purge is necessary even if it means that the Muslim League has to go into the opposition, because the result will be a healthier, stronger and cleaner organisation. The two-faced Muslims in the Legislature have had too long an innings of undisturbed hypocrisy and treachery. In

view of this fact the cracking of the whip by you is indeed music for my ears.

I spoke to you when I was in Bombay about the case of one of the youngsters at Bareilly (U.P.). I shall be sending a copy of the judgment delivered by the Sessions Judge, a Mr. Gregory, I.C.S. It is most interesting reading. The sentence of imprisonment was quashed. The Magistrate's judgment was bitterly criticised as being irrelevant and political, and the Judge held that if there was a breach of the law at all, it was a technical and innocent breach. The fine for this breach was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, but the lad was given a very clean character certificate by the Judge. Now when the boy was sentenced to imprisonment, [J.P.] Srivastava, the Food Member, [of Viceroy's Executive Council] lost no time in getting the All-India Radio to broadcast the news of the sentence the same night. The result of the appeal, however, was completely suppressed although the Associated Press and the United Press, whose representatives were present in Bareilly when the judgment was delivered, sent out messages in the presence of some of my friends to Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. You will agree that this is a very dirty trick and Sultan Ahmed's attention should be drawn to this fact. I do not know if brother Ahmad has spoken to you in this regard.

Another hare has been started by Srivastava in connection with the food situation in Bengal. Srikrishna, who is our representative in Delhi, sent out an awful message which was published on page 1 in our issue of the 10th instant, that is, 11th April Dak Edition. Kindly read it. I was so agitated over the publication of such fifth-column piece of news that immense self-control prevented me from dismissing the entire staff of the *Star of India*. However, the position was retrieved by me in the editorial published yesterday—City Edition 11th April, Dak Edition 12th April. Kindly make it a point to read this editorial as well. Other newspapers, for example the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, have come out with similar news as given by Srikrishna in their City Edition today. It is obvious that Srivastava feels that he has been left out in the cold. The Viceroy and Hutchings, the Secretary of the Food Department, are dealing directly, and over his head, with Casey[2] and his Government here. Procurement and distribution are working too smoothly and public confidence is being regained too rapidly for the liking of Shyamaprasad and his henchman, Srivastava. As Shyamaprasad knows that any disturbance on the food platform in the province will mean merciless handling of him by Government, he is using others in Delhi to do the dirty work for him. I do not think that the Government of Bengal will lose this opportunity of giving a direct lie to the

propaganda emanating from New Delhi, and I am sure it will not take such malicious and false propaganda without uttering a word in reply.

I am most grateful to you for your prayer and I assure you that my political life will remain dedicated to you and to our great cause.

With very kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 254
[2]R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal.

267

A. Rahim Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/54

MOTIHARI, DISTRICT CHAMPARAN,
[BIHAR,]
12 April 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose the cutting of the editorial of a local daily *Indian Nation* about the President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, Khan Bahadur [S.] M. Ismail. The activities of the Khan Bahadur have already seriously undermined the prestige of this province. The League, which is the watchword of every Muslim of the province, is indeed without any leader. It is impossible to rely for anything on the Khan Bahadur as nobody knows what he would do next. The Executives and the Secretaries play to the unscrupulous tune of the Khan Bahadur and indulge in all sorts of dirty tactics unworthy of this great organisation. The registers containing the names of the members are kept secret in order to get bogus votes at the time of the presidential election as was done in the election of last year. If any member asks for the rules and regulations from the Provincial Muslim League, it [*sic*] is never given. The public is tired and feels helpless.

The Committee of Action should go deep into the matter and publicly call for grievances and meet persons individually and [let them] explain the facts. If I am allowed an interview and informed in

good time, I shall lay bare the facts and figures.

Yours faithfully,
A. RAHIM KHAN
Secretary, Sadar Sub-Division ML

Enclosure to No. 267

F. 1102A/55

KHAN BAHADUR S. M. ISMAIL[1]

Not long ago Khan Bahadur Saiyid Mohammad Ismail, President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, surprised the province by becoming one of the signatories to an appeal issued on behalf of some representative public men of Bihar for the celebration of Dr. Rajendra Prasad's birthday anniversary, and announcing soon afterwards with a flourish of the trumpet that he had withdrawn his signature from the appeal as he was a Muslim Leaguer and thoroughly opposed to the Congress creed, and as Dr. Rajendra Prasad was a Congressman, he would have nothing to do with his birthday anniversary. This action of his came in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of his co-religionists in the League camp and the Khan Bahadur was almost on the point of losing his presidentship at the general election. Great men have their own ways of doing things and so the Khan Bahadur has also his own ways. But his latest achievement is even more interesting than his previous ones and the Khan Bahadur seems to have broken his own records. We understand from what the Vice-Chancellor said at the Patna University Senate meeting on March 27 last. In the course of his address, Khan Bahadur Ismail had announced in the press in the first week of March that he was going to send in a resolution for the amendment of the regulation dealing with Hindustani as the medium of examination in the Matriculation standard, and had appealed to his fellow-Senators to support him. The resolution itself, however, was never sent to the Senate for being placed on the agenda, and he requested the Vice-Chancellor to grant him special permission to move the resolution at the meeting. This, according to the Patna University regulations, was not possible and so the Vice-Chancellor as well as the Syndicate, to which the matter was referred, refused to accede to the request and the resolution was never moved. We are sorry that the Khan Bahadur was put to this inconvenience owing to 'an oversight' [words missing] is reported to have said, and we wish him better luck next time.

[1]Editorial, *Indian Nation*, Patna, 30 March 1944.

268

Mohammad Sharif Toosy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/64-71

CHAWINDA,
SIALKOT,
13 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hoped to see you at Sialkot where I was to represent the *Eastern Times*. Now I have learnt that you are coming there on 22nd.

I consider it my duty to acquaint you with a few facts. The President, Reception Committee, Mr. Nasir Malli, does not enjoy the confidence of a large section of the people. He is no doubt keen and enthusiastic but is a bit grasping and overbearing and has estranged the sympathies [*sic*] of an influential section of Sialkot City people. I had interviews on 12th with the President and his Secretary, S. Murid Hussain, Captain National Guards, Mr. Zulfiqar Ali, Secretary, City League, S. Nasir Ali, Ch. Sarfaraz Khan, MLA, and Khawaja Hakim Din. The last two persons are most influential on the rural and urban side respectively. Both of them are willing to cooperate with the League but Mr. Malli, the President, is not prepared to accommodate them.... Khawaja Hakim Din, one of the most influential men in Sialkot City, and his party has been ousted from the Reception Committee. The influence of the President can be judged from the instance that Anjuman-i-Islamia, Sialkot, refused to lend its building and furniture by a unanimous vote. Out of 75 members, not a single [one] was won over. This is because Khawaja Hakim Din is the Senior Vice-President and the Manager of the Anjuman-i-Islamia. Mr. Malli, the President, Reception Committee, counts [for] nobody in the City.

Ch. Sarfaraz Khan, MLA, is personally not on good terms with Mr. Malli. He is a Jat member and Senior Vice-Chairman, D.B. [District Board]. In his talk with me, he convinced me that he would stand by the Quaid-i-Azam in the present crisis. He has full sympathies with the League and is also keen that the Reception Committee should be overhauled to accommodate other workers. But, unfortunately, Mr. Malli is adamant. He has too much faith in his own ability, influence, wealth and strength of character. He asserted before me that he could challenge and defy single-handed the entire body of Ahrars and all other rival combinations of his enemies. The local Muslim officials including the D.C., Mr. Akhtar Hussain, are also feeling much perturbed. The

latter is going on leave to Delhi from 17th to 24th. I tried to convince Mr. Malli that he should make his Executive Committee broad-based, representative of all important elements. His Secretary, Syed Murid Hussain, and Captain, National Guards, Mr. Zulfiqar Ali, also supported my view.

Sialkot is the mainstay of Ahrars. Mr. Malli, the President, is Ahmadi by sect and belongs to an out-of-the-place [*sic*] of District—50 miles away from the city. I guess from my talk with Khawaja Hakim Din that there may be strong reaction in Ahrar quarters, and possibly adverse demonstration. Nawab of Mamdot had suggested a compromise formula, under which Syed Murid Hussain, B.A., LL.B., was to be elected as President, Reception Committee. Both the City and District Muslim League had agreed to it as Mr. Murid Hussain's person was above [*sic*] the pale of controversy. But later on, this pact was violated and Mr. Malli exerted his influence to have open elections. But he manoeuvred things in such a way that the rival party led by Khawaja Hakim Din refused to fight in [*sic*] the elections and withdrew all support.

I beg to request that a Provincial League official or, more [*sic*] preferably, Ch. Sarfaraz Khan, MLA, and Sh. Karamat Ali, MLA, be deputed to visit the place immediately and interview the following persons with a view to ensur[ing] the effective representation of Sialkot City League and the people in general and also to enlist[ing] the sympathies of Khawaja Hakim Din and his party:

1. Mr. Malli, President, Reception Committee
2. Syed Murid Hussain, Secretary
3. S. Nasir Ali, Financial Secretary
4. Agha Zulfiqar Ali, Captain, National Guards
5. Khawaja Hakim Din, a leading businessman
6. Ch. Sarfaraz Khan, MLA, and Senior Vice-Chairman, District Board
7. Professor Inayatullah
8. Khawaja M. Ismail, Secretary, District Board

I have given a somewhat gloomy picture of the situation but I am confident at the same time that the weight of your personality is more than enough to tide over all difficulties and that even if you find no time to attend to the minute details of the local jealousies and prejudices, still the session will be a complete success. The heart of the common man is sound and everybody is eager to participate in a

grand procession in your honour.

Your obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD SHARIF TOOSY
Headmaster,
D. B. High School

269

M. A. Jinnah to Naseer Ahmad Sheikh

F. 1102A/59

NEW DELHI,
13 April 1944

Dear Mr. Naseer Ahmed,

Many thanks for your letter of April 5th.[1] I was so much occupied with some very important matters that I could not reply to you earlier.

Yes, I am very glad to tell you that the two gentlemen have definitely promised their quota, and a third one has also come forward and promised me his quota. I shall feel obliged if you will send me a cheque for your quota, as I have already received a cheque from one, before I left Lahore, and I expect the others to follow. I am very pleased indeed to hear that you people are trying to create a group of businessmen and scientists to assist and supplement the work of the All India Muslim League's Planning Committee.

I am coming to Lahore on the 19th instant, and I shall really have great pleasure in accepting your kind invitation to dine with you. You can fix any date between the 22nd and 25th April, and please let me know the exact date, as I shall have to go to Sialkot thereafter for a few days. Many thanks for your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Naseer Ahmad Sheikh, Esq.,
P.O. Box No. 207,
Lahore

[1]No. 243

270

Sh. Husain Sabir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/72

FAYAZ GANJ,
BAHADUR GARH ROAD,
DELHI,
14 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Most respectfully, I beg to bring the following facts to your kind notice.

2. Immediately after your speech[1] at Aligarh on the liberation of women, a series of articles has been started by *Dawn* under the heading "Women and Things" in the name of Mr. Torulata. In these articles a ruthless war has been started against *purdah*. Ordinarily nobody would have cared much for it but since all this has been started in your great name, the publication of these articles has caused a stir and a feeling of alarm in the minds of Muslims.

3. As a matter of fact, Islam unambiguously discourages the free association of men and women and on the contrary lays down the general principle of separate society and *purdah* in mixed society. I have carefully studied your speech and don't find in it anything opposed to the injunctions of Islam or against *purdah*. As a humble and loyal follower of you[rs], I took it as my first duty to clear the misunderstandings created in the hearts of the public by Mr. Torulata's articles on your speech.

4. I was sending my articles to the press for publication when, due to various considerations, I and my friends thought it more proper not to rush to the press but in the first instance to bring the whole matter to your kind notice. I am sending you a copy of my article[2] along with this letter, in which I have tried to explain the Qur'anic viewpoint versus [*sic*] women. I do hope that in view of the importance of the subject you will very kindly give your careful consideration to it. I would like to send this article to the press for publication only if you would have no objection to it.

5. In view of the misunderstanding prevailing among the public, I think it will be most useful if, on some opportune occasion, you very kindly clarify the position in regard to this matter.

6. Anxiously waiting to hear from you.[3]

Your most faithful follower,
SH. HUSAIN SABIR

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, 1853.
[2]See F. 1102A/73-9, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]Jinnah informed him that there was no room for misunderstanding as to what he had said in his speech at Aligarh, and that he had nothing to add. See F. 1103/28, *QAP*. Not printed.

271

Muslim Students' Federation to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/80

BANTVA, KATHIAWAR,
14 April 1944

RESOLUTION ON THE PALESTINE DAY

The meeting held under the auspices of the Muslim Students' Federation of Bantva unanimously resolves:

That, since the beginning of the War, the British Government had stopped the immigration of Jews into Palestine and this policy of the British Government proves itself reasonable when seen [*sic*] the horrible times that are attending to [*sic*] the entire world. The policy is highly appreciated by the Arabian people, specially the Arabs of Palestine. Now the state of affairs has changed and Jewish capitalists of America press the British Government to amend its policy regarding the immigration of the Jews. The Muslims of India see this movement of the American Jews with an eye [*sic*] of suspicion and appeal to the British Government to do no more injustice to the Arabs of Palestine. If the British Government gives in to the request of the American Jews, the claim that this war is fought for the rights of minor nations will be uprooted with the result that the feelings of the Muslim world will get excited, and under that circumstance, Muslims the world over will have to consider over [*sic*] their future policy afresh.

272

M. Umar Draz Beg to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/81

MORADABAD, U.P.,
14 April 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With due respect I beg to say that I had talked to you about the newspaper *Jiddat* on the telephone today in the morning, and through this letter I want to bring to your notice that there are four Universities in the Province of Agra [*sic*], namely Muslim University of Aligarh, Agra University, Allahabad University, and the Hindu University, Benares, besides the Arabic University of Deoband. In this respect as well as for the high traditions of the Muslim civilization and culture maintained here, no other province comes [up] to that standard. This is the only province in India where Urdu is exclusively spoken, and although it has a population of more than thirty million, no Urdu daily paper is issued from there; whereas there are several daily newspapers in Hindi. The *Jiddat* bi-weekly of Moradabad is the most prominent and popular Urdu paper of the province, and it is desirable to make it a daily.

As you are the sole representative of the Muslim India and the President of the All India Muslim League, it will be very kind of you if you try to get the permission for *Jiddat* as a daily newspaper, and help to raise the quota to 100 reams per month (or as much as possible). I will be very thankful to you if you recommend this case to the higher authorities of newspaper control and commerce, as a special one, and for granting the required amount of paper, and making the newspaper daily. For this kind act of yours not only I but also the Muslims of the Agra Province will be extremely grateful.[1]

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. UMAR DRAZ BEG
Proprietor,
Bi-weekly Jiddat

See No 371

273

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Sharif Toosy

F. 1102A/88

NEW DELHI,
16 April 1944

Dear Mr. Toosy,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 13th,[1] and I am very sorry to hear of the usual disputes amongst the local people, but it is really a matter for the Provincial Muslim League and the Reception Committee to handle. I don't see what I can do in the matter. Many thanks for giving me all the information.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Sharif Toosy, Esq.,
Headmaster,
D.B. High School,
Chawinda,
Sialkot

No. 268.

274

M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/84

35A FEROZEPUR ROAD,
LAHORE,
16 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Since I wrote to you last[1] I have been giving further consideration to the question of organising a first-class English daily in Lahore. After studying various aspects of the question I feel that the best course is to have a printing of our own. I have discussed the matter with Mr. Abdul Hamid of the *Eastern Times* and he advises me that it would cost approximately forty thousand rupees to purchase the requisite machinery.

I have asked Mr. Hamid to submit a detailed scheme to you. If the proposal meets with your approval, I shall be able to render some help in this connection.

Best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,
RAFI

[1]No. 263.

275

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/54

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
17 April 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my last lines[1] on the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, I am enclosing a copy of a letter[2] from Sikander Dehlavi received by me this morning. I await your guidance in the matter. Can Sir Sultan Chinoy be left out without breaking the gentleman's agreement arrived at between Sikander, Habib and myself when I was last in Bombay?

I am also enclosing a copy of a letter[3] also received this morning from Ghulam Mohammed. I have put my neck in the lion's den. It seems that I am in for trouble with my good friends.

The world is full of worries.

I wish you success in your mission in the Punjab.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 266
[2]Enclosure 1.
[3]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 275
Sikander Dehlavi to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/55

RAHIMTOOLA HOUSE,
HOMJI STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
12 April 1944

My dear Hassan,

I hope you received my letter of the 14th ultimo[1] in which I promised to give you the news about the elections in respect of the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce. I now give you the happiest news inasmuch as Habib has been elected by an overwhelming majority of votes as President for the ensuing year. We also carried the day in the elections to the Committee in which we had hundred per cent success, namely, all the 12 members nominated by us for the 12 seats were duly declared elected and now we are holding the General Meeting on the 16th of this month to record these elections and to take over charge of the Chamber from the past President and Committee. The third piece of good news is the fact that we manoeuvred to bring Sir Sultan Chinoy on the list of voting representatives of the Chamber and today he is a full-fledged member of the Chamber. This is exactly what Habib and I had promised to you in Bombay and which by the grace of *Allah* and the support of the Memon, Khoja and Bohra communities and the Muslim League had been possible in spite of terrible opposition which is still in existence.

Now the most important question is to persuade the members of the Committee of the Chamber to allow our name to be affiliated to the Federated Chambers of Commerce, Delhi, and in this respect I feel sanguine of our success for only one reason: that Habib has been acknowledged as a leader by all parties and he may be able to carry conviction in the matter. I do not know whether Sir Sultan's election to the proposed office of the Federated Chamber will be subsequent to the official affiliation of the Bombay Chamber or would like to go ahead with our proposal and give Habib a little time to put the Bombay Chamber on the right footing? This time is required to enable him to add to the number of members already on the list with a view to counteract any possible opposition on the question of affiliation.

I attach the official list[2] of the office-bearers of the Bombay Chamber from which you will be surprised to read the names of many of your League friends.

I may, however, mention that Habib is proceeding to Kashmir for a holiday on the 19th of this month, perhaps for six weeks or so, and will always be available to you at the following address:

c/o His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, Srinagar, Kashmir, should you desire direct communication with him.

I may also inform you that Sir Sultan may go to Ootacamund for a short holiday before the end of this month but he could be approached in the matter telegraphically or even by correspondence (c/o Savoy Hotel, Ootacamund) should you decide to hold the meeting of the Federated Chamber in the hot weather which can be the cause of members absenting themselves. You are, however, the best judge. I now feel that my responsibility is over and that the next step lies with you.

Nurur Rahman wrote to me a letter from Delhi informing me of the affiliation of the Lahore Chamber. Both Habib and I convey to you our heartiest congratulations on this success and pray to God that the sooner the whole of India is affiliated with the Federated Chamber, Delhi, the better for the future prosperity and unity of Muslim merchants in India.

With affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,
SIKANDER

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Annexure.

Annexure to Enclosure 1
Official List of the Office-bearers of Bombay Chamber

SHC, Bengal III/56

PRESIDENT
Mr. Habib I. Rahimtoola

VICE-PRESIDENTS
Mr. Mahomed Moosa Killidar
Mr. Gulamhusein Sonavala

MEMBERS
Mr. A.E. Maskati
Mr. Mahomedali S. Maniar
Mr. Karimbhoy Mahomedbhoy Dohadwala
Khan Bahadur Hassanally P. Ebrahim
Mr. Abdulkader M. Sheikh
Mr. Ebrahim Youssuf Zainal Alireza
Haji Nur Mahomed Ahmed

Mr. Aziz A. Mecklai
Mr. Hussein A. Waljee
Mr. M. H. Abdulkarim
Mr. Abdul Majid Tungekar
Mr. Zakeria Wally Mahomed

Enclosure 2 to No. 275
Ghulam Mohammed to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/57

DILKHUSA,
SOMAJIGUDA,
HYDERABAD, D[ECCA]N,
13 April 1944

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 3rd April 1944.[1] I hope you have by now received the list of machinery from the department concerned direct. I was assured that this has been sent to you along with the official letter. I had letters from both Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Khwaja Nooruddin asking for some of these machines to be sold to the Alliance Press. It is very difficult for me to say anything in this matter, but I presume you will deal with the two gentlemen direct.

I am very glad to know your health is improving. Do look after yourself.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOHAMMED

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta

[1]Not traceable.

276

A. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/14

KARACHI,
17 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a copy of letter of Mr. Pir Mahomed, Secretary of the Muslim League Party of the Karachi Municipal Corporation. As the matter directly concerns you, I thought it proper to forward you this letter.

You are aware that when you were last here you had asked us to have a constitution for our party. Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon along with Mr. Pir Mahomed drafted the constitution and placed it before the Party. The Party discussed the draft constitution three or four times but could not come to a decision.

The mayoral election of the Karachi Municipal Corporation will be held on the 9th May 1944 and this time it is the turn of the Musalmans. The President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League wrote to me a letter emphasizing the necessity of having a unanimous election for the mayoral chair. The first thing I thought would be proper that the constitution of the party should be adopted. In the Corporation we have 24 Muslim members and 22 members had joined the Muslim League Party.

In the meeting that I called for the 11th April 1944, 19 members attended out of 22; one was absent from Karachi and two did not attend the meeting including Mr. Hatim Alavi. We adopted the constitution unanimously. There was a difference of opinion on the first clause which reads as follows:

> The Muslim League Party in the Karachi Municipal Corporation shall consist of any elected or nominated Muslim member of the Karachi Municipal Corporation, who is a member of any Primary Branch of the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

Two or three members of the Party wanted that the above clause may be referred to the Sind Provincial Muslim League, but an overwhelming majority of 15: 3 passed the above clause. In this connection I had also met the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League at his request, and he emphasized to me that every member of the party must be a member of the Primary Muslim League and give reference to the All India Muslim League rules, and that I

placed before the Party.

Mr. Pir Mahomed who is Secretary of the Party attended the meeting of the Party and did not raise any objection. He signed the constitution as having been unanimously adopted by the Party and the next day he filed nomination for the Secretaryship of the Party, having himself proposed by me and duly seconded by Mr. Hassanali Hothi. I am told now that he, being coaxed by some other persons, has tendered his attached resignation on the following grounds:

> That Quaid-i-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah had agreed that Khan Sahib A[bdul Hakim] Khan can become the associated member of the Party.
> That Party is unanimous in adopting Party candidate for the mayoral election in the Karachi Municipal Corporation but unfortunately Mr. Mahomed Hashim Gazdar is opposing this intention of the Party. In this connection he is trying to make a division in the ranks of the Party and it is now clear from the resignation of Mr. Pir Mahomed that he will try to have four or five persons resign the Party. It is expected that the Party will not lose more than four members.

It is believed that Mr. Hanif s/o Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar will also resign from the Party. Mr. Hanif was elected to the Corporation on the Muslim League ticket. Could you kindly enlighten us as to what steps should be taken if Mr. Hanif resigns from the Party.

I shall be glad if you could kindly spare some time and enlighten us as to your views on the subject for which the Party will remain grateful.

Yours sincerely,
A. A. KHAN
Leader, Muslim League Party,
Karachi Municipal Corporation

Enclosure to No. 276
Pir Mahomed to A.A. Khan

SHC, Sind I/15

KARACHI,
14 April 1944

Sir,

Although it pains me very much, but I see no other alternative than to tender my resignation from the post of Secretaryship of the above party as well as from the Party itself. This was never even dreamt of by me before the party meeting that was held on the 11th April 1944 collected for the adoption of the constitution drafted by the Committee

authorized by the Party in the presence of the respected leader of the Muslims, Mr. Jinnah, at the time of Muslim League session at Karachi in December last, the reasons thereof are mentioned below.

For the past 3-1/2 years of the Corporation all Muslim corporators were members of a party called Municipal Muslim Party of which K.S. Abdul Hakim Khan was also a member up to the last minute of the existence of the party and remained loyal and active member of the same . When Mr. Jinnah came to Karachi, previous to his last visit about 6 or 7 months back, it was moved that the name of the party be changed to Municipal Muslim League Party and the constitution framed anew. Provisionally, office-bearers were elected and a *kutcha* draft constitution was framed in the presence of Mr. Jinnah. It was also enquired from Mr. Jinnah at the time whether K. S. Abdul Hakim Khan who was a Government employee was eligible for the membership of the League Party newly named and the reply was that Khan Sahib A. H. Khan can become an associated member of the Party. Thereafter, K.S.A.H. Khan was taken in the new Party and the Party passed such resolution admitting the above said person. Despite all the above facts, Khan Sahib A. H. Khan is excluded from the Party by passing the new constitution which requires that except members of Primary League none can become the member of the Party. In the Central Assembly League Party, the constitution of it can even take a non-Muslim as their member but here in the Municipal Muslim League Party even a Muslim who has remained faithful and active member is debarred from becoming a member thus superseding the decision of the Quaid-i-Azam. It discloses nothing but a pre-conceived manoeuvre in the Party on account of the impending mayoral election and a safeguard of individual interest of ambitious members.

On several occasions, special meetings were called for at different places and passing the constitutional rules finally, but the meetings were deliberately adjourned on one or the other ground and no meeting was called for the same for a considerable time. All of a sudden, a special meeting was called and without proper notice and also without circulating the copy of the proposed constitutional rules. All these facts lead me to lose my confidence in the Party and accordingly I

tender my resignation from the Party.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
PIR MAHOMED
Secretary,
Muslim League Party,
Karachi Municipal Corporation

277

Mohammad Akbar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/9-11

MIANWALI,
17 April 1944

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I understand that you are visiting Lahore on the 20th instant. I, therefore, take this opportunity of placing before you the grievances of the Muslims of the Mianwali District. Muslims form a majority of 90% in the District and they have been tyrannised and tormented under the most barbaric, savage, inequitable, inhuman Frontier Crimes Regulations. These Regulations were promulgated in 1886, and enforced in the *tehsils* (now constituting the Mianwali District) which at that time formed part of the North-West Frontier Province. The said *tehsils* were separated in 1901, from the Frontier Province and incorporated in the Punjab. Frontier [Crimes] Regulations were substantially amended in 1901, but no notification applying the Regulations to the Mianwali District was issued by the Punjab Govt. In spite of this fact the brutal Regulations have all along been applied to our District. The procedure adopted under the pernicious Regulations is as follows:

A list of Council of Elders (*Jirga* members) is prepared by the Deputy Commissioner on the recommendation of *tehsildars*. The result is that almost all *Jirga* members are official puppets or police dummies as whosoever incurs the displeasure of the Deputy Commissioner or Police, his name is removed from the list of *Jirga* members. Now, in serious cases of murders, dacoities, etc., where judicial evidence is not forthcoming, the Deputy Commissioner appoints three or four members to give their finding in the case. These *Jirga* members are often illiterate, ignorant, and of no consequence besides knowing nothing about

law or procedure. They do nothing but carry out the behest of the Police or the Deputy Commissioner. If they dare to do otherwise, they are dismissed and a new *Jirga* is appointed who invariably returns a verdict desired by the Deputy Commissioner. The *Jirga* members base their decision on no evidence but on rumours which are often baseless. No counsel can appear before these rustic judges. On the verdict of these *Jirga* members, suspected persons are sentenced to fourteen years rigorous imprisonment. It is an open secret that many innocent persons, who unfortunately happen to incur the displeasure of Police or the Deputy Commissioner, have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and are still rotting in jail, cursing the brutal judicial tyranny under the garb of *Jirga* system. Judgements of learned Sessions Judges are subject to appeal and are frequently upset by the High Court but the judgements of ignorant *Jirga* judges, based on no evidence, are more exalted and are unappealable. Muslims who form a majority in this District are the chief victims of this horrible system. Such a state of affairs is a loathsome stigma on judicial administration and cannot be tolerated in any civilized society. If it is a good system why it is not extended to other parts of the Punjab. Why is the Mianwali District being made the target of this judicial tyranny. No other district in British India is subject to this barbaric law. It has been abolished even in the Frontier Province.

The High Court of Judicature, Lahore, has recently held that due to non-existence of the Punjab Govt. notification, the Regulations are not applicable to the Mianwali District. The District authorities who have been wielding dictatorial, tyrannical and arbitrary powers under the Regulations were not prepared for the bombshell of the High Court ruling on the citadel of their despotism. They are trying their best to move the Punjab Govt. to issue a fresh notification applying the Frontier [Crimes] Regulations to Mianwali while the Mianwali people are agitating against this black law. The Anjuman-i-Islamia and District Muslim League, Mianwali, have passed a resolution regarding it, copy of which is submitted herewith. It is, therefore, prayed that during your prospective visit to Lahore, you may kindly talk to the Premier, Punjab, regarding this state of affairs and impress on him the fact that he should not be instrumental in taking a retrograde step and should not entrust his Muslim brethren to the clutches of the black law, under which tyranny of the worst type is perpetrated. If he appears to be enamoured of the Regulations, please ask him to apply these to his own home District Shahpur[1] (which adjoins Mianwali District) for at least a year as an experimental measure in order to bring home to him its glaring evils.

I hope you will excuse me for this rather lengthy letter, but it was necessary to acquaint you about [*sic*] details to enable you to advocate our just cause before the Premier.

Hoping that you will kindly accede to my humble request and thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD AKBAR KHAN
Secretary, District Muslim League

N.B. It is also requested that a resolution[2] requesting the Punjab Government not to apply the black Frontier [Crimes] Regulations to the Mianwali District may also be passed at the Provincial Muslim League meeting to [be] held on the 29th and 30th April 1944.
MOHAMMAD AKBAR KHAN

[1]Now Sargodha.
[2]See F. 829/12, *QAP*. Not printed.

278

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/44

NEW DELHI,[1]
17 April 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The proposal I gave you in writing[2] when we last met in Delhi must be still with you and perhaps you have read it over again and given further thought to it. I was much disappointed, as you are aware, at your inability to approve of the terms. But I hope you may perhaps reconsider your position. I sincerely believe that the proposals form a fair and satisfactory basis of settlement. I shall be grateful to hear from you as to whether you have reconsidered the matter.

Yours very sincerely,
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]He had come to New Delhi from Madras, where his address was. 48 Bazlullah Road, Tyagarajanagar, Madras.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 251.

279

H. Ahmed Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/13

TANJORE,
18 April 1944

Dear Sir,

It is a pleasure for me to let you know that after receiving your reply dated 23-2-1944[1] regretting your inability to preside over the conference, I sent requests to Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, *Janab* Aurangzeb Khan and Sir K. Nazimuddin to preside over the conference on 6th and 7th May 1944. The Premier of Sind regretted his inability to preside over [*sic*]. But Sir K. Nazimuddin Sahib has kindly accepted our invitation on 3-3-1944.

Elaborate preparations and works are being done. I think that this conference will have at least 70 per cent of the assembly of the people and magnitude [*sic*] in all respects which the 28th session of All India Muslim League at Madras had.

The Muslims of this District and other districts in this Province will be immensely pleased if we receive your well wish[es] for the success of the conference on 6th and 7th May 1944.

Pray for your long and healthy life.

Yours truly,
H. AHMED IBRAHIM
Secretary,
Reception Committee of
the Dist. ML Conference

[1]Not traceable.

280

Wajid Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 532/25

BOMBAY,
20 April 1944

All arrangements made for your Kashmir trip. Please wire Amjad

[Ali] Bombay when leaving Lahore.[1]

WAJID

[1]Jinnah intimated that he would leave Lahore on 2 May. See F 532/25, *QAP* Not printed.

281

M. A. Jinnah to George S. Arundale

F. 1092B/231

LAHORE,
20 April 1944

Dear Mr. George Arundale,

I have received your what appears to be a circular letter dated April 6th,[1] and thank you for it. My views have already been placed before the public in my speeches at Delhi last April, and at Karachi in December last, on the occasion of the session of the All India Muslim League. I am sending you copies of these speeches, and I hope that they will enable you to understand our views.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

George S. Arundale, Esq.,
Adyar,
Madras

[1]No. 244

282

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bombay III/53

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
20 April 1944

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 12th.[1] With regard to the printing machinery, I have noted what you say in your letter, and I have despatched our representative to Bombay and Hyderabad to

examine the machinery and report to me before the 25th instant. If I find that the machine is really useful to us, I will close the bargain. I have wired to Ghulam Mohammed requesting him to direct his agent in Bombay to allow our representative to inspect the machinery, and from there he will proceed to Hyderabad to inspect the other part which is lying there. As regards the Punjab, all I can say to you is that I am here again and doing my best. I was very pleased to hear the result of the case against one of the youngsters at Bareilly.

I am so glad that you are now almost all right. I met Ahmad in Delhi, and I was very pleased to see him looking fit. He was quite cheerful, and I am really thankful to him for having agreed to join the Planning Committee. *Insha Allah*, I shall be able to put up a really good committee. No doubt the matter is being delayed because I really want a committee worthy of the task, which is of vital importance to us.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 266.

283

M. A. Rashid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/92-3

DHUBRI,
ASSAM,
21 April 1944

Sir,

I have the honour to forward to you a copy of my comments on the speech of Hon'ble Sir M[ohamma]d Saadulla, the Premier of Assam, which I have sent to the *Dawn* for publication. I do not know if you have been informed by anyone [of those] who attended the Assam Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Barpeta recently about the said speech, delivered by the Premier. From this comment on his speech, you will find how he stands against the policy and principles of the Muslim League which are so dear to Muslim India. If being the Premier of a province, he indulges in this sort of talk which go[es]

against the solidarity of the Muslims of India, he cannot perhaps be excused. I, therefore, thought it proper for me to send this copy to you. You may, if you like, ask for a report from Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, the President of the Conference, or from the honourable members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, the Nawab of Mamdot and Mr. Qazi M[ohamma]d Isa, who attended the Conference.

I am sure nobody [*sic*] of the above-named persons was satisfied with the speech of the Premier, whose main contention was the retention of the Line System[1] in Assam.

I regret I have taken much of your time.

With compliments,

Yours fraternally,
M. A. RASHID
B.A.

[1]See No 331, note 1, Vol I, 576. Also see Pirzada, *Foundations*, III, 280 & 527, and No. 275, *TP*, V, 286.

Enclosure to No. 283

F. 1102A/94-9

Comments on the Assam Premier's Speech at the Assam Provincial Muslim League Conference

Being requested by Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, the President of the above Conference, Sir Sayed Saadullah rose to meet the charges that were levelled against his Ministry by several speakers in the Conference, and also to define his policy as regards the vexed question of the Line System, which is still in existence in Assam, with all its evils. The Premier took long forty minutes to finish his speech, and naturally people thought that he would deliver a speech which would give us food for thought. Nay, the audience was sadly disappointed, and people began to think if this was not the last speech of the Premier given from a public platform. His speech was full of venom against the immigrants, and he suggested that the immigrants, who are now in Assam, are there out of his mercy. Fortunately, the President of the Conference did not understand fully what the Premier spoke in Bengali, otherwise he would have caught him by the hip as he did on the Palestine question to which we are referring later on. He said that eleven years ago, when he came to Barpeta, he found jungles all around and he was somewhere chased by a tiger and now what he finds is that Barpeta is full of immigrants. The Premier was chased by a tiger at that time, now tigers are being chased by the immigrants, but that is

not our point. We want to assert definitely that what he boasted [*sic*] about the immigrants is utterly false and misleading. But for him, one would have found all the jungles of Assam already cultivated. It is his policy of divide and rule, which he has nicely copied from his masters, that has uptil now kept the Assamese Muslims far away from the immigrants. Can he say that he gave a smooth running to the immigrants of Assam? Was it not that during his time hundreds of Muslim immigrants' houses were burnt to ashes, their properties destroyed, their crops damaged, and even atrocities committed on the womenfolk of the immigrants? Who was at the helm of the administration then? Even now, when we expected something better from him, has his Ministry not ordered the demolition of hundreds of houses of the poor immigrants who came to Assam from Bengal during the last year's widespread famine in Bengal? Were they not sent back loaded in wagons just like goods and chattels when they came to Assam for a morsel of food, which they could have easily obtained from the jungles of Assam? Where was his sympathy then? We know how and why he has loosened the knot of his juggler's bag. The immigrants, who are dashing and came with a determination to settle in Assam, squatted wherever they found waste lands and did not move from there in spite of the heavy and inhuman penalties they had to pay for such offences, are mainly responsible for the magnanimity of the great Sayed. When he found that the people are immovable and when the immigrants sent in a big number of their men as representatives in the Assembly, then only his heart was broadened. He realised fully well that if he did not show this sympathy towards the immigrants, he will have to go once more to tread the stairs of the Calcutta High Court at this age. Therefore, the relaxation to some extent. The Central Government, which is pressing much for the Grow More Food Campaign, is also responsible for the Premier's loosening his grip.

During his speech he was cheered by a section of the audience. He might not have noticed who they were. We tell him that they were the few officers and a handful of Assamese Muslims who little realised what he said, but thought their Premier, a champion of the narrow cause of the Assamese, might have said [*sic*] for their good and so they gave claps.

May we know what became of the findings of the Line Enquiry Committee? Why no action was taken on that report?

It was a matter of great fortune that the audience did not take up the challenge which the Premier in his sentiments threw up. Had the people responded to his challenge, we can tell him that he would have got the greatest and rudest shock of his life. We can presume that he could realise what the silence meant when he was repeatedly asking

the audience to say at that moment whether they appreciated his services. Not a single mouth opened out, even though he paused for some time for a reply. We hope this is an eye opener to him. The immigrants have seen through this game and the less of it the better for all concerned. The immigrants will not hesitate to place these matters before the President of the All India Muslim League, as they suppose the President is unaware of this unhappy state of affairs in a province the Premier of which is a so-called Muslim Leaguer. How many times the President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League has met Mr. Jinnah? He finishes his duty by sending his representative Mr. Matin. Is the Assam Provincial League affiliated to the All India [Muslim] League? If not, who is responsible for this? Let the Premier answer.

Sir Saadullah told the audience that Assam could be compared with Palestine, and when the Arabs there resented the import of the Jews, why should not [*sic*] the Assamese people not, reasonably, resent the coming of the Bengali immigrants? The President who understood little of Bengali in which the Premier was speaking, was shrewd enough to catch his tone and just after the Premier sat, the President remarked amidst thundering cheers from the audience that the Premier's analogy of Palestine was quite incorrect and [that] he did not understand the Palestine question well. This was a nice retort to the Premier's pride who, before he started with the Palestine question, [had] remarked, ironically, that he did not come there to teach law to those who a little earlier spoke that the Line System was quite illegal. The Premier thought that this was his Assembly chamber, and he forgot that three big guns of the All India Muslim League were sitting by him and listening closely to what he was saying.

We need not go further. We finish by reminding him of the fate of his friend, the "Sher-i-Bengal," who had a record of brilliant services to Islam and his community. The Assam Premier has nothing to be proud of, and yet he indulges in these vain talks. May *Allah* guide the 'son of Arab'.

M. A. RASHID

'Not traceable

284

Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/104-5

8 BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 April 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am enclosing herewith a cutting from the *Nawa-i-Waqt*.[1] I hope you will enjoy the verses [translated into English] of the late Allama Iqbal which sum up the present situation in Punjab so aptly:

The poor thing is on death-bed for so many days,
I am afraid lest I should break the bad news.
The fate seems to be inevitable,
But the priests are praying, "God avert it".
Maybe this keep of the decayed [*sic*] Englishman
Survives a few more days!

The *Nawa-i-Waqt* and its staff place their services at your disposal. You can utilize them in any way you like. May God help and guide you to serve the Muslim *Millat* to the best of your ability. We will be proud to serve as your humble soldiers in any capacity.

Hope to see you in a day or two provided you have a few minutes to spare.[2]

Yours sincerely,
HAMEED NIZAMI
Managing Editor,
The Nawa-i-Waqt *weekly*

[1] See F. 1102A/106-7, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2] See No. 354.

285

Saaid Mahaboob to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/15

TENALI, DIST. GUNTUR,
[MADRAS,]
22 April 1944

Janab,

The workers and sympathisers of the Muslim League of the Guntur District are going to meet at Tenali on 5th May, 1944 to elect an organising committee to form the District Committee.

In this District, Muslims are a minor community and since [*sic*] one year are doing the propaganda of the League and [have] nearly enrolled 1,300 primary members and formed six Primary Committees.

We are very enthusiastic to strengthen the League by ways and means given by the League leadership.

So, we hope you will encourage us in our effort and oblige us with your message.

Yours sincerely,
S. MAHABOOB
Secretary,
Primary Muslim League

286

M. B. Zaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/108-9

JULLUNDUR,
22 April 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The local Muslim Students' Federation has resolved to revolutionise the entire activities of League in the Jullundur District. We have chalked out a three-point programme:

i. The first item is enrolment of at least 70,000 members of the League and [establishment of] more than 300 Primary Leagues during the ensuing summer vacation.
ii. The next thing is: the propagation of the League creed and its

importance as [a] people's party.

iii. The last but not least thing is the popularization of our national creed: Pakistan.

We have to experience some difficulties with [*sic*] which we need to inform you, and [we] require your indispensable guidance and advice.[1] The representatives of the local MSF will be attending the Sialkot session, and please give some time during your stay at Sialkot to meet them. We have also informed the Secretary, Reception Committee, Sialkot.

Hope this letter finds you in [the] best of your health,

Yours very sincerely,
M. B. ZAMAN
General Secretary,
Muslim Students' Federation

Jinnah appreciated his efforts for organising the Muslim League in Jullundur See F. 1102A/196, *QAP*. Not printed.

287

Syed Mahbub Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/136

ANGLO-ARABIC COLLEGE,
DELHI,
22 April 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to your interview with me on the 18th April 1944,[1] I beg to say that I have acted as advised, and I hope I shall be able to join you by the 5th May.

You have asked me to write about pay also 'strictly on business terms.' As a matter of fact, I don't wish to bargain with you in this case. For me there would be no greater pleasure than to be in the service of Quaid-i-Azam whom I wish to serve heart and soul. I heard from Mr. Chishti, Principal of the College, that you offered a salary of Rs. 350 plus free accommodation. I would be willing to accept this pay even though I shall have to make my own arrangement regarding board and accommodation in Bombay although the problem regarding housing accommodation in the big city of Bombay is far more acute than it is here during [*sic*] the exigencies of War. Anyhow, I must serve you. My humble services are at your disposal.

Kindly let me know your programme so that I may arrange accordingly.

Hoping to hear soon,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
SYED MAHBUB HASAN

[1]He was interviewed for the post of Stenographer.

288

A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/73

PAISA AKHBAR STREET,
LAHORE,
22 April 1944

Dear Sir,

Reference your personal conversation with the undersigned about the royalty to be given to the Muslim League for publishing the League's annual proceedings, I have to submit that according to the following calculation I am willing to allow the League twenty-five per cent (25%) of my net profits, and it is hoped that you will kindly agree to it:

Sale price of each copy	1-0-0
Less cost of production	0-8-0
Leaves a balance of	0-8-0
Less booksellers' commission, including publicity cost per copy	0-4-0
This leaves a net profit for me per copy	0-4-0
Out of this I am willing to give 25% as royalty to the League, per copy	0-1-0

This means that for each copy I sell at rupee one I will give the League *anna* one as royalty. Kindly confirm this and oblige.

For your information I may as well add here that I have printed only 1,000 impressions of the first edition of the proceedings of the 30th session held at Delhi.

Further, I may add that I am also printing 1,000 impressions of the first édition of the proceedings of the 31st session held at Karachi. When the book is ready I shall inform you of its sale price (which

probably will be Rs. 2 per copy, as it is going to be illustrated and will be much larger and [with a] better get-up).

Yours faithfully,
A. HAMID
Proprietor,
The Eastern Times Book Depot

289

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

F. 696/43

24 April 1944

My dear Laik Ali,

This is just to inform you that I met Mr. Rafi Butt of Lahore. He is running a very good factory of surgical instruments and aluminium wares. Also, he is connected with the Exchange Bank, which has been [*sic*] mainly due to his efforts. He showed great interest in the Company, Al-Meezan, which you are launching, and expressed his desire to subscribe substantially to the shares of the Company. I have requested him to get in touch with you, and asked him to examine the scheme and the Memorandum of the Company for himself; and that [*sic*] I thought that you might have him, if you think it right, and allot shares to him. He will write to you direct about this matter.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali,
Begumpet,
Hyderabad, D[ecca]n

290

W. T. Krishnaswamy Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/110

79 BIG STREET,
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS,
24 April 1944

THE *SUNDAY OBSERVER* PURSE FUND

Dear Sir,

I am herewith sending you an appeal[1] by a committee constituted for the purpose of presenting a purse to Mr. P. Balasubramaniam Mudaliar in appreciation of his services as a publicist to enable him to have a press of his own to conduct the *Sunday Observer* with the same undaunted courage as he had been doing hitherto and, if possible, to convert his weekly into a daily paper.

I have therefore to approach you also for a contribution. The contribution may kindly be sent to Dewan Bahadur M. Raman (Treasurer), 60 Theagaraja Road, Theagarajanagar, Madras.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
W. T. KRISHNASWAMY
Secretary, the Sunday Observer Purse Fund

[1] See F. 1102A/111, *QAP*. Not printed.

291

Message by M. A. Jinnah to Iqbal Society, Hyderabad, Sind

Telegram, F. 1102A/112

LAHORE,
25 April 1944

Wish you all success Iqbal Day celebration. His priceless contributions in poems and writings are today the guiding light to the Muslim nation and he will ever live and his memory will be cherished not only by Muslim India but whole world as one of the greatest poets.

M. A. JINNAH

292

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 1102A/113

25 April 1944

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali,
8 Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi,

Try arrive twenty-seventh morning. Bring Joseph[1] with you for [a] day at least.

JINNAH

[1]Most probably, Pothan Joseph who was later appointed Editor of the *Dawn*, Delhi.

293

Pir Illahi Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/16

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
25 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had personally requested you to kindly ask Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to help me in bringing the Sind University Bill before the Sind Legislative Assembly. The matter will shortly be decided by the Cabinet. As such, may I request you to kindly write to Sir Ghulam Hussain as early as possible. Also, another letter in this connection to Mr. G.M. Sayed will be very useful.

Thanking you for the trouble,

Yours sincerely,
PIR ILLAHI BAKHSH

See Annex to No. 357.

294

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/58

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 April 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 20th instant[1] and note that you have sent an expert to examine and report on the printing machinery lying in Bombay and Hyderabad.

The latest news regarding your negotiations in the Punjab points towards an impending breakdown. It seems apparent that Chhotu Ram, Monoharlal and Baldev Singh have too much influence on Tiwana and it seems to me that he too will take the line of least resistance, as did A.K. Fazlul Huq, and betray the League in order to keep himself in office. Our stand in that case is patent. We shall have to do in the Punjab what we did in Bengal, and with a band of sincere and active youngmen at the disposal of the League in the Punjab, I feel that quicker and earlier results can be achieved in that province than we were able to in ours. Whether the League continues to be the Government or goes into the opposition, matters little. We cannot continue to have our friends playing the double game all the time.

The election of the Aldermen to the Calcutta Corporation ended in resounding victory for us:

i. We brought in two Muslim League Aldermen,
ii. We kept out two of the Hindu Mahasabhites of the province, one of them being Mr. N.C. Chatterjee, the President of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha,
iii. Dr. B.C. Roy—official Congress—was kept out. (I am indeed sorry he had to be left out of our whip),
iv. Mr. Syed Badrudduja, who did not seek election but was sure of being returned to the Corporation as an Alderman, withdrew his candidature five minutes before the election of the Aldermen took place. He knew that he would be defeated. Retribution for his treachery came much quicker than anyone expected. Within twelve months he paid the price,
v. Khan Bahadur S. Mohamed Jan, the leader of the newly formed Muslim Majlis, which is yet another of the many mushroom organisations of Musalmans supporting the Mahasabha in the

province and who was the candidate of the Congress Municipal Association and the Mahasabha, was badly defeated.

So, with one stone we killed many birds.

Today is the mayoral election. It is the turn of the Caste Hindu. I was offered the mayoralty by several persons of influence in order to keep out Mr. Anandi Lal Poddar, whose small group supported us in the Aldermen election and made it possible for us to achieve our great success. Needless to say, they realised that I could not be purchased. Mr. Anandi Lal Poddar stands as our candidate and Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherji went to the Europeans last night, begged them to support any other Hindu in the Corporation that the Europeans choose and further asked the Europeans to nominate from amongst their Party a candidate for the deputy mayoralty. This is an example of Indian nationalism. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherji who abuses the Europeans, up hill and down dale, day in and day out, in the Assembly, goes [down] on his knees cringing for support in order to defeat someone who was instrumental in completely frustrating his plans in the Corporation. I am afraid the Europeans will support the Hindu candidate who will be run against Mr. Anandi Lal Poddar and Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherji and a section of the Bose Group will support that Hindu candidate. Politics does make strange bed fellows! However, it does not matter to me two hoots as to which of the two Hindu candidates gets in. We promised to support Mr. Poddar and we are going to fulfil that promise and demonstrate once again that the Muslim League stands true and loyal to its undertaking and it can resist all temptations.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 282.

295

Memon Club to Crown Representative, Delhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

Telegram, F. 777/1

DHORAJI,
26 April 1944

Pakistan our ultimate goal. Profound faith in Jinnah. Expecting

acceptance of Pakistan scheme.

MEMON CLUB

296

Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Tijarat, Saudagran-i-Juft, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 909/45-8

C/O EVERGREEN SHOE FACTORY,
SHOE MARKET,
AGRA,
26 April 1944

Respected Sir,

The Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Tijarat, Saudagran-i-Juft, Agra, beg to place before your honour the serious difficulties through which the shoe industry of Agra is at present passing. It is more than 50 years old and due to untiring efforts of this Anjuman, this industry has now become one of the foremost and vital in the general industrial structure of India.... It is needless to emphasize that an industry which is catering [to] the needs of so many people in this country should not be allowed to close down as it will be difficult to revive it again. Apart from the industrial point of view, this industry is a medium of support and livelihood for about one lakh inhabitants of Agra.

The increasing transport difficulties have now reached a stage when the entire future of shoe industry is threatened. For the last one month we have not executed any business as absence of transport has closed all outlets for our goods. Stocks of shoes purchased by us one month ago are still lying either in the railway sheds at Agra, or in our own godowns.... The crises are precipitated when last month's booking of shoes by passenger train was declared closed. In this way, one by one all possible outlets for our goods have been closed to us. You may be in a position to realise its consequences when we state that the shoe market in Agra normally clears 1,00,000 pairs daily.

We submit to you on reliable authority that a foreign firm also dealing in Agra shoes has not been denied the transport facilities. The foreign firms are flourishing as usual and the Indian firms are on the verge of decline....

[*Next two paras omitted*]

We may submit that this is a wholly Muslim-controlled industry, as your honour may be well aware. We are, due to this difficulty, facing a

crisis and if not given a supporting hand, we may go down for ever. We, therefore, approach your kind self to do everything legitimate in your power and to come to our help before its [*sic*] complete extinction.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary,
Railway Forwarding Board,
Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Tijarat, Saudagran-i-Jufi

297

A Musalman of Hariana to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/116-7

HARIANA,
DISTRICT HOSHIARPUR,
26 April 1944

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hear that Rana Nasrullah Khan, M.L.A., is a champion of the cause of the Muslim League in Punjab Assembly. If such like [*sic*] self-seekers, office-mongers, and men of no principle are going to be the pillars of Muslim League in Punjab, it is doomed for ever. It is a revelation to us, the Musalmans of Hoshiarpur Distt., that he is a champion of the Muslim League. He has never become a two-*anna* member of the Muslim League. Moreover, he is a district leader of the National War Front, Hoshiarpur, against the very policy of Muslim League. Rai Faiz Moh[amma]d Khan, M.L.A., is its deputy leader. To test the sincerity of these two gentlemen, will you ask them to resign from the National War Front. They will obey your command, I doubt it [*sic*].

Yours faithfully,
A MUSALMAN OF HARIANA

298

A. Thariani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/82

ISMAIL BUILDING, FLORA FOUNTAIN,
FORT, BOMBAY,
26 April 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to forward herewith a copy of a letter[1] received by me from Mr. Moh[amma]d Nasrullah, B.A., Asst. Secy. to the Government of India, in reply to my application to him for newsprint quota for rendering our weekly *Vatan* into a daily.

Copies of my two letters[2] sent to Govt. are enclosed herewith for your information. If possible please put in a word to Sir Azizul Haque[3] in this respect, or request Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to do so.

Yours sincerely,
[A. THARIANI]

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]See Enclosures 2 & 3.
[3]Jinnah replied that he had written to Azizul Haque. See F 1102A 197 & 198, *QAP*.
Not printed.

Enclosure 1 to No. 298
Mahomed Nasrullah to A. Thariani

F. 1102A/83

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND
CIVIL SUPPLIES,
NEWSPRINT BRANCH,
SIMLA,
20 April 1944

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 16th March 1944[1] and telegram of the 3rd April 1944,[2] I am directed to say that the Govt. of India regret that they are unable to grant you permission for starting publication of a new daily newspaper in Gujarati in addition to the existing weekly *Vatan*. There is, however, no objection to your converting the existing weekly into a daily newspaper under the same name and in the same

language provided this involves no increase in the ration of newsprint at present allotted for the weekly *Vatan,* namely 2.5 tons per month. I am to add that the weekly *Vatan* should cease to exist as a separate newspaper before the daily *Vatan* starts publication.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MAHOMED NASRULLAH
Assistant Secretary to the Government of India

The Proprietor,
The illustrated weekly *Vatan,*
Ismail Bldg., Flora Fountain, Fort, Bombay

Enclosure 2.
[2]See F. 1102A/83, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure 2 to No. 298
A. Thariani to Mahomed Nasrullah

F. 1102A/82

16 March 1944

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that in the whole of the Presidency of Bombay there is not a single Gujarati daily being published, representing the voice of the Muslim League. With this end in view, you are perhaps aware, Mr. Jinnah started collecting a press fund for a daily and consequently a handsome amount was subscribed by people from the Bombay Presidency. As a matter of gaining experience, the *Vatan,* which was founded by Mr. Jinnah personally, came into existence on the 22nd March 1942. We have been publishing the same with success with your kind support in respect of the newsprint quota.

It is but natural that in these rapid[ly] moving times a weekly cannot satisfy the needs of a people politically awakened. There is, therefore, a great clamour from the people to make *Vatan* a daily. There is also a great demand and necessity for an English daily. I have, therefore, the honour to request you to please consider our case for the reasons mentioned herein and grant us a quota for newsprint for class "B", the required quantity of newsprint for *Vatan* Gujarati daily being 2.5 tons a month for about five thousand copies daily.

I shall thank you to please issue the necessary permit in respect of this and should you find it necessary I will be only too pleased even if a reference is made to Mr. Jinnah by you in this respect.

Yours faithfully,
[A. THARIANI]

Mahomed Nasrullah Khan, Esq., B.A.,
Newsprint Controller,
Govt. of India,
New Delhi

Enclosure 3 to No. 298
A. Thariani to M.S.A. Hyderi

F. 1102A/83

19 April 1944

Dear Sir,

I beg to forward herewith a copy of a letter sent by me to the Newsprint Controller on the 16th ult.[1] The letter will speak for itself, and I shall deem it a great favour should you kindly allow the publication as requested. If necessary please let me know so that I can request Mr. Jinnah also to certify [that] this is an urgent necessity. Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
[A. THARIANI]

M.S.A. Hyderi, Esq., I.C.S.,
Secretary, Dept. of Industries and Civil Supplies,
New Delhi

Enclosure 2.

299

S. Aizaz Rasool to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/118

ZAMIR MANSION,
GWYNNE ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
26 April 1944

Dear Sir,

The enclosed resolution was considered and passed by the

Council of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League in its meeting dated 15th April 1944.[1]

[*Last para omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
S. AIZAZ RASOOL
General Secretary,
U. P. Muslim League

[1]Jinnah replied that the resolution would receive his careful attention. See F. 1102A/200, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 299

F. 1102A/119

RESOLUTION

Notwithstanding the fact that, as far back as 7th November 1942, the Council of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League held at Aligarh drew the attention of the Gwalior State to its anti-Muslim policy, the State had been persistently following its policy to the effect that recently the meeting of Anjuman-i-Islam, Gwalior, which was to be held on 20th, 21st and 22nd February 1944, was banned, the entry of Mr. Manzar Alam in the State was unjustly stopped, and the very just and lawful acts of the Executive of the Anjuman were prohibited. Section 144 and curfew order were unreasonably enforced, and now the matters have come to such a pass that the Muslims of the Gwalior State are bound [*sic*] to hold even the holy meeting of *Siratunnabi* (meeting in connection with the life of the Holy Prophet [P.B.U.H]).

All these restrictions and prohibitions go to show that the State has decided to deprive the Musalmans of their elementary civic and religious rights and to shatter their solidarity.

The Council of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League strongly condemns these [acts of] commission and omission of the Gwalior State and advises all its branches to observe 'Gwalior Day,' on which occasion this resolution should be affirmed, prayers should be offered for the deliverance of the Musalmans of the State, and resolutions of protest should be sent to the Resident of Gwalior State and the Political Department of Govt. of India.

This Council further offers its congratulation to the Musalmans of Gwalior and their leaders for their peaceful behaviour under very grave provocation and assures them of full support and active sympathy.

This meeting further requests Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah to take early and effective steps to secure religious and civic rights of the Musalmans of Gwalior.

300

A. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, F. 532/46

KARACHI,
26 April 1944

Hon'ble Gazdar, Minister Law and Order, interfering in mayoral election although Muslim League party unanimously decided putting [up] one candidate. President Provincial Muslim League and Premier are fully aware of his interference. Kindly telegraph President Provincial Muslim League now in Karachi to ask Mr. Gazdar [to] refrain from interference Muslim League municipal party's decision.

KHAN
Leader, League Party

[1]Sent at the address of Mamdot House, Lahore.

301

Fasih-ud-Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. ?/121

BENGALI KOTHI,
CIVIL LINES,
ALIGARH, (U.P.),
27 April 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

By the grace of Almighty God, I hope you will be in sound health; so am I.

My High School Examinations finished yesterday, the 26th instant, and now I am free till the University re-opens. It is likely to re-open in June next. I want to serve Muslim League, so I put my services entirely at your disposal.

I request you to recommend some social service [for me] to do. I will be eagerly looking forward to your able suggestion. I will not

leave Aligarh until I receive your reply.
An immediate reply will oblige.[1]

Yours sincerely,
FASIH UD-DIN AHMAD
Vice President,
Aligarh Bachcha Muslim League

[1]Jinnah in reply advised him to contact Liaquat Ali Khan, Convener of the AIML Committee of Action. See F. 1092B/238, *QAP*. Not printed.

302

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind I/13

27 April 1944

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

Many thanks for your letter of April 12th.[1] Our salvation lies in our complete unity. I am glad that you have been endeavouring in that direction. Sind has a great future before it, and to-day a very great responsibility rests on you. I hope that you will successfully keep your team together, and I wish you all luck.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 265.

303

Bashiruddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/17-8

ROHTAK,
28 April 1944

An emergent meeting of the Council of the Muslim League, Rohtak, was held yesterday, the 27th April, 1944, in which the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. This meeting of the Council strongly protests against the high-handedness of the Punjab Cabinet in the matter of the dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan. This was wholly unwarranted, uncalled for, and unconstitutional. The fact is that the Punjab Cabinet wanted to punish Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan for his pro-Muslim League activities but it had no moral courage to do so. It employed the mean tactic of finding out some unjust acts in the official discharge of his duties. Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan had given out his intention of resigning the Ministership, which credit the Cabinet did not wish to go to him, and in order to lower him in the estimation of the public, unfair means were employed to procure his dismissal. Sir Chhotu Ram is responsible for hundred and one acts of serious injustice to the Muslims which have so far been overlooked by the Punjab Cabinet. Will the Punjab Cabinet have courage to dismiss him [Chhotu Ram] forthwith? All those acts of injustice with [*sic*] the Hariana Muslims on the part of Sir Chhotu Ram were brought to the notice of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan when he happened to tour this district last year, for which he gave a patient hearing and seemed to be much impressed by them. He promised to look into the matters as his foremost duty. His dismissal is related to his anti-Chhotu Ram attitude in these and other allied matters.

This Council whole-heartedly congratulates Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan in his bold stand against Sir Chhotu Ram and the Punjab Cabinet [for] their anti-Muslim attitude.

This Council also places on record its no-confidence in the Punjab Cabinet and demands that it should resign forthwith and [that] a new Ministry in the Punjab should be formed under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam and the All India Muslim League.

2. Muslims of Rohtak wholly disapprove of the policy of Sir Chhotu Ram in bringing disruption into the ranks of the Muslims by teaching un-Islamic principles to the Muslim Jats of the Punjab and the country as a whole. For Muslims, be they Jats or non-Jats, Islam is their bed-rock and sheet anchor. The salvation of all Muslims, without distinction of caste or creed, lies in their following the Islamic principles (as given in the Holy *Qur'an* and the Tradition) as their sole code of life. Interests of Muslim Jats and Hindu Jats are never identical as Sir Chhotu Ram would have us believe. This meeting demands of Sir Chhotu Ram to let Muslim Jats alone, otherwise he is bound to fail in his recent adventure (Jats and non-Jats) as he has previously failed in his obnoxious policy of zamindars and non-zamindars among Muslims. We demand of the Muslim Jats also not to fall a prey to the sinister designs of Sir Chhotu Ram whose inner intentions are too well-known to the Muslims of Hariana.

3. The following telegram was sent to Major Khizar Hayat Khan,

Punjab Premier, [with copies to] Mian Abdul Haye, Education Minister, Mir Maqbul Mahmud, Parliamentary Secretary, and Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Parliamentary Secretary:

Rohtak Muslims record no confidence in your Ministry on Captain Shaukat's dismissal. Pray resign.

4. The following telegram was sent to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League:

Rohtak Muslims rally with you. Record no-confidence in Unionist Ministry.

Copy of the foregoing forwarded to the Editor, the *Dawn*, Delhi, for favour of publication in the next issue of the *Dawn*.

BASHIRUDDIN
Secretary, Muslim League, Rohtak

304

Pir Wilayat Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/122-3

GUJRAT, (PUNJAB),
28 April 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was the first organizer of the Jamia Millia [Islamia],[1] Delhi, but left in disgust in 1920 because I had sharp differences with Mr. Gandhi.

I have been out of camp all these years watching and praying that an opportunity for Islamic service may yet come and I may do something for Islam before I die.

I think there is a ray of hope visible on the horizon and I, therefore, hasten to place my services at your disposal.

I was at that time the right-hand man of Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib[2] and enjoyed his full confidence and trust.

Maulana Moh[amma]d Ali also was very kind to me and he actually wept when I decided to leave the Jamia, but I stood to [*sic*] my principle and I don't repent it even now.

I have always been busy with plans for Muslim reconstruction and I think I have got a complete plan ready, which can be put into operation if the following two conditions are fulfilled:

(a) that I enjoy your full confidence; and

(b) that I am given a free hand for the next five years to work the plan.

I think we can achieve our purpose during the next five years if my plan is given a chance. If you could kindly give me some time to

discuss it,[3] I will be grateful.

Yours sincerely,
PIR WILAYAT SHAH
Headmaster, Govt. Normal School

[1]A Muslim educational institution set up under the leadership of Hakim Ajmal Khan at Aligarh and later shifted to Delhi. Hakim Ajmal Khan was its first Chancellor and Dr. Zakir Husain its Sheikh-ul-Jamia during 1926-48.
[2]A renowned physician of Delhi and a prominent nationalist leader of India (1863-1927). The people bestowed the title of *Masih-ul-Mulk* on him, when he renounced the title of *Haziq-ul-Mulk* conferred by the Government of India. See Naresh Kumar Jain, *Muslims in India*, 66-7.
[3]Jinnah advised him to approach the AIML Committee of Action. See F. 1102A, 199, *QAP*. Not printed.

305

Y. A. Marfani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/18

RAJKOT,
29 April 1944

Mohtaram Ghamkhar-i-Millat,

With great pleasure, we despatch herewith a cheque No. R 239581 dated 28th April 1944 for Rs. 33-14-0 (rupees thirty three, *annas* fourteen) only on the Union Bank of India, Ltd., Rajkot Branch, [bring] the full balance of the League National Fund collected by our Mehfil, of which an amount Rs. 200 (rupees two hundred only) has been already received by your honour on the 26th August 1942, as part payment of the same.

We attach herewith complete account[1] of the League National Fund, Muslim Youths' Mehfil, Rajkot.

We also feel great pride to post three copies of our Mehfil's report[2] for your kind perusal.

We shall be highly obliged if you will kindly acknowledge the receipt hereof.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Always with your esteemed self,
Y. A. MARFANI
President, the Muslim Youths' Mehfil

[1]See F. 905/19, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.

306

M. A. Jinnah to Ch. Ghulam Abbas

SHC, Kashmir/8

SIALKOT,
29 April 1944

Dear Mr. Ch. Ghulam Abbas,

This is just to inform you that owing to fresh developments in Lahore, which you must have read in the papers, I shall not be able to get to Kashmir as I intended on the 2nd of May, but I will let you know the date of my arrival there telegraphically when it is definitely fixed.

Thanking you for all your kindness,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ch. Ghulam Abbas, Esq.,
Advocate,
President, Muslim Conference,
Jammu

307

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Abdullah

SHC, Kashmir/7

SIALKOT,
29 April 1944

Dear Mr. Abdullah,

I had promised to inform you the date of my arrival in Kashmir when you met me last in Delhi. I was not able to write and give you the date, as I was not quite sure when I would be able to leave Lahore, and having regard to the fresh developments I am unable to state definitely the date of my arrival, but I shall send you a telegram[1] giving the exact date. I thank you for your kind offer of hospitality to me when I reach Kashmir, but I have already made arrangements and

secured accommodation for myself.

Again thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. M. Abdullah, Esq.,
Mujahid Manzil,
Srinagar,
(Kashmir)

[1]The following telegram, was sent by Jinnah on 4 May 1944: "Leaving Lahore eighth morning reaching Jammu late afternoon, leaving Jammu next morning hoping reach Srinagar by six o' clock evening."

308

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 344/104-5

SIALKOT,
30 April 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to request you to please excuse me for not attending this evening the meeting of the office-bearers of the Dist. Muslim League which you are addressing and to which I was greatly looking forward. I am returning to Lahore immediately owing to the fact that I have just had a phone call from my home to say that Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan is arriving in Lahore this evening and is staying with me. I have to receive him and make the necessary arrangements for his stay. There is only one train to Lahore and that is in the afternoon, and I must catch this train.

As far as Lahore city is concerned, the work for the announcement of the programme and policy of the League and for the organisation of the Muslims has been going on incessantly under my guidance during the last four years that I am [*sic*] President of the League there. Any special directions or suggestions [that] you may give now will be duly carried out by me.

Yours sincerely,
NAWABZADA RASHID ALI KHAN

309

Zainulabadin to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (40)

QADIAN, PUNJAB,
30 April 1944

Dear Sir,

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter which I am sending to certain newspapers for publication.

Yours faithfully,
S. ZAINULABADIN
Nazir, Amoor-i-'Aama,
Ahmadiyya Movement

Enclosure to No. 309

QADIAN,
[*Undated*] *April 1944*

I shall be much obliged if you will please find space for the following statement in your esteemed paper.

The question whether members of the Ahmadiyya community should or should not be allowed to join the Muslim League has been under consideration for some time past at the headquarters of the community, and this depended upon the attitude of the Muslim League towards the Ahmadiyya community. In this connection, Pir Akbar Ali, MLA, obtained an interview with the President of the All India Muslim League, during one of his recent stays at Lahore, and has reported that Mr. M.A. Jinnah was pleased to assure him that according to the latest constitution of the All India Muslim League there was no bar to members of the Ahmadiyya community joining the Muslim League, and that as members of the League they would be entitled to such privileges as are enjoyed by members of other various sects of Muslims.

Yours faithfully,
S. ZAINULABADIN
Nazir, Amoor-i-'Aama,
Ahmadiyya Movement

310

Mohammad Yamin Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092B/228

No. 18 WINDSOR PLACE,
NEW DELHI,
[*Undated*] *April 1944*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Muslim League Party [in the Indian Legislative Assembly] in its meeting on the 5th of April decided as follows:

i. That Mir Ghulam Bhik Nairang and Hafiz Mohammed Abdullah, Members of the Assembly, and Mr. Raza-e-Karim, Member of the Council of State, be nominated and supported for the election of Khwaja Durgah Committee, for which vacancies are likely to fall [*sic*] in the month of May;
ii. That no other member of the Muslim League Party should either get himself nominated or should give vote to any other person except the three members named above;
iii. That all members of the Muslim League Party be requested to send their votes in favour of these three persons in such time that their votes may be admitted and no vote may be lost.

In this connection, I want to bring to the notice of all members of the Party that a number of complaints were received about the working of the present Durgah Committee and the representatives of the Legislature have complained that the local members do not give them sufficient opportunity to express their opinion. It is essential that these three persons and nobody else should go there. I hope you will be able to send your votes at the time when your vote is required by the Legislative Assembly Department. I presume that they are issuing notice on the 8th of May.

I am also enclosing herewith[1] a few decisions which the Party has made and action on which vitally affects the discipline and the prestige of the Party.

Yours sincerely,
MOH[AMMA]D YAMIN KHAN

[1]Not traceable

311

G. M. Naicker to M. A. Jinnah & Others

Telegram,[1] *F. 777/2*

DURBAN,
1 May 1944

Pretoria Agreement proposing Licensing Board[2] awakened storm of protests from Indian community. Anti-Segregation Council formed Durban to convene Anti-Segregation Conference to fight all forms segregation and petition Natal. Say segregation contrary War aims. Urge you use your good offices [to] urge S. African Govt. [to] withdraw Licensing Board Pegging Act.

DR. NAICKER
President, Natal Indian Congress

[1]Copies sent to Viceroy, Dr. N.B. Khare, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and The *Hindustan Times*.
[2]The Union of South Africa made a law on 26 April 1943 which restricted the possession of land by the Indians in Natal, and later, in Transvaal as well. See No. 86, note 6, *TP*, IV, 175.

312

P. P. Vaidyanathan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/33-4

EAST PERUVEMBA,
PALGHAT,
1 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your idea of Pakistan is excellent. I agree with you that, in political matters, Hindu-Muslim unity is difficult. Moreover, India is too vast and can afford to be divided into two states. Muslims will never submit to Hindu rule, and Hindus also would like to be free to rule themselves as they like. I wish to state that after dividing India into two, we must exchange the minority population so that 100 million Muslims can reside in Pakistan and the 300 million Hindus shall live and rule in Hindustan. Then alone the communal problem can be completely solved. You are a great statesman and I appreciate your idea of Pakistan. I am a Hindu

Brahmin and I know history and human nature.

Yours sincerely,
P. P. VAIDYANATHAN
B.A.

313

Abdul Wahid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/37-8

NOWSHERA KAKEZAIAN,
TEHSIL PASRUR,
DIST. SIALKOT,
2 May 1944

Sir,

I beg to bring the following few lines for your favourable consideration:

There are many Hindu Urdu papers which are published in Punjab in thousands and thousands number [*sic*] but the Muslim papers, the number of which [can be] counted on fingers [*sic*], cannot compare with the Hindu papers, whose writings are specially against Muslims. If anybody goes to a city or to a railway platform or travels in a train, he will see Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, etc., reading Hindu papers in lack [*sic*] of Muslim papers. I think that there is something wrong with the Muslim press, which should be rectified by such a leader as you are as the Muslim public is very ignorant in [*sic*] English, but all of them understand Urdu well. It is very necessary to propagate the Muslim League cause in the minds of the Muslims in India, specially in Punjab, hence I humbly request that you will kindly have a first class daily Urdu paper under the supervision of All India Muslim League. The amount of subscription may be such as that [*sic*] every Muslim, poor or rich, should subscribe to it.

2. I hope that my request will be considered favourably, and solicit a suitable reply.[1]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
ABDUL WAHID
President, Primary Muslim League

[1]Jinnah, in his reply, asked the correspondent to contact President and Secretary, Punjab Muslim League, in this regard. See F. 1103/53, *QAP*. Not printed.

314

C. Mohamed Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/19-20

ANANTAPUR,
MADRAS,
4 May 1944

ANTI-LEAGUE WORK OF THE EX-M.L.A., ANANTAPUR

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Anantapur is a district in the Madras province. Muslim League propaganda was taken up by me and some of my friends in the year 1938. We travelled [through] various *talukas* and villages of this district and enlisted about 6,000 members and the District League elections took place in the year 1939. There was keen competition in the elections between the ex-League M. L. A., Rahmatullah Sahib and Moulvi Mohamed Yousuf Sait Sahib. [The latter] came out successful getting 5,345 votes and Rahmatullah got only 600.

Rahmatullah is only a man of words but not of deeds. He possesses very bad character and ill-behaves with the poor masses, playing always double game. People were not for him and he was defeated. Again, he contested and got defeated.

On account of his defeat in the elections, he began to oppose the League and wherever we were going for League propaganda and enlistment of members, he was sending some of his people to do anti-propaganda of [*sic*] the League.

[*Two paras omitted*]

To prove that he is an anti-Leaguer, I am herewith submitting the report [*edited*]:

1. He did not remit the District League representative fees to the District League in spite of so many letters and reminders. He neither cared to reply nor to remit the quota of the District League, on the other hand, he gave away the League funds to a *Qabaristan* (burial ground).

2. He has been trying for the Khan Sahib and Khan Bahadur's titles from [*sic*] last three years by joining the Justice Party and he is hoisting the Union Jack flag [*sic*] on his car and building instead of hoisting our

Muslim national flag. He has painted "V" for victory on his car instead of *Qaumi Nishan* of *Chand Tara*.

3. He has not become a League member and [is] forcing his relatives and friends not [to] enlist [themselves] in the League.

4. He is changing his policy and aims as a chameleon changes its skin [*sic*] , by joining in [*sic*] so many parties and various people.

5. The Anantapur District Muslim League Annual Conference took place in the month of February and Quaid-i-Millat *'Aalijanab* Maulana Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, President, All India States Muslim League, presided and very good arrangements were made by constructing a grand Pakistan *chaman Pandal*. This anti-Leaguer spoiled whole of our programme.

In spite of our reminders, the Provincial League has not taken any action. I have to bring it to the notice of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, your honour.

This year also, I had many troubles while enlisting the members but anyhow I enlisted 7,500 members in my district. If disciplinary action were to take place against him, we can improve the League activities and enlist more members and make it a strong organization.

Once again I request your honour to kindly take interest and do the needful, for which act of kindness we shall be highly thankful to your honour.

We shall be waiting for your honour's reply.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient *Khidmatgar*,

DR. C. MOHAMED ALI

L.D.Sc.

Secretary, District Muslim League

Copy to Liaquat Ali Khan with the following note:

Dear Hazrat Nawab Sahib,

I have got full confidence in you and hope to get an early favourable reply.

DR. C. MOHAMED ALI

315

Nazir Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (42)

BATALA,
DIST. GURDASPUR,
4 May 1944

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We have read in the *Vatan* of the 5th May 1944, that in your talk with Pir Akbar Ali, M.L.A., you had referred to the Ahmadi[yy]a community as one of the sections of Islam and that the Ahmadi[yy]as can become members of the Muslim League. The Muslims of Batala are feeling perturbed over this news. Would you very kindly let us know[1] if an Ahmadi[yy]a can become a member of the Muslim League?

Yours sincerely,
NAZIR HUSSAIN
Imam, Jam'e Masjid

[1]See No. 353.

316

M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan

SHC, NWFP I/2

LAHORE,
4 May 1944

Dear Sardar Aurangzeb Khan,

I am in receipt of your telegram,[1] and I have noted that the Provincial Council has unanimously adopted the resolution inviting the next annual session of the All India Muslim League to Peshawar in November next. I thank you for the invitation, and I propose to recommend to the Council of the All India Muslim League to accept your invitation. I will communicate with you further on this subject as soon as possible. In the meantime you can get on with the preparations and necessary arrangements for the holding of the session at Peshawar. As regards the exact date, I will write to you about it as early as possible,

giving you ample time.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Sardar Mohammed Aurangzeb Khan,
Chief Minister,
Peshawar

[1]See *SHC*, NWFP I/1. Not printed.

317

Chief Organiser, Red Crescent Society, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/17

16 E FLEMING ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 May 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to bring it to your kind notice for sympathetic consideration and an early action that about one hundred Kazak refugees from Russia have come over to Lahore. They are in great difficulties and most of them are suffering from various diseases.

For the time being, they have been accommodated in Hilal-i-Ahmar Park, Lahore, since 25th April, 1944. Would you kindly take the trouble to inspect their camp at Hilal-i-Ahmar Park and direct the local Muslim League authorities to help the Anjuman to arrange for the betterment of the Kazaks.

The Anjuman have been cooperating with the Muslim League as far as the social services are concerned. Most of the office-bearers of the Anjuman are the prominent members of the Muslim League. But, sorry to say that they are not taking as much interest in this social subject [*sic*] as they ought to take.

Kindly let me know the time at which you would like to visit[1] the camp.

Sincerely yours,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

[1]No record of the visit is traceable.

318

M. Khurshid Rao to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/40-4

CONFIDENTIAL/PRIVATE

BAR ROOM,
ROHTAK,
5 May 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I take the liberty to write these few lines to you for three principal reasons:

1. I regard you as a special messenger of God who has been sent to this world for establishing the Kingdom of God on earth (in the light of our sole code of life—the holy *Qur'an*), through the All India Muslim League. In other words, I have got an implicit religious faith in your leadership which will lead the Muslims to their cherished goal of Pakistan—the only solution of India's manifold problems.

2. I wish to work with my heart, soul and all, for the noble ideal before us, so much so that I won't hesitate to sacrifice my very life for the sake of our mission in life.

3. I am a practicing lawyer (B.A., LL.B.) of three years standing, of very limited means and income. I have been devoting myself to the work of the local Muslim League as far as my straitened circumstances have allowed me to do it. But it has been all along very difficult for me to make my both ends meet, naturally I have not been able to put heart and soul into the work of the Muslim League. I can either practise (law) or devote myself to the Muslim League. I cannot do it both ways [*sic*]. There are so many hardships in working both ways that I cannot overcome them. In short, either I can earn my livelihood or work for the Muslim League.

I have been working as the President of the local Muslim League for the last two or three years but owing to [*sic*] the reasons aforesaid, we have not been able to achieve something solid or substantial. So far I have been sending articles to the press (mainly local) or have had some resolutions adopted by the local Muslim League, and sent to the press. One such resolution drafted by me recently was published in the *Dawn*, dak edition, dated first May 1944, relating to the present-day Punjab politics, which will give you some idea as to what my potentialities are.

My request to you is that if you think me worthwhile [*sic*] to be engaged for the Muslim League work, you may very kindly

appoint me as a paid worker. I may assure you that I shall certainly (God willing) prove to be a fearless, selfless and an able worker; exactly the kind of worker that you would like to have for our national organisation. It is with a heavy heart that I have used the word 'paid' but all the same I cannot help it. May God help me.

It would not be out of place here to tell you that I am a pretty good writer and speaker of Urdu. As regards English, this writing, and the resolution published in *Dawn* referred to above are before you. English speaking is also satisfactory. In the end, I would request you to treat the whole matter strictly confidential as it is not proper for a public worker to demand wages for his services. But as my circumstances would have it, there is no way out except the one I have narrated before you. I feel compelled to demand the wages.

As I have got a burning desire to work for the League, therefore, I have not hesitated to lay open my inner heart [*sic*] before my leader. Others might look down upon me for writing all this; therefore, if it be not feasible to accede to my request, kindly destroy this, the voice of my heart; and I on my part will continue to work for the League as usual.

Thanks,

Yours sincerely,
M. KHURSHID RAO
B.A., LL.B.
Pleader
President, Muslim League, Rohtak

319

M. A. Jinnah to S. Zainulabadin

SHC (43)

LAHORE,
5 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 30th April 1944[1] and a copy of the letter[2] which you have sent for my information and which you say you are sending to certain newspapers for publication.

In my interview with Pir Akbar Ali, M.L.A., I pointed out to him clause (4) of the constitution of the All India Muslim League which

runs as follows:

4. a. Every candidate for membership of a primary branch of the All India Muslim League must be a Musalman and a resident of British India,
   b. must not be less than 18 years of age.
   Provided that a candidate may be exempted from all or any of the above conditions by Provincial Leagues.

That is the position according to the constitution of the All India Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Zainulabadin, Esquire,
Nazir, Amoor-i-'Aama,
Ahmadiyya Movement,
Qadian

No. 309.
[2]Enclosure to No. 309.

320

Iltaf Hussain Parwaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/46-51

SH. MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH &
ILTAF HUSSAIN PARWAZ,
GENERAL MERCHANTS,
FLEMING ROAD,
LAHORE,
6 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

My revered and honoured leader!

By the grace of the Almighty, I had the opportunity to serve the Musalmans under your banner in Frontier Province. I have been the General Secretary of the Muslim League of Haripur (Hazara). I am thankful to you for the reply which you gave to me on 21st February 1944,[1] regarding the cuttings of newspapers which I had sent to you and you had forwarded them to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan in connection with the atrocities which were being inflicted upon Musalmans of Frontier Province.

I am humble and poor but a staunch supporter of Muslim League. I

have shifted from Haripur to Lahore.

Our most revered leader, for whom we are ready to shed even the last drop of our blood, we are of the opinion that nothing can be achieved without sacrifice, especially in the Punjab which is the "Ulster"[2] of India...

If we intend to put our best efforts for the uplift of the Musalmans of the Punjab, which is the heart of Pakistan, we must gather around us those people who are sincere and active and who have courage and conviction [and] moreover can sacrifice [*sic*] for their ideals.

My revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly consider these points in the light of the facts stated above:

i. that Pakistan can only be achieved if we overthrow the British yoke. Any other position will be unsatisfactory;
ii. that we should join [*sic*] the Muslim organisations which have launched struggle for the betterment of the Musalmans of India;
iii. that we should start from the masses rather than from title-holders;
iv. that you should give, somehow or other, a crushing blow to the Unionist Ministry in the Punjab, as you gave a violent blow to the Central Government during the budget session; and
v. that in the light of the dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, we must not rely upon the British Government.

[*Next para omitted*]

May God give you [long] life and prosperity and to us the courage to follow [in] your foot-steps.

Kindly inform me whether my voice has reached you. Hoping to hear your life-giving reply.

Your humble and obedient follower,
ILTAF HUSSAIN PARWAZ

Not traceable.

[2]A province of Ireland until 1921, Ulster consisted of nine counties, of which six were included in Northern Ireland, which remained part of the United Kingdom, the other three were incorporated into the Irish Republic, established in 1921.

321

Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/121
[*Original in Urdu*]

192 A PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
6 May 1944

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim
Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'ala Rasulihil Karim

My brother Mr. Jinnah,

There seems to be no alternative but to request you to advise Nawab Bahadur Khan Sahib to constitute [*sic*], in consultation with Ahrar, Maulana Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi and Dr. Khairi, an Islamic party for developing a consensus for propagating Islam, *Jihad* and *Khilafat*.

The majority of your colleagues are well-versed in parliamentary work but they are not suitable to undertake any Islamic or revolutionary programme. They may, like Hindu Mahasabha, continue to perform parliamentary and administrative work. As for the Islamic activities you may beckon the *Ummah* to get ready for it. Persons like Nawab Sahib are just looking for a signal from you.

Yours humbly,
NAZIR AHMAD

Note. Only in this manner the differences among the Muslims would be settled, and they would gain strength from each other.

322

M. Zia Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/21

PANIPAT,
6 May 1944

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith the copies of resolutions passed by the Muslims of Panipat on the 5th instant in a meeting held under the presidentship of S. Abu Tahir Jafferey, Councillor, Punjab

Provincial Muslim League.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
M. ZIA QURESHI
B.A., LL. B.
Pleader
President, City Muslim League

Enclosure to 322
F. 829/22-3

[*Original in Urdu*]

RESOLUTION NO. 1

The general meeting of the Muslims of Panipat area consider the dismissal of the Minister, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, an elected Muslim Leaguer, as highly autocratic and devoid of prudence, unheard of even in the darkest ages of the Indian history. The Muslims strongly protest against this anti-Muslim and anti-democratic act of the Governor and his Cabinet, and demand resignation of the Punjab Ministers. They also demand that Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly should join the Muslim League Party and form a united front to thwart the machinations of the enemies of Muslims, and to guard the interests of the Muslims.

The meeting also recognises the unprecedented sacrifice and invaluable Islamic spirit of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan and offers him heartfelt sympathy of the Muslims of Panipat area. They are prepared to make supreme sacrifices for the sake of unity and honour of the Muslims.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

The general meeting offers its thanks to all those Muslim Parliamentary Secretaries and Members of the Assembly who, under the guidance of Quaid-i-Azam, and in the interest of the Muslim League, and without caring for their own interests, resigned from the so-called Unionist Party; and assures full support to them.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

The general meeting appeals in the name of justice and fair play to the British Government to constitute a tribunal to investigate the dismissal of Sardar Major Shaukat Hyat Khan, with a view to awarding suitable punishment to those who violated the principles of democracy.

323

Nawab M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/6

MUSTAFA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
6 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for sending me a cheque for Rs. 5,000 to meet the tour and office expenses of the Civil Defence Committee. I am also grateful to you for letting me have Mr. Chundrigar's letter. Yes, the Secretary sent me a copy of my letter to you a few days ago.

I will work with great pleasure on the lines suggested in my letter to you and as soon as I have been able to draw up schemes about the scope of the work of some of these committees, I shall send these to you. It may be that I may have to consult you before giving final shape to them, so I trust you will keep me informed of your programme to enable me to meet you. The Committee will probably start its tour about the end of the month. I shall let you know when the date has been finally fixed. We will go to Assam and Bengal first, danger zones at present.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,
M. ISMAIL KHAN

324

The Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 167/3-4

HYDERABAD,
7 May 1944

Have heard you intend disposing of your Malabar Hill house in Bombay. If this is true, will you allow Zain Yar Jung to have a look at the property and prepare valuation report for my Govt.'s consideration. Of course if the price is reasonable and agreed upon by the parties concerned and provided Govt. of Bombay have no objection to my Govt. purchasing it then chances of transaction may take place. Trust

you will not mind asking for particulars.[1]

NIZAM OF HYDERABAD

[1]No. 327.

325

M. A. Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/143-6

MUKHTAR MANZIL,
BHOOR, BAREILLY,
7 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Often I thought to [*sic*] write you, but considering your engagements in most necessary work for the cause of Musalmans, I did not think it proper to waste your precious time. When in Bombay, I often had opportunities to hear you and report your speeches in [the] *Bombay Chronicle* where I was working as a reporter. Just about two or three months ago, while delivering speech at Anjuman-e-Islam High School, Bombay,[1] you had urged the Musalmans to have their own press. I was excessively [*sic*] pleased to hear that from you, and had written you also [about] my firsthand experiences in the Hindu press. Muslims have got no chance there. Either a Muslim should be a staunch Congressite like Mr. Brelvi[2] who may become the Editor, or if he is a staunch Muslim Leaguer, he would be nowhere.

Just a week ago, I had received a letter from Bombay informing me that Mr. Pothan Joseph[3] had been there and he wanted a Muslim graduate for the *Dawn*. My name was suggested to him, so I went to see him in Delhi. For three days I could not see him in the office. At last I had to go to his residence and had a talk with him, about which I think it necessary to write you as it concerns you much.

Mr. Joseph asked me as to what I could do. I told him that I was working as a reporter for the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Bombay Sentinel* and could do sub-editor's work also. He said that he wanted a man who could write editorials for him. I told him that to write an editorial was only the Editor's business or, in his absence, Assistant Editor's work. Further I told him that if he wanted me to write editorials, I could do that after working for five or six months in the *Dawn* so that I could get some training. Then I told him that if he wanted the Muslims to write editorials, he should train them in that way; then only they could

write editorials. He said "Why should I train the Muslims, I am not paid for that". I told him that I did never mean that as he was being paid by the Muslim League, he should train the Musalman, but it was his duty being a journalist, to train the Muslims. "Why should I train the Muslims, I am not a Muslim beggar" he replied and began to talk such indecent things which I was shocked to hear from the Editor of a pure Muslim Paper.

A friend of mine, Mr. Tufail Ahmed Jamali, was also with me. He got annoyed and we both came away from there.

Kindly take note of these intricacies [*sic*] and try to remove them.[4]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. HUSAIN

[1]Jinnah had studied at this school for some time in 1887. See Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Islamabad, 1986, 66.
[2]S.A. Brelvi, Editor, the *Bombay Chronicle*.
[3]Pothan Joseph was the first Editor of the *Dawn*, Delhi edition.
[4]No. 356.

326

M. A. Jinnah to Mahomed Ali

Telegram, F. 167/2

LAHORE,
8 May 1944

Mahomed Ali & Co., 15 Military Square Lane, Fort, Bombay

Please give particulars and [arrange] inspection my property Zain Yar Jung Nizam's agent. Will negotiate myself.

M. A. JINNAH

327

M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad

Telegram, F. 167/2

LAHORE,
8 May 1944

H.E.H. Nizam Hyderabad,

Your telegram.[1] Have wired[2] my solicitors Mahomed Ali & Co., 15

Military Square Lane, Fort, give particulars and inspection property Zain Yar Jung.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 324.
[2]No. 326.

328

Ahmad Saeed to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, APMO/1-3

DELHI,
8 May 1944

Reference your speech[1] in reply Muslim Students' Federation's address at Sialkot on second May. You have appealed to Jami'at ul-'Ulama and Ahrar for cooperation. It was for same purpose about four years back Mufti Mohammad Kifayatullah, Maulana Habibur Rahman and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani saw you in New Delhi and exchanged views for three hours. There is no doubt present time even more critical and Muslim solidarity is now more essential than it has ever been. If even at this late hour you feel that you require the help of independent Muslim organisations for defeating the traitors and if you want to take them as your right wing I sincerely welcome your sentiments of solidarity and unity among Musalmans. I even go further to request you to attend annual session of Provincial Jami'at ul-'Ulama Delhi which is being held on 26th, 27th and 28th May so that we may consider together questions vital to interests of Musalmans. In case you like, representatives of other bodies also may be invited on this occasion for considering unanimous programme of work for freedom of the country. I am sure that our unity will enable us to remove traitors from our way and achieve our goal of independence earlier.

AHMAD SAEED
President, Delhi Jami'at ul-'Ulama

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 490-3.

329

Syed Ata Ullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/149

ORAI, JALAUN, U.P.,
9 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Due to your over-engaged [*sic*] time I could not have the pleasure of your [*sic*] meeting. The recent incident of Punjab Ministry has caused a great anxiety among the Muslims of Jalaun District, and in a public meeting we have condemned the attitude of the Punjab Premier, which he has shown towards the League's policy. Our whole-hearted support is with the League and it will be a matter of great pride for us if we may be of any use in this connection.

Awaiting for [*sic*] your kind instructions and orders,[1]

Yours sincerely,
SYED ATA ULLAH
Provincial Representative and Secretary ML, Orai

[1]See No. 355.

330

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/26

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
9 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Begum Shah Nawaz, which speaks for itself. I do not know what you think of him, but Mr. Ghulam Mohammed does not think much of him.[1] He recommended a European at the head of the Nizam's Railway, about whom, I am sure, Mr. Laik Ali will also approach you. My views are that we must have a first-rate man to get this new concern established and towards that end, if absolutely necessary, we may even have to appoint a European.

Awaiting your comments,[2] and trusting this will find Miss Jinnah and you in the best of health,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD ISPAHANI

Refers to Mian Abdul Aziz, Chief Minister, Kapurthala, who had been recommended by Begum Shah Nawaz for Managing Director of a projected industrial concern, Al-Meezan. See *SHC*, Bengal III/27. Not printed.
[2]No. 367.

331

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/13

ICHHRA, LAHORE,
9 May 1944

My dear Jinnah,

I send you herewith a copy of the public address I gave on the 28th April last[1] at the Shahi Mosque, Lahore. In the light of the bitter programme I had to lay out in order to make you come to an understanding with the Congress for the achievement of Pakistan as well as the independence of India, I request you to consider seriously the obligations of the Musalman towards the commandments of the *Qur'an*, also the obligations of the Khaksar towards the upholding of that religion for which he stands. I sincerely trust that after a calm consideration of the whole political situation concerning Hindu-Muslim understanding at this critical moment, you will not allow matters to go to the unfortunate extreme envisaged in this address as that would be the saddest moment in my life.

Mahatma Gandhi's release has made the situation suddenly most delightful and easy. I implore you with all the humility at my disposal to grasp the opportunity most firmly and start talks with him at once. I have to-day telegraphed to him as follows and await with interest the future developments in this direction as well as your friendly gesture to me that you will agree to meet him. As the Mahatma is not in good health, it will be a matter of extreme courtesy to go and see him on his sick-bed and no question of prestige can be involved if the step is taken now. In case you ask me to accompany you I shall be ready to go. The telegram runs:

> Your release delightful. Pray speedy recovery. Requesting Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah make appointment for meeting you as soon as possible in

response to your last year's request. Shall accompany him if necessary. Please wire condition health for possible interview.

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, APMO/14. Not printed.

332

Begum Ra'na Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 1092B/232-3

GUL-I-RA'NA,
HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
10 May 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do hope that you are finding Kashmir pleasant and are taking complete rest. You must look after yourself as much as possible.

I am extremely disappointed that we are not going to Kashmir; the children needed a change badly but it can't be helped. Ashraf's school re-opens on the 17th of July and as Liaquat has to be away for the month of June and part of July, I don't think it worth my while going away at all. I can't possibly stay alone in a house boat. Liaquat told [me] that you were good enough to suggest that if the worst comes to the worst, you would look after us. I appreciate your kind thought very much and would have loved to have come;[2] but I really think that it is much better to stay here. Travelling these days is not very comfortable either and so after weighing the pros and cons carefully, I think my decision to stay here is the best.

I hope Fatima is keeping fit and how is dear little Sherry?[3]

Love from the children to you both and our kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
RA'NA LIAQUAT

[1]For Jinnah's acknowledgement, see No. 349.
[2]She did visit Kashmir in June. See F 1102A/287, *QAP* Not printed.
[3]Probably the name of a pet dog.

333

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/151

C/O H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA,
SRINAGAR,
11 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was very glad to hear you were here. I do not want to disturb your holiday but if you have any spare time do let me know[1] as I would very much like to come and pay my respects.

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

[1]Jinnah asked Rahimtoola to see him on 18 May 1944. See F. 1102A/152, *QAP*. Not printed.

334

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/145-6

HYDE PARK HOTEL,
[LONDON,]
12 May 1944

My dear Jinnah,

I am afraid I cannot find you a dependable Muslim here.

But you must send one out; now is the time to prepare ground. Someone who can make contacts with and educate MPs should be selected even if it costs you much. Next two years should be very important from the Muslim League point of view.

Kindest regards to you both,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

[PS.] Hardly necessary to say that I have addressed several meetings already and have many more engagements for the future, and that the Muslim India's interests are never forgotten.

FIROZ NOON

335

Anwar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/98

CENTRAL OFFICE,
84-B PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
12 May 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Hope to be excused for disturbing you.

I am to inform you that some League leaders in Bengal are preaching to [*sic*] dissolve the Muslim students' organisation. They are doing this only for their own selfish end and future safety. I am disturbing you for a few minutes to know your opinion about the students' organisation—whether there should be any organisation of the Muslim students of their own [*sic*] or not. I do not exactly remember the conferences but most probably at the conferences of Bombay Muslim Students' Federation and the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation you observed that the Muslim students should have their own organisation. Muslim League is the bigger political body of the Musalmans. Students should not meddle themselves [*sic*] in active politics during their student career but discuss and fully acquaint themselves with the political questions of the day, etc. I hope you will very kindly let me know your opinion at your earliest convenience.

I have decided to send three of our student workers to the Punjab who will speak [about] the position of Muslim League in Bengal and the reply given by the Musalmans to traitor Fazlul Huq, and the Musalmans of the eastern Pakistan expect that the same sort of reply be given by western Pakistan to Tiwana who has played the same role.

Please let me know whether I am permitted to widely circulate the contents of your reply connected with the students organisation.

With best respect to you,

Affectionately yours,
ANWAR HUSSAIN
General Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League

[1]No. 382.

336

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/18

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
12 May 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith for your perusal cuttings (*Sind Observer* dated the 10th and 11th May and the *Daily Gazette* dated the 11th May 1944)[1] from the two English dailies of Karachi relating to the mayoral election of the Karachi Municipal Corporation. I would request your attention particularly to portion side-lined and under-lined in red.

2. You will notice that Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon at first, as a member of the Municipal League Party, has agreed to leave the question about the Muslim nominee for the mayoral election to arbitration of Mr. G. M. Sayed and to abide by his decision. But before the award of the arbitration was declared, he backed out from the understanding he had given earlier, probably because either he was not sincere about it or felt that he may not be the choice of the arbitrator. It is needless, I think, to tell you that such an action of a responsible member of the Muslim League hardly brings any credit to our great organization, particularly in the eyes of those who are out to criticise the deeds and doings of the League and its members. Besides that it is an open insult to the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, Mr. G. M. Sayed, who, I think, was requested by Mr. Yusuf himself to act as an arbitrator. I am sure you will not allow such an action of a member of the Muslim League to go unnoticed.

3. Mr. Yusuf has been of course elected as Mayor of the Karachi Municipal Corporation since it was the turn of a Muslim to be [so] appointed; but he hardly got any vote from the self-respecting Muslim members of the Corporation. His Muslim voters were, most of them, purchaseable quantities. His election is solely due to the support that he received from the non-Muslim members of the Corporation who unfortunately form a majority in the Corporation and most of whom are known in this city for their hostile attitude towards the Muslim League. This is borne out from the writings of the two English local dailies of the anti-League variety.

4. It is thus clear that all is not well with the election of Mr. Yusuf as

Mayor of the Karachi Municipal Corporation as a representative of the Muslim community when a very large number of the Corporators who are anti-Muslim type and also Muslim members who were erstwhile strong anti-Leaguers did support his candidature. I feel that you, as our Quaid-i-Azam, ought to know something about this election and the attitude of the Muslim League towards Mr. Yusuf who openly disregarded the implication of once going to the arbitration and then insulting Mr. G. M. Sayed by withdrawing from it.[2]

With best regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. GAZDAR

[1]See *SHC*, Sind I/19. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah replied that he was awaiting a report from G. M. Sayed. See *SHC*, Sind I/20. Not printed.

337

S. K. Atri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/157

SRINAGAR,
13 May 1944

Respected Sir,

I have the pleasure to offer my sincere welcome on your kind visit to the happy valley of Kashmir. I will call upon you at 4 p.m. on 14th May (Sunday). I shall be glad to see you.[1]

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S. K. ATRI
M.B.B.S.

[1]Dr. Atri intimated on 14 May 1944 that he could not keep the appointment due to medical emergency. Jinnah informed him on 16 May 1944 that he could drop in any day. See F. 1102A/155-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

338

Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/158-61
[Original in Urdu]

92A PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
14 May 1944

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

My brother Jinnah Sahib,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am still awaiting a reply to my letter of 6 May 1944.[1] My suggestions will greatly strengthen the Muslim League and make the religious people content with the propagation of Islam and restrain them from interference in administrative and parliamentary affairs. As the *Ummah* itself is not yet ready to mould the legislature into an Islamic body, therefore, all of you should prepare the Muslims for this. Unless the religious groups are brought around to a focussing [*sic*] point, there will be no end to their internal frictions. It is imperative that a great organizer like you should unite all these groups and entrust them with propagation of Islam.

[*Para 2 omitted*]

3. The propagation of Islam is not an individual activity but a collective obligation and the security of the Muslims in the minority provinces hinges on it. This alone can ensure their Islamic way of life and Islamic character. We should endeavour to bring the untouchables into the fold of Islam... To carry on this task, all religious parties should be involved. To me Nawab Bahadur Khan[2] is the most suitable person to accomplish this. As such, do not delay your decision in this regard.

[*Para 4 omitted*]

5. *Namaz* (prayers) should be made an organisational obligation for all Muslim Leaguers. Exhort them to set an example for others.

[*Para 6 omitted*]

7. Pakistan is a means to this end. To achieve this cherished objective, we need your maximum help. In this way, I am confident, we shall

reach our destination.

Hoping for an early reply,[3]

Yours sincerely,
NAZIR AHMAD

No. 321.

[3]Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, an eminent leader of the All India Muslim League and the Majlis-i-Ittehadul-Muslimeen, Hyderabad.
Jinnah replied that his suggestions would be carefully considered See F 1102/210, *QAP*
Not printed.

339

Satyapal Dang to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/162-3

33 COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS,
LAHORE,
14 May 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Punjab Students' Federation is holding its Annual Conference on the 27th and 28th May, 1944 at Lahore. The Federation has been consistently agitating for the release of the national leaders and Congress-League unity.

Last year, together with the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, we collected and sent Rs. 11,000 to Bengal for relief work. The cash was sent to the Students' Joint Relief Board, Bengal. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Member, Congress Working Committee, and Mian Bashir Ahmad, Member, League Working Committee, sent us messages appreciating our joint relief work, which helped us a lot in our work.

The Conference will chalk out a programme for the Punjab students so that they can play their proper role in the next year, a year of grave peril as well as of great hopes.

We request you to send a message to our Conference.

Prasanta Sanyal, General Secretary, All India Student's Federation, will preside. Dr. K. M. Ashraf will inaugurate the Conference.

Kindly send an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
SATYAPAL DANG
President,
Punjab Students' Federation

340

Jatia Chamars to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/4

POONA NANGLI,
ALIPUR,
DELHI PROVINCE,
14 May 1944

Sir,

Respectfully, we beg to invite your kind attention to the following:

That we have submitted an application under registered cover to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, copy of which we beg to attach herewith for ready reference.[1] It is a matter of great regret that in our village there is neither a Musalman nor an Indian Christian and therefore the Jats are at liberty to impart [*sic*] as much cruelty to us as they chose [*sic*].

Delhi Province [*sic*] is the capital of India; justice should, therefore, be secured at the earliest. We have, besides helping the Government, supported the cause of the Muslim League and we have, therefore, a right to demand from you in the name of humanity and morality that you will please send instructions to the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, to take some effective steps to minimise our difficulties and hardships and that the Local Government be influenced to look into the matter forthwith, for which we shall ever be thankful to you.

We have every hope you will be only too good to extend your helping hand without any further delay.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servants,
JATIA CHAMARS

Not traceable.

341

M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Saeed

SHC, APMO/4

SRINAGAR,
15 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your telegram dated 8th May,[1] addressed to me at Lahore, which was forwarded to me here, and I thank you for it.

In my speech in reply to the Muslim Students' Federation's address as well as in my concluding speech to the Punjab Muslim League Conference at Sialkot on the 30th April 1944, I did appeal to every Muslim to join the Muslim League, including the Jami'yyat al-'Ulama and Ahrars. I would welcome every Musalman to join the League and support its creed, policy and programme whole-heartedly and from within further improve our organization and make it more efficient and better than it has ever been before.

As regards the past talks and differences that may have existed for various reasons, I think it is not advisable that we should pursue them any more, but every Musalman should bury the past, and for the Muslim national cause and our goal of Pakistan, for which we are carrying on this struggle, we should all stand together and accept the creed, policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, and work with all our heart and soul to make our organization the most powerful and efficient, which alone will enable us to achieve our goal.

I regret that I am unable to accept your kind invitation to attend the annual session of the Provincial Jami'yyat al-'Ulama at Delhi, which is being held on the 26th, 27th and 28th of May, as I think you know that it is after seven years that I have allowed myself a holiday for a short time, and I am here at Srinagar, and complete rest for a short time is absolutely necessary for me, but I would be very glad to meet you if you and your friends would care to do so when I get back to the plains some time in July.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Saeed, Esq.,
President,
Jami'yyat al-'Ulama,
Delhi

[1]No 328.

342

A. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/6-7

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
15 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was anxious to see you while you were in Lahore, but you were very busy in more important matters than what I wanted to discuss with you, so I thought I would see you on some other occasion.

A very sorry state of affairs has developed in the Punjab and I wish some agreement would be arrived at on the basis of mutual benefit to all the parties.

As a representative of the Christians, I am in complete agreement with the principle of self-determination for nationalities. The great Soviet [Union] is a great example before us. It is a democratic principle which cannot be refuted by any sane thinking person. The important question is that where we reduce this principle to a practical basis or give it a concrete shape, what adjustments have we to face. Every pattern or alignment has to undergo an adjustment. Great leadership demands re-orientation as a basis of mutual benefit in the face of a crisis.

I am sure you will agree with me that League-Congress alliance is essential. The Congress must and will accept the demand for self- determination. And I hope you will work to achieve that end. The release of Congress leadership is very essential prior to any agreement, and the establishment of a national government.

We are proud of your leadership and we are confident that you will work for League-Congress unity.

Yours faithfully,
A. L. RALLIA RAM
Convenor,
Azad Bloc of the All-India Council of Indian Christians

343

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 696/39-40

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
15 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I submit my apologies for not having written to you for some time. From the reports that have been appearing in the press, I felt you must be extremely busy with major issues and thought it best not to worry you with other matters.

The question of the selection of a suitable person to fill in the post of the Managing Director of the Al-Meezan Corporation still remains unsettled. I have been on the look out for some suitable Muslim all along without any success. As a last resort, I decided to sound some non-Muslims and accordingly talked to Col. Slaughter. Col. Slaughter (an Englishman) is the Managing Director of the Nizam's State Railways. He is also the Official Adviser to Hon'ble Member, Commerce and Industries in Hyderabad. He is about 57 years of age, a mechanical engineer by profession and possesses a great deal of business and administration experience and initiative and drive. Two or three industries in Hyderabad owe their existence and success to his keen personal interest and guidance. He is due to retire from his present position as Managing Director of Nizam's State Railways next autumn. In all probability he would be offered an extension but even if he prefers to retire, the Government of Hyderabad would certainly continue [*sic*] him in a part time advisory capacity. His present salary is B.G. Rs. 4,000 (free of tax) with a car allowance of Rs. 150 and is provided with free, furnished house and he enjoys the various other privileges of a managing director of the first class Indian Railways.

Col. Slaughter, when I sounded [him], has received the proposition favourably, but has not committed himself in any way and I have discussed no details of terms with him. If he accepts the job, he will work for about two years as he wishes to retire after that. During this period, he would most likely also continue as an adviser to the Nizam's State Railway for which he would no doubt receive an amount at least equal to one half of his present emoluments.

Mr. Ghulam Mohamed thinks that Col. Slaughter will be a desirable choice and expects that he would be able to train up one or two men as his successors in a couple of years' time. He has also a fair amount of

influence with various authorities in Delhi which will be a matter of additional advantage. I talked to Ahmad Ispahani and Cassamally Munjee also and they both favour the idea of appointing him on a couple of years contract. I have not been able to sound others.

I have now placed the position briefly before you. If you approve, I will make a firm offer to Col. Slaughter. I suggest his terms should be about Rs. 4,000 to 4,500 per month, free furnished accommodation [and a] free car. Of course by this offer, from his point of view, he would not gain very much even if he receives another Rs. 2,000 as adviser from Hyderabad as a substantial portion of his earnings in British India will go towards taxes. For this reason, I suggest that I may be given a latitude of a few hundred rupees more or less in my negotiations with him.

I am not aware of your programme in Kashmir and am, therefore, sending the letter per registered post to your Delhi address. I shall be grateful if you will favour me with an early reply.[1]

I trust you are enjoying good health and with kindest regards,

I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

MIR LAIK ALI

[1]No. 415.

344

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 696/41

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
15 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received a letter from Mr. Rafi Butt in which he states that you have been good enough to offer him a seat on the directorate of Al-Meezan. I am enclosing herewith a copy of his letter for favour of your perusal. In your letter dated 24th April 1944[1] you have not indicated to me whether your offer to Mr. Butt is for financial participation by way of buying shares or you have invited him to be a director. For ready reference, I am also enclosing a copy of your letter to me.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly advise me of your decision in this regard at your earliest convenience. If convenient, I would even

venture to suggest a telegraphic advice.

With kind regards,

I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
MIR LAIK ALI

No. 289.

Enclosure to No. 344
M. Rafi Butt to Mir Laik Ali

F. 696/42

35 A FEROZEPORE ROAD,
LAHORE,
28 April 1944

Dear Nawab Sahib,

Quaid-i-Azam recently told me about a new company which is floated in Delhi with a capital of a couple of crores of rupees. I have expressed my willingness to join this concern.

He asked me to contact you in this connection for its detailed information and prospects. He has written to you on the subject[1] and also for keeping one vacancy in the Directorate. I shall be very pleased to serve on the Board, if required.

With compliments,

Yours sincerely,
M. RAFI BUTT

Nawab Mir Laik Ali,
Begumpet,
Hyderabad, D[ecca]n

[1]No. 289.

345

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/96

BEGUMPETT,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
15 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad to report to you that Mr. Mohamed Hasham Premji has consented to act on the Board of Directors of the Al-Meezan Corporation. I met him towards the beginning of this month in Bombay, through the good offices of Cassamally Munjee, and all the details have been satisfactorily settled.

I am getting all the concerned papers printed. I am awaiting certain formal acceptances of directors and as soon as they are received, I shall file the application to the Controller of Capital Issues.

With kind regards,

I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

MIR LAIK ALI

346

M. A. Jinnah to Inamullah Khan

F. 1092B/250

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th of May[1] together with a reprint of the Presidential Address of the late Dr. Sir Moh[amma]d Iqbal which he delivered at the Allahabad Session of the All India Muslim League in 1930. You know that since 1929, there was a communion of views between me and the late Dr. Sir Moh[amma]d Iqbal, and he was the one great and outstanding Muslim who gave me every encouragement and stood by me till the last. So, I am glad that you have undertaken to give publicity to his Presidential Address, but for

various reasons which I need not mention here, it will not be appropriate for me to write a Foreword to this very laudable effort which is made by the India Book House.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Inamullah Khan, Esq.,
India Book House,
Abid Road,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]Not traceable.

347

Mohammad Yousuf Shah & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/181

CHRAR SHARIF,
TEHSIL BADGAM,
KASHMIR,
16 May 1944

Sir,

Our wishes which we were nourishing in our hearts till now have been fulfilled today—the great auspicious day has come when we see you amidst us. What a blessing to us, the poorest of the country, to meet you alive after a deadliest [*sic*] has laid attack [*sic*] upon your precious life last year. We, the people, congratulate you from our hearts and pray to the Almighty God that He may spare you for hundred years yet for us.

We, the Musalmans of Chrar Sharif, a town which lies about 17 miles to the south of Srinagar, though living in a town popular throughout the province for the holy shrine of Hazarat Sh. Nurdin and visited annually by thousands of people of every creed, are still the most backward inhabitants of this State; backward we are in every sphere of life; the chief means of our livelihood is agriculture. Kashmir has seen most of the political upheavals during the last 14 years, but our town is the only one which has remained aloof so far.

The troubles now have shown [us] where our path and destiny lie. It is only you who have brought the Muslims of India on to one platform and shown them the right path that can save us also from

falling [*sic*]. With that sense we came to you for our help. We have started a small committee and are trying to enlighten the people about the League motives. Therefore you are requested to help and teach us how to pull on.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours most affectionately,
MOHAMMAD YOUSUF SHAH
AND THE RESIDENTS OF CHRAR SHARIF

348

M. A. Jinnah to Wajid Ali Shah

F. 878/129

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Mr. Wajid Ali,

Many thanks for your letter of May 7th.[1] I was not able to reply to you earlier, as there was a tremendous rush owing to the rapid developments that were taking place while we were in Lahore, which you must have followed in the press.

We are very comfortable in this house, and everything that we want is there. Many thanks for your offer to place the houseboat at our disposal, if we decide later on to go into it. Miss Jinnah and I have already benefited within these few days, and I am feeling very much fitter. We do not know how to thank you sufficiently for the trouble you have taken and for having placed this beautiful little house and the staff at our disposal.

With very kind regards to you from us both,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Not traceable.

349

M. A. Jinnah to Begum Ra'na Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 1092B/234

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Begum Sahiba,

Many thanks for your letter of May 10th.[1] I am so sorry that you have decided to give up your visit to Kashmir. We reached here on the evening of the 10th, and we are in a very nice little house. Although the accommodation is very limited, it is very comfortable, and I am having more rest than I have ever had for the last seven years. We are away from Srinagar City, and therefore in a way I am protected from visitors. I feel much better already, and I am inclined to take full advantage of this change and rest. Fatima has also benefited by the change already, and little Sherry is quite frisky.

Love from us both to the children and kindest regards to you both,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Begum Ra'na Liaquat Ali Khan,
New Delhi

[1]No. 332.

350

Aziz Kashmiri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/7

C/O *ROSHNI*,
SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Sir,

The local journalists are desirous of having the privilege of meeting you. I shall feel obliged if you would kindly let me know if you can

spare some time to do so. If so when and where.[1]

Yours very truly,
AZIZ KASHMIRI
Secretary,
Kashmir Press Conference

[1]An interview was fixed for 23 May. See F. 1102A/188, *QAP* Not printed.

351

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Bari

F. 600/6

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Mr. Bari,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 4th.[1] Perhaps you must have read in the papers my appeal at Sialkot to every Musalman to join the Muslim League and accept its creed, policy and programme. You know that I would welcome every Musalman to join and work wholeheartedly within the Muslim League organization, and I would welcome every Musalman to come in and make his contribution towards the great struggle that we are carrying on. At this critical moment all past controversies should be closed by all honest and intelligent Musalmans, and we should all stand under one banner and on one platform, and I am confident that the Muslim nation will, without doubt, achieve its goal of Pakistan.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Bari, Esq.,
Hamid Manzil,
Daryagunj, Delhi

[1]Not traceable

352

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Rashid

F. 1102A/100

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 21st,[1] and regret very much that I have not been able to attend to it earlier. I have also received your comments on the speech[2] of Sir Sayed Saadulla, which was delivered at the recent Conference of the Assam Provincial Muslim League at Barpeta, and I thank you for it. It will certainly receive my very careful attention, and I may inform you that it is now for some time past that this matter has been receiving my consideration, but the question of how to tackle it properly still remains. I shall feel obliged if you will kindly keep me informed as to what further developments have taken place or are likely to take place in connection with this question of Line System.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Rashid, Esq., B.A.
Dhubri, Assam

[1]No. 283.
[2]Enclosure to No. 283.

353

M. A. Jinnah to Nazir Hussain

SHC (52)

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 4th[1] and regret that I was not able to attend to it earlier, as I was pressed with the very rapid

developments that were taking place in the Punjab.

In my interview with Pir Akbar Ali, M.L.A., I pointed out to him the clause of the constitution of the All India Muslim League, and I enclose herewith for your information a copy of my reply[2] to a letter which I received on this subject.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Nazir Hussain, Esq.,
Imam Jama Masjid,
Batala, Dist. Gurdaspur

[1]No. 315.
[2]No. 319.

354

M. A. Jinnah to Hameed Nizami

F. 1102A/168

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Mr. Nizami,

I thank you for your letter of the 22nd April,[1] enclosing a cutting from the *Nawa-i-Waqt* weekly, which I have read with very great interest, and I am sorry I was not able to reply to you earlier.

I sincerely hope that your weekly will support the creed, policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, and thus make its contribution towards the Muslim national struggle that we are carrying on.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A. H. Nizami, Esq., M. A.,
M[anagin]g Editor,
The *Nawa-i-Waqt* weekly,
8 Beadon Road, Lahore

[1]No. 284

355

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Ata Ullah

F. 1102A/169

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of May 9th,[1] which reached me here a couple of days ago, and I thank you very much for your wholehearted support to the League. Yes, every one can make his contribution to the advancement and strengthening of our organization.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Ata Ullah, Esq.,
Secretary, Muslim League,
Orai, Dist. Jalaun, U.P.

[1]No. 329.

356

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Husain

F. 1092A/236-7

SRINAGAR,
16 May 1944

Dear Mr. Husain,

I have received your letter dated 7th May,[1] which reached me here only two days ago, and I thank you for it. I have very carefully read it, and I am sorry that you should have received the treatment at the hands of Mr. Pothan Joseph as described by you, but I think you will appreciate our difficult position. There is a tremendous amount of dearth of Musalmans who are really capable and competent in the line of journalism in India. The answer to all that you describe is that the Muslamans should be up and doing and make up the leeway, which is due to the gross neglect on their part, not only in professional journalism but also in every other walk of life. God helps those who help themselves, and I feel confident that now that there is a tremendous awakening

created amongst the Musalmans, a full realization of their backwardness will urge them to go forward and take their proper place in every department of life very soon. Your letter will certainly receive my very careful attention.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Husain
Mukhtar Manzil,
Bhoor, Bareilly

[1]No. 325.

357

M. A. Jinnah to Pir Illahi Bakhsh

SHC, Sind I/17

SRINAGAR,
17 May 1944

Dear Pir Illahi Bakhsh,

Many thanks for your letter of April 25th.[1] Owing to rapid developments in the Punjab I have not been able to attend to your letter earlier. I am writing to Sir Ghulam Hussain, as desired by you.[2]

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Pir Illahi Bakhsh, Esq.,
Minister, Govt. of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 293.
[2]Pir Illahi Bux thanked Jinnah for his support See *SHC*, Sind I/26. Not printed.

Annex to No. 357

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind I/21

SRINAGAR,
17 May 1944

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

You will remember the conversation we had in Karachi with regard

to the Sind University Bill. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter that I have received from Pir Illahi Bakhsh.[1] I hope that, with your lead, you along with other Muslim leaders will all put your heads together and do the best you can. From what I gather and from the facts represented to me while I was in Karachi, I think Sind should have its own University, but after all it is for you and other leaders to consider what you should do in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier, Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 293.

358

James Brown to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 532/64

LONDON,
17 May 1944

Sir,

View great interest United States America announcement British plan for independence India. Would welcome opportunity present your opinions this subject through nationwide chain newspapers, radio station. Please cable your statement collect.

JAMES BROWN
International News Service

359

A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/175

KARACHI,
18 May 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am submitting under a separate cover a copy of the prospectus[1] of

our college whose foundation was laid with your sacred hands last June. It has now grown into a Degree College and God willing, we will be in a position to add the Science Section also from the Session of 1945. On our opening day, i.e. the 20th June 1944, we are celebrating the Foundation Day. I would request you kindly to send us your kind message[2] to be read on that occasion.

I assure you, Quaid-i-Azam, that every member of this college will be enrolled as National Guard in order to obey your commands and to serve the best interests of Islam.

With best regards,

Yours obediently,
A. H. SIDDIQI
Principal,
Sind Madrasah College

[1]Not traceable
[2]No. 431.

360

M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad

F. 167/1

SRINAGAR,
18 May 1944

Your Exalted Highness,

I received your telegram[1] regarding my property at Bombay on May 8th while I was at Lahore, and I immediately sent you a reply[2] as follows, and also wired my agents and solicitors,[3] Messrs. Mahomed Ali & Co.;

> Your telegram, have wired my solicitors Mahomed Ali & Co., 15 Military Square Lane, Fort, give particulars inspection property Zain Yar Jung.

I shall be glad to furnish you with any other information or particulars you may desire. I am here, as you will see from my above address, for a few weeks. I have taken this holiday and rest after 7 years of strenuous work, and hope to get to Bombay by the end of July. The climate here is very beautiful, and so are the natural surroundings, and I have already benefited from my change even in a few days.

Hoping Your Exalted Highness is well, and with my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No. 324.
[2]No. 327.
[3]No. 326.

361

M. A. Jinnah to A. Hamid

SHC, P&P I/74

SRINAGAR,
18 May 1944

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated April 22nd,[1] I have carefully considered the matter of royalty, and I am willing to accept your offer. This agreement will only apply to the present edition of my speeches at the Delhi session of April 1943 and Karachi session of December 1943, printed and published by you, namely one thousand impressions of the first edition of the Delhi session proceedings, and one thousand impressions of the first edition of the Karachi session proceedings which you propose to print.

No further impressions should be printed without giving me intimation and on such terms as we may agree upon.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

A. Hamid, Esq.,
Proprietor,
The Eastern Times Book Depot,
Lahore

[1]No. 288.

362

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/22

KARACHI,
18 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The enclosed statement has appeared in the *Daily Gazette* of Karachi dated 12 May 1944, a copy of which I send you for your information.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
For YUSUF ABDOOLA HAROON

Enclosure to No. 362

GAZDAR WANTS MAHATMA TO SOLVE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM

Karachi, Thursday: "I am watching the health of Mahatma Gandhiji with keen interest," said Mr. M. H. Gazdar, Home Minister, in an interview. He added, "I wish him a speedy recovery so that he may be able to make a move in the direction of a solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle which is the nucleus of all problems of India. I have every hope that once he has regained his health he would start negotiations with the Quaid-i-Azam and pursue the policy which he had initiated while under detention. I am confident that Gandhiji will give as early an indication of his change of heart as his health permits. All eyes are on him."—Orient Press

363

Prem Nath Bazaz[1] *to M. H. Saiyid*

F. 1102A/176

SRINAGAR,
18 May 1944

Dear Sir,

As desired by Ch. Ghulam Mohamad Abbas Sahib, President, All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, we are, under a separate cover, sending you copies of *Hamdard* from 10.5.44. We shall continue

to send you our paper so long as Mr. Moha[m]mad Ali Jinnah stays at Srinagar.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.[2]

Yours faithfully,
PREM NATH BAZAZ
for the daily Hamdard

[1]Editor, the daily *Hamdard*, Srinagar.
[2]M. H Saiyid thanked Mr. Bazaz for copies of the *Hamdard* and the offer of sending the paper during Jinnah's stay at Srinagar. See F. 1102A/177, *QAP*. Not printed.

364

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Quaseem

F. 1102A/182

SRINAGAR,
19 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and thank you for it. May I suggest that you should get in touch with the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and place the facts before the Secretary, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, who is quite capable of handling this matter in the first instance. He is not only the Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League but also a Member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and I have no doubt that the matter will receive full consideration at his hands.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. M. Quaseem, Esq., M.Sc.,
Ferozepore Road,
P.O. Ichhra, Lahore

[1]Not traceable.

365

M. A. Jinnah to Vazalali Vakil

F. 1102A/184

SRINAGAR,
19 May 1944

Dear Mr. Vazalali Vakil,

With reference to your telegram,[1] I was not able to attend to this matter earlier, but on my return to Bombay I shall get in touch with our young friend Mr. Umar Khan and certainly have an interview with him before I finally decide to take him away from his present job. Most probably I shall be returning to Bombay about the end of July, and will then communicate with you further.

Thanking you and him for your kind personal regard for and references to me,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Vazalali Vakil, Esq.,
Bhavnagar

[1]Vazalali Vakil had recommended Umar Khan as a reliable young man of character and promise for service with Jinnah. See F. 1102A/185, *QAP*. Not printed.

366

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Yousuf Shah

F. 1102A/180

SRINAGAR,
19 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 16th,[1] and thank you for it. I would request you to carefully study my speeches[2] which I delivered on my arrival at Jammu and Srinagar recently and which have

appeared in the local Urdu papers as well as in English. I am glad that you are taking an interest in the developments that are taking place in the life of Muslim India.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Moh[amma]d Yousuf Shah, Esq.,
S/o Anwar Shah,
Chrar Sharif, Badgam, Kashmir

[1]No. 347.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, The *Nation's Voice*, III, 498-500.

367

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/28

SRINAGAR,
20 May 1944

My dear Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 9th.[1] You will observe from my above address that at last I am here at Srinagar, and this is my first holiday and rest after seven years, but I am not left in peace even here. I feel very much better already by the change even within a few days. I hope you are keeping fit.

With regard to the question of having a first-rate man as the Managing Director of this new concern, Al-Meezan, there can be no two opinions, and I quite agree with you that we cannot wait until we get a capable Musalman. We have got to get on. As regards the gentleman whose name you have mentioned, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Ghulam Mohammed. I have read the letter[2] of Begum Shah Nawaz, which you have enclosed, very carefully. It is very important indeed whom we choose and appoint, and it does not matter even if there is some delay before we finally decide on the choice of the Managing Director of such an important concern.

Yes, Miss Jinnah is very well and so am I. With our very kind

regards to all of you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Ispahani, Esq.,
51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 330.
[2]See No. 330, note 1.

368

Hakim Masud Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/24
[Original in Urdu]

ASOODIA ROAD,
AHMEDABAD,
20 May 1944

Respected Quaid,

I and my companions have prepared a plan of a Muslim hospital in Ahmedabad. We have achieved a certain amount of success in this regard. The first part of the scheme for the proposed hospital is being sent to you[1] for your valuable comments.

Kindly oblige us at your earliest convenience. We will be extremely grateful.

Your obedient servant,
HAKIM MASUD AHMED
Proprietor,
Ajmal Medical Hall

[1]Not traceable.

369

Mujahid Astori to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/187

ASTORE,
20 May 1944

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We awaited your arrival in Kashmir for a long time. After all, our dreams and desires are fulfilled. Accept our heartiest welcome. Long live the beloved Quaid of Muslim India!

2. We are the most depressed, poverty-stricken and unenlightened class of Muslim Kashmir. Kindly ask S[heikh] M[ohamma]d Abdullah, the unwise leader of Muslims, if he has at all done anything for us. His nationalism has awfully told upon our general condition. Graciously direct Muslim Conference leaders to pay their earliest attention towards our economic and educational backwardness.

3. The last and most important request is that you will most kindly (and we keep naturally such hopes of you) bring the Muslim leaders of Jammu and Kashmir State on one platform, under one flag and to one and the same ideal.

Praying for your long life, health and peace in both the worlds.

MUJAHID ASTORI
for 15 thousand Muslims
of Northern Kashmir Frontier

370

M. A. Jinnah to P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar

F. 1103/27

SRINAGAR,
20 May 1944

Dear Mr. Mudaliar,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 10th[1] and I wish the *Sunday Observer* all success and prosperity on completing its 6th year of

existence by the 4th of June and entering upon its 7th year.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar,
Managing Editor, the *Sunday Observer*,
Mount Road, Madras

[1]P.B. Mudaliar had requested Jinnah's blessings on the *Sunday Observer* entering the seventh year of its publication. See F. 1102A / 150, *QAP*. Not printed.

371

M. A. Jinnah to M. Umar Draz Beg

F. 1102A/193

SRINAGAR,
20 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 14th,[1] and I have forwarded it to the Department[2] that deals with such matters, and I hope that you will succeed in getting what you desire. Of course, you will make your proper formal application to the right quarters and the authority concerned, and I hope that you will receive fair treatment at their hands. I shall be interested to know the result of your efforts, so please let me know whether permission is given to you or not.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. Umar Draz Beg, Esq.,
Proprietor, the *Jiddat*,
Moradabad, U.P.

[1]No. 272.
[2]Jinnah forwarded the letter to Sir Azizul Haque, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, asking him to do what he could. See F. 1102A / 195, *QAP*. Not printed.

372

Shakir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/202-3
[*Original in Urdu*]

C/O SYED QUDRATULLAH,
NAWABPET, NELLORE,
MADRAS,
20 May 1944

Highly respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

You are well aware of the vicious Hindu campaign against the helpless Muslims of Nellore City.

This diabolical campaign has resulted in the burning of 40 houses of Muslims while all residents of the *mohalla* were forced to take refuge elsewhere, and Shahi Mosque wore a deserted look. During this upheaval, my wife breathed her last, leaving behind five small innocent children.

I myself was arrested and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. I sent an appeal to the Governor of Madras which was turned down, thanks to the machinations of Hindu Mahasabha. Despite these discouraging circumstances, I still believe that *Allah* Almighty, in His infinite mercy, may restore the lost glory of the Muslims.

Sir, the whole world knows that you are extremely busy with the day-to-day affairs of the Muslim League. My problems are insignificant when compared with the objective of Muslims' emancipation. However, you are the only person to whom we, the hapless persons, can address our woes and narrate injustices that are being done to us.

Prior to this letter, I had sent a petition,[1] explaining my problems, that I am Caretaker of Shahi Mosque and the *Pesh Imam* of Islami Jama'at of Nawabpet. Due to my forced absence from the scene, this Jama'at has become leaderless, thus rendered ineffective and the anti-Islamic forces have gained greater strength. In view of this awful situation, I humbly request you to put this petition of mine before the Viceroy, thus providing an opportunity to me and other Muslims of Nawabpet to remain grateful to you for ever.

Wassalaam

Yours forever,
SHAKIR
Pesh Imam, Shahi Mosque

[1]Not traceable.

373

M. A. Jinnah to Maulana Karamali

SHC (59)

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
20 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 15th.[1] Please ask Hafiz Sahib to write to me direct, giving me his full name and address, and I will return to him Rs. 10,000 if he really is determined to utilize the money for the purpose of starting a paper at Cawnpore. I would still like to impress upon him that he should allow his contribution to be utilized for our *Dawn* press. We are contemplating to start an English daily at Lahore. However, it is for him to consider in what direction he will spend his money, for which you were good enough to hand over to me a cheque on his behalf. Of course, the cheque has been realised and kept in a separate account, and I shall abide by his final wishes, and if he decides that I should return the money, I will send him a cheque for Rs. 10,000 which of course was his and would be at his disposal.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Alhaj Maulana Karamali,
18 Summer Home,
Malihabad,
District Lucknow

[1]See *SHC* (51). Not printed.

374

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/59

SRINAGAR,
20 May 1944

My dear Hassan,

I have received all your letters, and I thank you for them, and let me deal with them all, as I have got now at last some breathing time.

First, with regard to the Punjab, I think the situation has been made

quite clear and the issue has been crystallized. It is now up to us to organize thoroughly and most efficiently the Muslim League in the Punjab. I have noted the information you have given me about the election of the Aldermen to the Calcutta Corporation, and it must be a matter of great satisfaction to you that you have been so successful, and I share in your joy.

As regards the printing machinery, while I thank you for meeting my wishes to secure it for *Dawn*, unfortunately my information from our people is that the composing machines are capable of working only by gas, and so they will be of no use to us in Delhi, as they are fitted with gaspots and can only be utilized in Bombay or in Calcutta. I am sending you herewith a copy of the full report from [Pothan] Joseph and our Manager, Mahmood Hasan, for your information.[1] In these circumstances, you might now deal with the Hyderabad Government in such manner as you may think best for your own purpose.

With regard to the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, no doubt that the success was not due to the reasonableness on the part of our opponents, but it was due to the fact that the Muslim Leaguers and others rose to the occasion and made a terrific effort, and hence the result that you see. The Bombay Chamber should in the ordinary course be first affiliated to the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

As regards your question, "Can Sir Sultan Chinoy be left out without breaking the gentleman's agreement arrived at between Sikander, Habib and myself when I was last in Bombay?", I do not exactly know what the agreement was. Evidently, Habib now is the acknowledged leader, and it would seem rather extraordinary that Sir Sultan Chinoy, who is merely a member of the Bombay Chamber, should be lifted up. I do not understand what is meant by Mr. Sikander Dehlavi when he says, "I do not know whether Sir Sultan's election to the proposed office of the Federated Chamber will be subsequent to the official affiliation of the Bombay Chamber". Until I am in possession of full facts, it is very difficult for me to express any definite opinion. I may tell you here that Habib Rahimtoola saw me here a couple of days ago, and from the conversation I had with him there does not seem to be any obligation on the part of anyone that Sir Sultan Chinoy should be elected the first President of the Muslim Federation, and in the event of there being a feeling between Calcutta and Bombay, you might fix on somebody belonging to some other province this year, and after all the term of the President is only for one year.

I feel very much better already from the change and rest even within a few days here. This is the first holiday that I am taking after seven years of very strenuous work, and it is necessary for me, and I

hope to remain here as long as it is possible for me to do so.

Hoping you are quite fit now, and with very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 427-9.

375

M. A. Jinnah to Willis Kingsley Wing

SHC, P&P III/15

SRINAGAR,
20 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 21st 1944,[1] and while I thank you very much indeed for the great interest you are taking in asking me to write a book along the lines originally contemplated, much as I would like to undertake this work, I regret that at present my commitments are so numerous and political developments are taking place in India so rapidly that I find it very difficult to commit myself and sign a contract. I may, however, inform you that I have already collected some material, and if I can manage to complete the book, I will certainly get in touch with you. I have not signed the contracts which have been sent to me, for the simple reason that I could not commit myself. You need not, therefore, send me duplicate contracts. As regards the original contracts, they are probably in Bombay amongst my papers, and as I am now travelling and unlikely to return to Bombay till the end of July, I am unable to return the unsigned contracts at present. I am very grateful indeed both to Doubleday and yourself for the deep interest you have evinced in a book on the Muslim world, and I assure you that if I can make some contribution, I will not hesitate to do so.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Willis Kingsley Wing, Esq.,
Authors' Representative,
522 Fifth Avenue,
New York

[1]No. 219.

376

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohammed

SHC, Punjab IV/56

SRINAGAR,
20 May 1944

Dear Mr. Ghulam Mohammed,

This is just to inform you that the printing machinery was examined at Bombay by our people, and you will find from the copies that I am enclosing herewith[1] of their report that these machines, especially the composing machines, are of no use to us in Delhi, as they are fitted with gaspots and are not workable by electric furnaces. The printing machines without the composing machines, which will be difficult for us to secure separately, will not be of much use to us at present. I have communicated with Hassan Ispahani and have informed him that if this machinery can be used by them in Calcutta, they might negotiate with your Government further.

Thanking you very much indeed for all your kindness and help, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Mohammed, Esq.,
Finance Minister,
Hyderabad, Deccan

Not traceable.

377

M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau

F. 1102A/205

SRINAGAR,
21 May 1944

Dear Sir B. N. Rau,

I have been wanting to call on you for the last few days, but owing to my car having gone out of order, I was not able to fix up an appointment with you, but now the car is all right, and I would like to

know what day and time would suit you, when I could call on you. Please let me know as soon as it is convenient to you.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir B. N. Rau,
Prime Minister,
H. H.'s Government, Srinagar

B. N. Rau invited Jinnah to tea on Friday, 26 May 1944 at 5.15 p m See F 1102A 218, *QAP*
Not printed.

378

Resolutions by the Karachi City Muslim League Working Committee

F. 1119/56

KARACHI,
21 May 1944

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Karachi City Muslim League expresses its unequivocal protest against the condemnable policy adopted by the Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar, Minister for Law and Order, in connection with the mayoral election by his unsuccessful attempts to cause rift in the Muslim League Party by inviting only a certain section of Muslim Corporators to a dinner at his house and advising them that if other members of Muslim League Party do not accept the proposal of an arbitrator, they should walk out of the Party. This meeting declares that such unwarranted interference by a Minister is against public welfare, and demands of Sind Muslim League Parliamentary Board to take suitable action against him, and according to its opinion earnestly requests them to expel Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar from the League for a period of three years.

This meeting congratulates the Muslim League Municipal Party that it carried on its work with patience and tolerance and saved the Party from a rift.

The meeting expresses a vociferous protest against the dangerous policy of Mr. G. M. Sayed, President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, Karachi, who by introducing party politics within the Sind Provincial Muslim League, deprived the sincere and old workers of the League from serving

on any responsible post or committee and thus has sown the seeds of dissension among the League ranks. This meeting appeals to the Sind Provincial Muslim League to appoint a committee of enquiry to look through [*sic*] into the elections of the City and District Muslim League wherein Mr. G. M. Syed's unjustifiable interferences have taken place.

379

Munawar-ud-Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/25
[*Original in Urdu*][1]

135 PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
21 May 1944

Today, on May 21, a meeting of the Executive of Anjuman Hizbullah, Calcutta, was held at 135 Park Street with Khan Bahadur Haji Wali-ul-Islam in the chair. It was decided in the meeting to request His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, Deccan, to lift the ban on Sufi Shah Nazir Ahmad Kashmiri's entry into the State. Sufi Sahib is among the founding members of the Anjuman. He is engaged in propagation of Islam in Calcutta since long.

It was also decided to send copies of this decision to His Exalted Highness the Nizam, all Muslim political leaders and newspapers.

MUNAWAR-UD-DIN,
Secretary,
Anjuman Hizbullah

[1] This formed an enclosure to letter of Nazir Ahmad of 92 A Park Street, Calcutta, sent to Jinnah, on 23 May. See No. 394.

380

Mir Mohammad Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/204
[Original in Urdu]

YLANDO,
DIST. WARANGAL,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
21 May 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The Dar-ul-Adab, Ylando, is observing the Iqbal Day, in the first week of June, to promote the philosophy of the Allama among the masses. You are requested to kindly send an appropriate message on the occasion.

MIR MOHAMMAD ALI,
Secretary,
Dar-ul-Motali'a, Dar-ul-Adab

381

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/53

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
21 May 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your kind letter. I am very grateful to you for your kind promise to send me a complete and correct version of the Punjab happenings.

I had a long interview with the Committee of Action at its last meeting in Delhi. They have accepted my scheme of publicity work and have appointed a committee of writers with myself as convener. I am working out a complete plan for the publication of a regular series of pamphlets, brochures, and books and shall send you a copy of the plan. I have already received encouraging response from a number of my friends who are interested in political literature. My ambition is to

bring out publications on the pattern of the well-known Oxford pamphlets, and God willing we will succeed.

I am sending you a copy of the statement about the latest stunt of our opponents—the Majlis—which I have sent to *Dawn* through its Aligarh correspondent. The facts mentioned therein are quite correct; I myself ascertained them at Delhi.

We are all ready and prepared to do our bit in reclaiming the Punjab from the hands of the traitors to the Muslim cause and only await your orders.

Hope you are keeping fit.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

Enclosure to No. 381

SHC, UP V/54

ALIGARH,
22 May 1944

The setting-up of a new puppet organization of the Hindus under the facade of a so-called All India Nationalist Muslim Majlis consisting, on their own admission, of not more than fifty discarded, discredited and disgruntled persons who have always served as willing tools and hirelings of the Congress and other Hindu bodies, has been viewed with amused indifference among Aligarh youths. They regard this move as yet another sinister attempt by certain Hindu business magnates and contractors to disrupt Muslim solidarity and misrepresent the position and aspirations of 100 million Muslims to the world. In this connection it is reliably learnt that the moving spirits of this latest stunt are certain Muslim businessmen of Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta who, it is alleged, have business relations with Hindu capitalists and also hold Government contracts. The opinion is expressed [that] the formation of the so-called Majlis, the release of Mr. Gandhi, and the attempts made in the Punjab to impair the position of the Muslim League almost simultaneously are all connected events and unmistakably point to the conclusion that the Anglo-Hindu alliance is again going to play the old game of dividing the Muslims with a view to belittling and undermining the influence, status and prestige of the Muslim League. Support is lent to this view by the soothing references in the Viceroy's address to the Central Legislature to geographical unity and the high-

mindedness of Congress leaders. The Nationalist Muslims only come in handy as easy tools in this conspiracy. The Muslims know that the real forces working behind the scenes are other elements which every time appear in different garbs and there is another ordeal ahead for Muslims which they are quite prepared to meet.

As for the Nationalist stooges the only comment made by Aligarh youth is that if any of them are really under the delusion that they represent any section of Musalmans they may test their *bona fides* by addressing a meeting at Aligarh which by common consent represents the cream of Muslim intelligentsia of India. This treacherous anti-Islamic move to create confusion in Muslim ranks at a time when 100 million Musalmans are united and agreed on the well-defined goal of Pakistan, and are preparing under the guidance of the Muslim League to make the final struggle for the achievement of their ideal, is characterised by the Muslim youth as an attempt on the part of Nationalists to retrieve their position and subserve the Congress end of Hindu domination under the protecting arm of British paramountcy. But it is confidently believed that this move like all its predecessors is doomed to utter failure. Even the man-in-the-street knows that neither the might of the bureaucracy nor the backing of Hindu financiers can any longer browbeat or coerce the Musalmans into surrender. The President and other bravados [*sic*] of their so-called Nationalist junta will themselves realise the mistake they have committed when and if they think of approaching the Muslim masses.

To all who question the representative status of the Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, the answer of the youth is 'Hold a plebiscite of Muslims or hold general elections of all legislatures and abide by the verdict of the electorate!'—*Dawn* correspondent

382

M. A. Jinnah to Anwar Hussain

SHC, Students I/99

SRINAGAR,
22 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 12th,[1] and thank you for it. In reply I beg to say that I have always considered that the All India

Muslim Students' Federation is a separate organization of the Muslim students, and the very aims and objects of this Federation clearly show that the students should have their own organization. I have repeatedly made it clear that students should not take an active part in the current politics during the course of their scholastic career, but it is their duty to fully acquaint themselves with the political problems and various issues and developments that take place from time to time, not only concerning India but the world at large. Politics should be a part of their studies, so that when they emerge from their colleges and universities they will be all the better qualified to play their part in the actual struggle of life that is awaiting them. You can certainly circulate this reply of mine, as desired by you.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Anwar Hussain, Esq.,
General Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League,
84-B Park Street,
Calcutta

No. 335.

383

M. A. Jinnah to Hasrat Qureshi

F. 1092B/242

SRINAGAR,
22 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 17th[1] along with an Urdu press cutting purporting to be from the *Zamindar*, and I thank you for it. Before I left Lahore, I was told that Mr. Murtaza and some of his colleagues wanted to see me and I gave him an appointment, but it seems that somehow a meeting could not be arranged, and I was given to understand that Mr. Murtaza was in communication with the Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana, as they had decided to establish an Urdu daily. I believe all arrangements have been made, and I

would, therefore, request you, and through you Mr. Murtaza also, to get in touch with them. Also the Committee of Action is going to meet in Lahore, and I would suggest that you should meet Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Convener of the Committee. Some of our people in Lahore are determined to establish a first-class Urdu daily, and I have no doubt that it would be in the interest of the proposed paper as well as you all to come to some arrangement and establish this paper. I fully appreciate the right stand that was taken up by Mr. Murtaza and you all, and it is a very sad reading indeed that the paper *Shahbaz* should be prevented from pursuing its independent and upright policy which you were determined to follow. I have also read the interview given by Mr. Murtaza in the press cutting which you have sent to me. I shall be interested to know further as to what progress has been made with regard to this proposed Urdu paper.

With best wishes,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

384

Prem Nath Bazaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/209

SRINAGAR,
22 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I have a desire to meet you. May I know if you can spare some time to do so. If so, when?[1]

PREM NATH BAZAZ
Editor,
The daily Hamdard

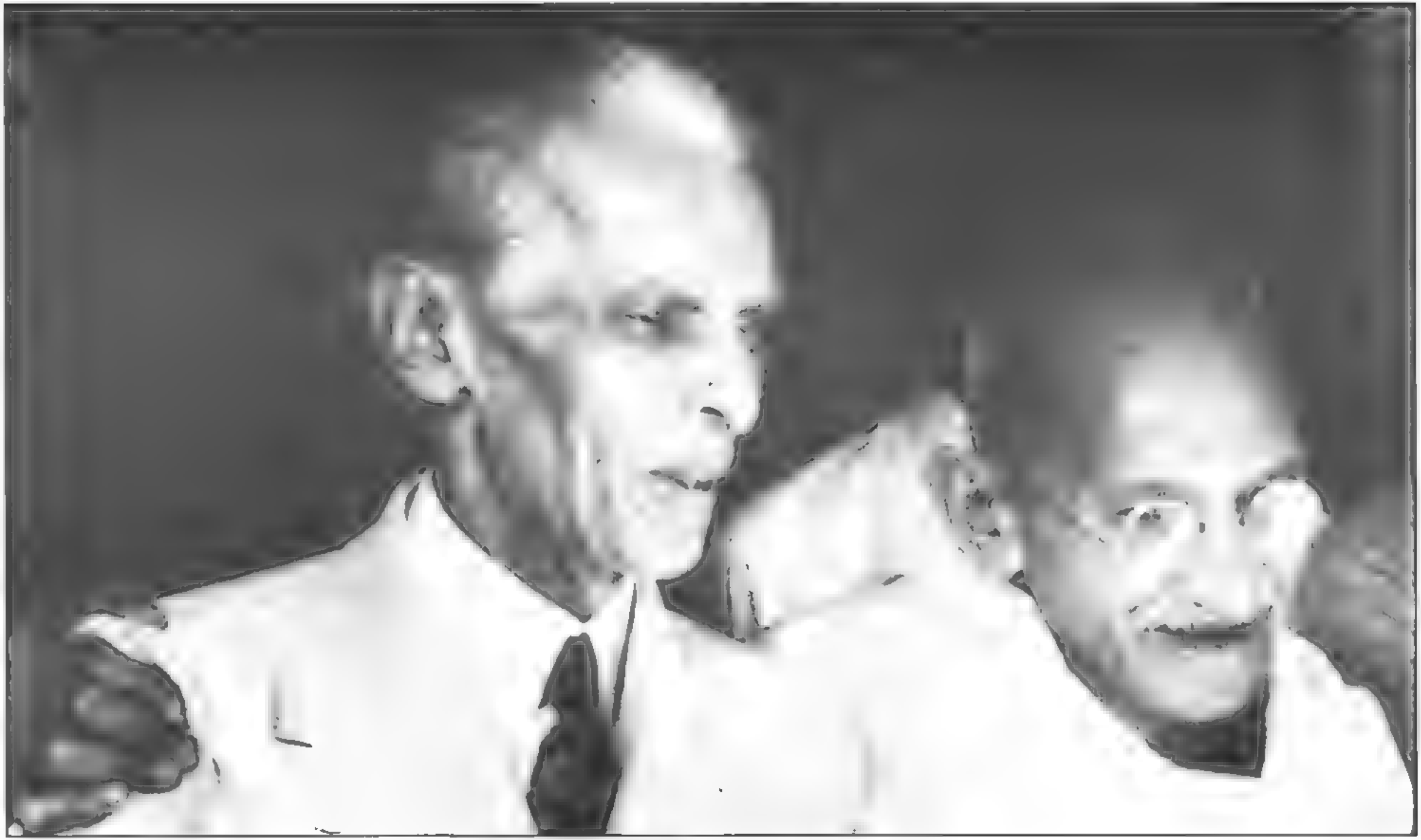
[1]Jinnah noted Sunday, 28th May, 11 a.m. on the letter.

Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah and Qazi Isa at Quetta Railway Station

Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah with students

Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan with students of Islamia College, Lahore

Jinnah with Muslim League workers



Jinnah and Gandhi

Jinnah in a rickshaw in Simla

Jinnah being taken along in a procession

385

M. A. Jinnah to A. Z. M. Rezai Karim

F. 1102A/211

SRINAGAR,
22 May 1944

Dear Mr. Rezai Karim,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 15th,[1] and I am sorry owing to pressure of work I was not able to attend to it earlier. I was really very pleased to read your letter describing the efforts that you and other leaders and workers are making to organize the Muslim League in Bengal, and I shall be very glad indeed to hear from time to time about your progress in making our organization in Bengal well-knit and solidly and efficiently organized.

As regards my coming to Bengal, you know that I have gone through a very strenuous work of now more than 7 years, and this is the first holiday and rest that I have allowed myself, and at present I am in Kashmir, but I shall soon get down to the plains and Bengal is constantly in my mind, and I shall certainly not fail to take the opportunity of visiting your Province, but it is very difficult for me just now to make any commitment. In the meantime, I wish you every success in your endeavour.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Mr. A. Z. M. Rezai Karim,
31 Dewan Bazar Road,
Dacca, Bengal

[1] See F. 1092/229-30, *QAP*. Not printed.

386

Ghulam Mohammad Nasim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878A/132
[Original in Urdu]

SOPORE, KASHMIR,
22 May 1944

Iftikhar-i-Millat Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Your auspicious visit to Kashmir would be a major impetus in the political life of the State. You have reached here on 10 May 1944 and I could not call on you due to my illness. Besides, the political problems in the State along with your hectic engagements were the other factors that hindered the fulfilment of this old desire of mine. Political degradation and disunity amidst the Muslims have increased your problems.

However, I am eager to request you to give an audience to me, meeting my long cherished desire.

Your most obedient servant,
MASTER GHULAM MOHAMMAD NASIM

387

M. A. Jinnah to K. A. Wadud

F. 1102A/212

SRINAGAR,
22 May 1944

Dear Mr. Wadud,

I received your letter of April 8th[1] while I was in Lahore, and I am sorry I was not able to acknowledge it earlier, but I have placed the contents of your letter before the Management of *Dawn*, and Mr. Mahmood Hasan told me that he is in touch with you. I should like to know what salary you are drawing now in your present job, and if a post could be

found for you, what would be your terms.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

K. A. Wadud, Esq., M. A.,
Supdt., the *Statesman,*
The Mall, Lahore

[1]No. 252.

388

Aziz Kashmiri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/213

OFFICE OF THE *ROSHNI,*
SRINAGAR,
22 May 1944

Sir,

With profound respects, I beg to submit herewith a few copies of the journal *Roshni* for favour of review.

Roshni is the only paper which is supporting and advocating the cause of Muslim League in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

May I hope that [you] will very kindly give a glance to its subjects and let me know about [*sic*] your opinion.[1]

Thanking you,

Yours obediently,
AZIZ KASHMIRI
Editor, Roshni

[1]Jinnah thanked him for two copies of the *Roshni.* See F 1102A 245, *QAP.* Not printed.

389

M. A. Rauf Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/8

MURSHIDABAD PALACE,
GOLAGANJ, LUCKNOW,
23 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The daily *Haque* of Lucknow, as you perhaps already know, is the only paper in this Province which has been championing the cause of the Muslim League, since Lucknow session, most courageously. It had to face the storm of the Congress regime but by the grace of God it stood firm in the ordeal.

I have been submitting the daily *Haque* to you for the last five years, but not being sure if it reaches you direct or not, I am today enclosing a cutting of my today's leading article in which I have discussed the question of your meeting with Mr. Gandhi from the Muslim League point of view. I hope you would kindly go into these lines and correct me if I have erred in voicing your feelings. In case the paper has got the good fortune of passing through your hands, I would further request you, my Quaid-i-Azam, to kindly let me know your views[1] on the general policy of the paper for my guidance and encouragement.

With sincere regards, my Quaid-i-Azam,

Your humble devotee,
M. A. RAUF ABBASI
Editor,
The daily Haque

[1]No. 463.

390

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana

F. 257/4

SRINAGAR,
23 May 1944

My dear Mumtaz,

Since I left Lahore, I have not heard from you, nor from Nawab Sahib of Mamdot, and I am following what little news is available to

me through the newspapers and the radio. Please do keep me in touch with the various developments that are taking place in the Punjab and do write to me from time to time. I shall be extremely grateful to you if you will do so.[1]

I may tell you that we have benefited already a great deal from the change and rest here. It is simply delightful here just at present. We are very comfortable, although a bit far away from Srinagar. We went and saw your very nice little house in Ram Munshi Bagh. It is a fine house and so well-furnished, but as we are already settled in *Kooshik,* I would not like to shift, and I once more thank you for your kindness in offering me your house. I wonder whether Begum Sahiba will come up to Kashmir, and even you might get away for a short time. It is really very nice here.

With our very best regards to Begum Sahiba and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mian Mumtaz Daultana,
8 Durand Road,
Lahore

[1]See No. 424.

391

Sultan Ahmad Daoodi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/136-7

[*Original in Urdu*]

CHOWK BABA SAHIB,
AMRITSAR,
23 May 1944

Respected Mr. Mohammad Ali,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

Living in a corner of the city of Amritsar, I have been watching your activities for a long time. Maybe some Muslims, who are imbued with worldly desires, are deriving some temporal benefits from some of your activities, but as regards reminding the Muslims of the forgotten lesson of their history, I am constrained to view your activities with grave concern. Had the Muslims cared to hold aloft the torch of guidance that they had brought to the world, they would have not been facing

the present plight. But being influenced by the prevailing atmosphere and the modern society to a great extent, they have become mere slaves of the devil. You happen to belong to the same category of Muslims who, under the British influence, keep on harping on the same tune.

Respected Sir, please let me know whether the Muslims had come to this world just to forsake their teachings and start following the satanic principles and spend their lives in pursuit of Assembly seats and government jobs. Maybe, under the influence of worldly ambitions, you might have started considering yourself a king, but you should know that your present pomp and show will end in defaming you on the day of reckoning. Remember that Islam never allows anyone to live a life of luxury, and probably you must [*sic*] be aware that for being a Muslim it is not enough to enhance Islam's dignity. The Muslims are living a life that might lead them towards total disaster. Have you even thought that the present Central and Provincial Assemblies are not lagging behind in passing un-Islamic laws. Lakhs of your admirers are constantly helping to provide colour and splendour to these satanic law courts for the sake of resolving their disputes where the legal cases are decided under the man-made unnatural laws; for example, Islam orders to cut the hands of a thief, the present law courts confine themselves to convict the culprit to two to four months for stealing an amount of Rs. ten thousand for the first time, thus providing him the opportunity to make thievery a business. You had also got the person who had attacked you committed under the satanic [British] law. Had you believed in justice you could have left the matter in the hands of God and would not have sought justice from an unIslamic court. Your success in life is also due to your obedience to the imperial laws. Perhaps, you may plead that the remedy of all ills lies in the achievement of Pakistan. My view is that the remedy lies in founding a state which might eradicate all the evils, and the Muslims are spared the labour to wage a new war against them. We need to learn a lesson from the atrocities of the satanic system. The so-called inventions and modern progress are not only a great deception but they teach us the lesson that all systems and laws, except Islamic laws, are not capable of establishing effective and lasting peace. Only Islamic laws plead for tolerance towards all human beings. Had the Muslims followed the Islamic code of life the agents of atheism could not have dared to propagate this false perception in India. The Islamic egalitarianism has no parallel. For God's sake instead of teaching hero-worship to the Muslims let them become the true Muslims of the early age of Islam who valued principles more than anything else. You should not be taken in by insincere love of the people and avoid wishful thinking.

Adopt the Islamic way of life and God will be with you. Hold aloft the banner of Islam and God will bless you. Maybe, my message appears to be a voice in the wilderness but I feel satisfied that I have done my duty.

Wassalaam

Yours,
SULTAN AHMAD DAOODI

392

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

SHC, Punjab III/1

SRINAGAR,
23 May 1944

My dear Iftikhar,

As usual, I have not heard anything from you although you promised me that you would, if necessary, engage a secretary and keep up your correspondence with me. I am really anxious to get first-hand information of the various developments in the Punjab; so please do keep me in touch with what is happening there.[1] Of course, I get the newspapers and I also have a radio, and I am following such news as is available to me through these sources. I know you have been busy and you had to go up and down Delhi to attend the meetings of the Committee of Action. I also note that the Committee of Action is coming to Lahore very soon.

First, what progress have you made regarding the starting of an Urdu daily? Second, what about the completion of the sale of property, and what about the plot that we discussed and which I wanted to secure? Third, have my tailors delivered my *achkan* to you? I wanted to give them a certificate, as they were very keen about it, and if you will kindly let me know their full name and address, I will send them a few words of appreciation of their efficient work.

I am glad to inform you that we are very comfortable here, and have already benefited a great deal from the change and rest, a lovely climate, to say nothing about the beauty, and the excellent water of Kashmir. I wonder whether you have finally decided to send Begum Sahiba and the children here, and if you want any house or houseboat we shall be only too glad to look out for one and secure a house

according to your requirement. You might also come up yourself for a short time, if possible.

With our kindest regards to you and Begum Sahiba and our love to children,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road,
Lahore

[1]See No. 445.

393

S. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/36

KASHMIRI BAZAAR,
LAHORE,
23 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Hoping that you will be enjoying your stay in Kashmir to the best.

May I recall to you that in our last meeting in Lahore we decided that the MS of your biography may be glanced through by Mr. Pothan Joseph instead of Nawabzada Sahib who is too busy. On this account, I wrote to Mr. Pothan Joseph and I have received his reply, a copy of which is enclosed.

This noble venture of the publication of your biography has been delayed to a considerable extent. I am sure that Nawabzada Sahib cannot do this work on account of his multifarious activities. You can just imagine that so far he has not even spoken to Mr. Joseph in this respect which he promised to do in our last meeting. Now I am in a great fix. The paper I reserved for it since long is proving a dead investment. I have given a wide publicity that I am going to publish your biography, and the enthusiasts have already registered orders, and now they are reminding me again and again. This indirectly is affecting my goodwill.

In the circumstances I approach you with the humble request to help me out of the difficulty. I do not know how long a time Mr. Pothan Joseph will take to complete the revision work, and the additional

expense of remuneration. Therefore, you may please permit me to make local arrangements for the revision work and thus to speed up the work. I assure you that this work will be done in an efficient and elegant way.

Besides the above, if any other publisher published your biography earlier than myself, you can realize that it will jeopardise my interests. Your biography, which is [the] first in the market, will cover up the market and the latter ones, how [sit] good they may be, will not be able to grip the attention of the readers.

Therefore, I repeat my request that you may please permit me to make my own arrangements for the revision and speed up its publication.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

Enclosure to No. 393
Pothan Joseph to S. Muhammad Ashraf

SHC, P&P I/37

DELHI,
16 May 1944

I have received your letter about publishing Mr. Jinnah's biography. My difficulty is that last year there was, with Jinnah's approval, a proposal that I should write his memoirs and he had promised to give me some material as soon as he could spare some time. I am not sure how I should, in the circumstances, proceed in the matter.

Nawabzada has given me no MS so far. I propose to go on leave early in June and I may be able to look through it during my journey home and back.

In the last paragraph, you speak of remuneration for the work. I would like to know what you have in mind. The custom is both to pay a revision fee and also have a share reserved in the royalty on sales. As you are a publisher and a bookseller, the proposal must come from you.

POTHAN JOSEPH
Editor, Dawn

S. Muhammad Ashraf,
Publisher,
Kashmiri Bazaar,
Lahore

394

Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/134-5

[*Original in Urdu*]

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'ala Rasulihil Karim

92 A PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
23 May 1944

My brother Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I want a reply to my letter dated the 6th instant.[1]

Mr. Jinnah! Please be a practising Muslim yourself and do whatever you can to make the nation act accordingly. At present many of your companions are no better than Shyama Prasad Mukherjee except that they can deliver speeches in the Muslim gatherings and seek Assembly membership with their votes just as Shyama Prasad does. The *Namaz, Roza, Hajj and Zakat* are the basic tenets of Islam. One, who fails to observe these fundamentals, cannot claim to be a Muslim. Hence it is incumbent upon you to make these tenets essential for every member of the party. This will help to iron out differences between the Muslims and we will become true believers. The things that are fundamentals to Islam should be acted upon without hesitation. If we claim to be Muslims just to acquire power while none of our actions is true to the injunctions of the holy *Qur'an,* we have no right to call ourselves true believers. Is it not hypocrisy? Those who aspire for the Assembly tickets and ministries, should first be made true Muslims.

I am enclosing herewith a draft resolution.[2] Please go through it and if you consider it worthwhile then, keeping in view your opinion about me, please send this resolution to the Nizam along with your letter. Thank God, nobody in the whole of India can question my political integrity.

I considered the former Prime Minister of Hyderabad a *pucca* Hindu by belief, although his name was Akbar Hydri. I on certain occasions tried to correct him. I suspect the restrictions imposed upon me are due to the same reason, otherwise I do not find any political reason behind them.

I am also sending herewith a letter in English.[3] This is something of a missionary nature. Although by going to England it might not be possible to do something for such a great revolution in a short time, however, I presume the British statesmen could be convinced for constituting a single political block of all the Muslims of Asia and Africa to check Communism, because it may engulf Pakistan.

Humbly yours,
NAZIR AHMAD

[1]No. 321.
[2]Refers to resolution passed by Anjuman Hizbullah, Calcutta, to the effect that the ban imposed on entry of Sufi Shah Nazir Ahmad Kashmiri into Hyderabad may be lifted. See No. 379.
[3]Most probably refers to his letter to Winston Churchill. See F. 1102A/222-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

395

Abdul Karim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/220-1

[*Original in Urdu*]

WAZIRPURA,
AGRA, U.P.,
24 May 1944

Exalted and respected Quaid-i-Azam and members of All India Muslim League,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Today all the members of All India Muslim League, which amounts to our National Parliament, are going to assemble. Today the whole world is watching us and the eyes of all the Indian Muslims are fixed on Lahore to see as to what decision is going to be made. I hope it will be the right decision.

As some eight years back I had already explained at the annual session of the All India Muslim League, the *Swaraj* [independence] is not going to bring freedom for all the nations living in this country. Instead, it will bring catastrophe to all and will result in the rule of only *Banias,* Pundits and Brahmans. *Swaraj* will prove a curse for us. The Congress *Banias* are dreaming to rule over the whole country. These men are the greatest enemies of our nation. All their efforts are focused on creating hurdles in our way to achieve Pakistan. I request you to reject the Congress proposals for reconciliation with contempt.

I would also ask you to change the policy of holding frequent meetings and organizing rallies. Instead, you may concentrate your efforts on the humanitarian work so as to ameliorate the living conditions of common man.

I also appeal to the Punjab Government to pass an act which may put an end to cruelty to human beings. It should also rein in the business community to the benefit of common man.

ABDUL KARIM AJMERI

396

A. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/8-9

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
24 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 20th.[1] I entirely agree with you that the Congress has to review the situation in the light of recent developments, and the appearance of certain vital issues which have emerged and crystallised in the last five years, and the broad general basis of Congress-League settlement should be the acceptance of the principle of self determination. I am confident that wise counsel shall prevail, and Mahatmaji will accept this democratic principle. I am also sure of the fact that a new leadership can emerge out of the present Congress leadership, which will accept this principle. This is only possible if a demand is made for the release of Congress leaders. I do not know how far you agree with me on this point. However, as Mr. G. M. Syed said the other day, "The stage is set for Congress-League settlement." The eyes and ears of the world are fixed on Quaid-i-Azam and Mahatma Gandhi. "Who takes the initiative first?" is the question on everyone's lips. I am sure you will agree with me[2] that this is not the time to stand on ceremonies. National interest demands the subservience of formalities to larger issues. Let a third party take the initiative, and let our two great leaders meet in Delhi. Allama Mashriqi has done well in taking the initiative. Gandhiji has wired to him that he is ready to meet you. I am confident that once the meeting is arranged and both the leaders meet in a true spirit of compromise, a solution of the whole problem will be found out. One of your intimate

friends told me the other day of the report that you had expressed a fervent wish, when the Mahatma was in detention, that if he were closeted with you only for two minutes there would be a settlement! I wish this would come about.

I also wish to inform you that I can prevail upon Sir Maharaj Singh, and Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram, President and the General Secretary of the All India Council of Indian Christians to take the initiative in arranging for a meeting of the two great leaders.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
A. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.
Jinnah replied that his suggestions would be carefully considered. See F. 1102 A/246, *QAP*.
Not printed.

397

Abdul Qaiyum to M. A. Jinnah

F. 979/22

ABEGUZAR, SRINAGAR,
25 May 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am here practising on week-days, with weekend visits to my village home at Vanigam about 20 miles away.

I have not seen you so far, because I wanted you to have perfect rest.

As Kashmir is my home and you are on a visit, I shall feel highly honoured if you will come to my village some weekend. I promise you absolute rest and the scenery is beautiful.

I can see you any afternoon except Fridays and Saturdays.[1]

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

[1]Jinnah fixed 6 June, 6 p.m., for Qaiyum to see him.

398

M. A. Sayyid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/227

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am directed by the President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, to forward herewith a copy of the proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, held on the 14th May 1944, for information.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. SAYYID
Honorary Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 398

F. 1102A/228-33

The annual meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council was held on Sunday the 14th May 1944 at 11 a.m. in the District Local Board Hall, Karachi, under the presidentship of Mr. G. M. Sayed.

The following members were present:

[*Names of 72 participants omitted*]

2. The President read out the Annual Report of the Sind Provincial Muslim League for the year 1943-44, which was duly recorded. Copy of the Report is herewith appended.[1]

3. It was proposed by the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain and seconded by K. B. A. K. Gabol that Mr. G. M. Sayed be elected President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, for the year 1944-45. There being no other proposal, Mr. G. M. Sayed was unanimously elected President.

4. It was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar and seconded by Sayed Khair Shah that Messrs. Ghulam Nabi and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur be elected Vice Presidents of the Sind Provincial Muslim League for the year 1944-45. There being no other proposal before the meeting, the above gentlemen were unanimously elected Vice Presidents.

5. It was proposed by the Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh and seconded

by Shahmir Khan Kachhi that Mr. Ghulam Hyder Shah be elected General Secretary of the Sind Provincial Muslim League for the year 1944-45. Another proposal was moved by Mr. Haqqani and seconded by Dr. A. Khan that Mr. Yusuf Haroon be elected General Secretary for the year 1944-45. The latter proposal was put to vote, when 13 members voted for it and 32 members voted for the first proposal. The first proposal, therefore, was carried, and Mr. Ghulam Hyder Shah was elected General Secretary for the year 1944-45.

6. It was proposed by Mr. Mahomed Ali Shah and seconded by Syed Khair Shah that Messrs M. A. Hafiz, Bar-at-Law and G. Allana be elected Joint Secretaries of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, for the year 1944-45. There being no other proposal, the above gentlemen were elected Joint Secretaries.

7. It was proposed by Syed Mahomed Ali Shah M.L.A. and seconded by Syed Khair Shah, M.L.A. that the Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar be elected as Treasurer of the Sind Provincial Muslim League for the year 1944-45. This proposal was carried by majority of votes.

8. It was proposed by Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar and seconded by Syed Khair Shah, M.L.A. that the President be authorised to nominate the members of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Working Committee. This proposal was carried by majority of votes.

9. It was proposed by Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar and seconded by Mr. Mahomed Zaman Shah that the following members be appointed to represent the Province of Sind on the All India Muslim League Council. The proposal was unanimously adopted.

[*Names of 25 Councillors-elect omitted*]

10. It was proposed by Agha Badruddin and seconded by Agha Ghulam Nabi that a vigilance committee consisting of the following members [be constituted] to (a) see that Muslims get their proper share in the Govt. and Local Bodies Services, (b) make arrangement for the employment of educated unemployed Muslims, and, (c) endeavour for redressing the grievances of the Muslim public in the Province.

1. Mir Ghulam Ali — Chairman
2. Syed Mahomed Ali Shah
3. Kazi Fazalullah
4. Anwar Hussain
5. K. B. [A.K.] Gabol
6. Ghulam Hyder Shah
7. Agha Badruddin Ahmed
8. Shahmir Khan
9. Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali

This proposal was carried unanimously.

11. It was proposed by Syed Hassan Bakhsh Shah and seconded by Syed Allah Dino Shah that the following gentlemen be elected as members of the Committee of Action for the Province of Sind.

12. Another proposal was submitted by Agha Badruddin and seconded by Mahomed Yusuf Chandio that the following may be elected on the Action Committee for organising Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League. The second proposal was put to vote and lost and the first proposal was carried:

[*Names omitted*]

13. It was proposed by Syed Ghulam Murtaza Shah of Tando Mahomed Khan and seconded by Saleh Mahomed Shah that the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League request the Government of India that with a view to respecting the religious feelings and sentiment of the Muslims of India, the ban on the pilgrimage to Mecca be removed and transport facilities be afforded to them for the purpose. This was unanimously passed.

14. This Council of the Provincial Muslim League requests the Govt. of India to convey the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims of India to His Majesty's Government in England to carry out the promises made out to the Arabs and not allow any further immigration of Jews into Palestine. It is hoped that the British Government will not yield to the unreasonable pressure of the Jews of the world in this behalf. This was proposed by Syed Ghulam Murtaza Shah of Tando Mahomed Khan and seconded by Saleh Mahomed Shah and passed unanimously.

15. This Council urges upon the Government of Sind the desirability of abolishing the system of joint electorates in the Municipal Boroughs in the Province of Sind. This was proposed by Mr. Niamatullah Qureshi and seconded by Saleh M[uhamma]d Shah and unanimously passed.

16. It was proposed by Mr. Niamatullah Qureshi and seconded by Mr. Badruddin that it has been found from previous experience that the system of appointing Honorary Magistrates has proved detrimental to the interest of the Province. Therefore, it is urged that it may not be re-introduced as contemplated. Passed unanimously.

[*Para 17 omitted*]

18. This Council expresses its dissatisfaction over the action taken by His Excellency the Governor of Punjab in dismissing Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Minister for Public Works Department, against convention and spirit of the Act of 1935. Further, this could not have happened without the consent of the Premier of the Punjab and the Cabinet, and it

was expected of them to give the Minister an opportunity of defending himself by giving a definite charge sheet before taking any action, and also taken [*sic*] the public in confidence by acquainting them with reasons for dismissing him from the Cabinet.

This was proposed by Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali and seconded by Mr. Haqqani and unanimously passed.

[*Subsequent paras omitted*]

Thereafter, a vote of thanks was proposed and passed for the Chair and the meeting terminated.

[1]See Annex to No. 402.

399

A. M. Tariq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/236

COURT ROAD,
SRINAGAR,
26 May 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As I am desirous of seeing you about something private/political, I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly let me know when I may call on you, not as a press representative but as a private citizen.[1]

Thanking you very much,

Respectfully yours,
A. M. TARIQ

[1]Jinnah noted Sunday, 12 noon, 28 May on the letter for the interview.

400

Quraishi Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/237

PRIVATE

SRINAGAR,
26 May 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

I intend to see you and the nature of talk is a little lengthy. Would

you very kindly fix up and let me know.[1]

Yours ever,
QURAISHI MOH[AMMA]D YUSUF
General Secretary, Muslim Conference

Jinnah noted Saturday, 27 May on the letter for the interview.

401

M. A. Bari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 655/4-5

DELHI,
26 May 1944

Fakhr-i-Qaum, Amir-i-Millat, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Thank your very much for the kind letter[1] you sent me on the 16th May 1944 which I highly appreciate.

The letter was received just in time when the parties were discussing about your letter[2] in reply to the telegram[3] sent to you by Maulana Ahmad Saeed (Delhi). I did my best to convince them.

I have also written a letter to Maulana Ahmad Saeed asking him to chalk out some constructive and practical programme for Musalmans as Mr. Jinnah has already before him schemes like *Bait al-Mal,* Employment Bureau, Industrial and Commercial Co-operative Societies, and many other programmes like these. I have also asked them if they could agree to Muslim League's programme and policies, and if so, to what extent.

I have discussed the matter at length, and have asked them if it was possible to abolish all the parties and retain only two parties. One Jami'yyat al-'Ulama and the other Muslim League. Those who claim to know *Shari'at* and Islamic laws, should join Jami'yyat al-'Ulama and those who know the cunningness, cleverness and political games of other communities and the working machinery of the Government, and those who are members of the Municipal Boards, Councils and Assemblies, should join the Muslim League. When the question comes of some Islamic law, *'Ulama* should be consulted, and in all other matters, i.e. seats, provinces and communal problems, etc., Muslim League should be consulted.

I am sending herewith a copy of my article[4] which has appeared in

daily *Payam* on the 25th instant. Of course, it is not published in full but some of its parts [*sic*]. I am also sending my original article[5] and I am sure if you get it translated word by word you will appreciate the ideas to some extent.

I am glad to know that my activities are such that I am called by the parties as Mr. Jinnah's own and important man. You will simply laugh to know that even Muslim Leaguers suspect me as your C.I.D. I used to go to All India Muslim League office where Syed and Lobo used to live. Now I go very seldom.

With best regards and wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. BARI

[1]No. 351
[2]See No. 341.
[3]See No. 328.
[4]See F. 655/6-7, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]Not traceable.

402

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/23

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
26 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope by now you must have received the annual report[1] of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, sent a week ago, and I am herewith enclosing a copy of the proceedings[2] of the annual session of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council, for your information.

I deem it necessary to bring to your notice certain facts which had created misunderstanding among the Muslim League workers in this Province. The main causes can be detailed as follows:

a. The misunderstanding created between Mr. Gazdar and Mr. Yusuf Haroon.
b. The ill-feeling of Dr. A. A. Khan and his group against Mr. Gazdar.
c. K.B. Khuhro's indirect interference in the Sind Provincial Muslim League elections.

All these circumstances combined had taken a very unhappy turn, but by the grace of *Allah,* things have again taken a favourable turn

and we are trying to clear the misunderstanding.

I would do my best to induce again K.B. Khuhro to desist from interfering and organizing groups against me and hope I shall be able to succeed.

I am afraid Dr. A.A. Khan and a few of his supporters at the instigation of Shaikh Abdul Majid and Mahomed Khan, a Congressite Muslim, are intending to create disruption in the ranks of the Muslim League. The difference between Mr. Yusuf and Mr. Gazdar has been intensified by the policy adopted by this group. They are bent upon doing mischief and if they continued to create disruption, then, with a view to purifying the organization, I shall have to place the matter before the Sind Provincial Muslim League Working Committee to take such steps as it may deem necessary. In my opinion, it is in the interest of the Muslim League in the City of Karachi that Messrs Gazdar and Yusuf should patch up their differences. Mr. Gazdar is there in Kashmir and I am sure he would often meet you. A word to him, I hope, will bring him in a conciliatory mood. I can find from Mr. Yusuf's talk that he would be willing to patch up and on Mr. Gazdar's return, I shall try my utmost to bring them together.

Though we are in the evolutionary stage of party forming system, yet let me assure you that we are trying our very best to regulate and control our differences in such a manner that no opportunity is afforded to the opposition to exploit our differences to their advantage.

With respect,

Yours sincerely,
G.M. SAYED

[a]Annex.
[b]Enclosure to No. 398.

Annex to No. 402
Annual Report of the Sind Provincial Muslim League for the Year 1943-44

SHC, Sind I/24

KARACHI,
13 May 1944

Friends,

This is the 11th month when we are meeting again after the last elections. The last elections were held on the 13th June 1943, in the presence of the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and the

members of the Provincial Muslim League were good enough to elect me as President and Mr. Yusuf Haroon as General Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League. I am conscious of the fact that owing to various duties which had devolved on us, we have not been able to meet quite often in the Council, excepting on one occasion that is on the 12th September 1943, and once in the Working Committee on the 26th June 1943. This was mainly due to the fact that for nearly four months we were busy with the Shikarpur by-election work and then for nearly three months with the 31st session of All India Muslim League. I hope this year, we are going to meet more often. During the year under review, we had only one by-election to fill in the vacancy caused by the death of the late Mr. Allah Bakhsh Soomro. This by-election took most of the time of our workers as all the disruptive forces among the Muslim community, such as, Khaksars. Ahrars, Jami'yyat al-'Ulama and some Socialist workers, had joined hands, with the assistance and encouragement of the Hindu community, to put down the rising influence of the Muslim League in the province. This was taken by them as a test case. We had to fight many odds, as it was the constituency from where the late Mr. Allah Bakhsh was being returned ever since 1926 when he entered politics. This was the place where his family possessed considerable landed property on account of which it was in a position to wield great influence over the voters. In addition, this tract was dominated by big *zamindars, sardars* and chiefs who had personal relationship with the family, and Mr. Allah Bakhsh's own sudden death had created in them a certain amount of sympathy for his people. But in spite of all this, thanks to the industry, incorruptibility and sincerity of our workers, we were able to achieve a glorious success. This election gave us an experience and also insight into the mind of the Muslim masses. If we have to fight any new elections in the future and win seats in all the Muslim constituencies at the time of the general elections, it would require tremendous efforts on our part in this direction. Masses have yet to be trained to control elections collectively through organizations and resist the temptations offered to them at the election time by well-to-do, influential and local individual aspirants. It would not be a matter of days or months but we should require years to create political consciousness among Muslim masses in the province, where on account of long distances, scattered villages, illiteracy and local influences and petty personal jealousies, it is rather difficult to easily approach the people. On account of the postponement of elections due to War, we have got time to prepare the ground for future elections and if we take the matter in right earnest from now and onwards, we can organize the electorates to

control their legislators and through them the Government.

2. After a long repose, we had here in this province the 31st session of the All India Muslim League. In the organization of the session, we had many odds to fight on account of the restriction and limitations imposed by War. The General Secretary, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, had to suspend many of his activities in other fields and devote a considerable time to make the conference a success. Mr. Gazdar in spite of his arduous official duties spent much of his time in the construction of the *pandal*. The Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain, Pir Illahi Bakhsh and Khan Bahadur Khuhro too had lent their helping hand in making the conference a success. I thank all other sincere workers as well who did likewise. This conference was historic, for reasons of its constructive out-turn and the fact that it had served the purpose of imparting political education to the people of the province.

3. During the year, we had chalked out a programme for holding of district and *taluka* conference, but due to the Shikarpur by-election and the All India Muslim League conference, we were able to hold only three district conferences and four *taluka* conferences, the audience in each having ranged from 500 to 10,000. Speeches and lectures at these conferences had great educational value. We have since obtained a list of fairs held at various places in the province, and if we can utilize these fairs for the purpose of creating political consciousness, quite a good deal could be done in this direction. In some districts, we had appointed paid propagandists who carried the Muslim League message from place to place, but, I am afraid, this is not sufficient. If we want to establish genuine contacts with the masses, we shall have to appoint as many paid propagandists as there are Muslim constituencies in the province. The message of the Muslim League should reach every adult Muslim in the province. As for publicity, the *Al-wahid* has been doing its best to represent our viewpoint and we take this opportunity to thank the *Al-wahid* management and also the other papers which have been supporting our cause.

4. It is a well-known fact that Muslims are backward in trade and industry and the seriousness of this situation was realized during the year, and a regular campaign was started to induce the Muslims to take to trade and start industries. A day was fixed as the Muslim Trade Day and an appeal was issued to the Muslims of the province through papers, pamphlets and posters to observe the day. As many as two hundred places in the province observed and celebrated this day. In response to this, Muslims were found to be enthusiastic in opening new shops in every nook and corner of Sind, but I am sorry to

observe that in view of some difficulties and obstacles, much has not been done in this direction. The policy adopted by the various district officials in giving licence for control shops and forming of the syndicates has been a great handicap in this behalf. The following figures will give bird's eye view of the whole position:

[*Para A omitted*]

B. The other handicap is the absence of sufficient number of Muslim trained hands for the opening of new shops in villages.

C. There is also absence of whole-sale shops and agencies for supplying material to the Muslim retail shops. I am sorry to observe that the Muslim *zamindars* have not yet taken notice of the requirements of their Muslim brothers and have failed to take interest in this direction. This is the reason why the financial assistance required for this purpose is not sufficiently forthcoming. It is regrettable to find that Muslims, who form a majority in population of the province, have been finding it difficult to obtain their quota of kerosine oil, which is mainly due to the policy adopted by the Burma-Shell Company in giving preference to their old customers who are mostly Hindus. The Muslim licencees are experiencing a great difficulty. It is time that the present Ministry adopted a policy by which facilities are provided to Muslim shopkeepers. The present state of affairs must end, as early as possible.

5. As the Muslim League organization is gradually getting stronger, the disintegrating forces among the Muslims are getting frightened and are trying their best to unite and organize themselves in order to present a joint front to our organization. The Khaksars, Ahrars, the Jami'yyat al-'Ulama and such other disgruntled individuals are straining every nerve of theirs to make use of the defects and drawbacks of our workers and discredit and malign our organization. The local grievances are made much of by them. It is an admitted fact that corruption in most of the Government departments is rampant. The cost of living has tremendously shot up and the low-paid servicemen and the working class are greatly hit. Insecurity in the village life has not yet been removed. When everywhere great schemes for reorganization of the country are being prepared, this Province is lying in a state of torpor. *Haris* have not yet been provided with their security of tenure and other rights, enhancement of land assessment without compensating the public means of spending sufficient amount on the nation-building activities, are some of the points which are made much of by the opposition. It is time that we took cognizance of such matters and endeavoured to remove, as far as possible, these causes and their effects. In my opinion, the Province of Sind is to play an important role in the future of the

Muslim politics of India. The future of the Muslims of India depends upon the proper handling of the Sind politics. If we improve the conditions in this Province, there would be no delay in achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan. It is high time that we devoted our attention to the improvement of the condition of the twenty eight lakh of labourers and *Haris* living in the province and thus give a befitting and practical reply to our opponents. It is the duty of our Government, and also every Muslim League worker to put in serious efforts in this direction.

6. The Hindu attitude has, from the very start, been anti-Muslim League and intriguing. In spite of my appeal to them on the occasion of the All India Muslim League conference, I find very little response coming from the Hindu community for arriving at an understanding with the Muslims. We have all along been anxious to do justice to the minority community, but it is painful to see, that owing to defective organization and short-sightedness and the influence of the all-India politics, they are lacking courage and conviction to break the stalemate and come to some definite settlement. The manner and methods adopted by them to encourage the disruptive forces among the Muslim community is a clear proof of their intentions. I hope better counsels will some day come to prevail.

7. I have found so far that the be-all and end-all of the organization, with which we are associated in the eyes of some people, has been to capture seats in the various Local Bodies or the Assembly through the organization. Keeping this as the main principle, the entire outlook is narrowed down to power politics and naturally the result is party intrigues, petty jealousies, mostly for the sake of some seats or office. Now it is necessary that we should give a lead to our people in changing this outlook to pure and simple service for the sake of service alone. We have to stress upon the workers the idea of sacrifice and selfless work in the cause of the community as a whole. Unless this is done, there is every danger of friction and disintegration setting in. We should bring to the notice of the people that the ultimate object of the organization is not the mere capturing of seats in Local Bodies or the Assemblies but the realization of our goal—Pakistan. The present constitution is not to our satisfaction and under it the great changes for the improvement of society and defects and grievances cannot be remedied. Therefore, it is not correct to judge the usefulness of the organization by their present day Ministry's work.

[*Para 8 omitted*]

9. The adult male Muslim population of the province is twelve lakh

and our membership has reached 15% of the same. This year we have been very strict, with the result that nearly one lakh and twenty three members fee has been received over and above the membership of 1,77,118, but the members could not be entered on the register owing to the strict observance of the rules. We have received our share of subscription of three lakh members, that is 25% of the adult Muslim population. It is hoped that if the same enthusiasm continues, next year we shall be able to enrol 33% of the adult male Muslim population.

10. The number of letters received by the Sind Provincial Muslim League this year is 3,675 and the number of letters dispatched is 5,822.

[*Para 11 omitted*]

G.M. SAYED
President, Sind PML

403

A. A. Ravoof to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/239

137 BROADWAY,
MADRAS,
27 May 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I have much pleasure in informing you that the *Deccan Times* is shortly completing its tenth year of service and, in the second week of June, enters into its eleventh year. However, much I may wish not to disturb you when you are taking the much-needed rest, I cannot resist the temptation to request you for a message on a happy occasion like this. I shall consider it a great honour if you will be pleased to send the same as early as convenient.[1]

Thanking you and with loving regards,

Yours very sincerely,
A. A. RAVOOF

No. 426.

404

Mohammad Yousuf Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/178-9

CHRAR SHARIF,
TEHSIL BADGAM,
KASHMIR,
28 May 1944

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of 19th May 1944,[1] I have the honour to say that a meeting of the local Muslim Conference members of this place [*sic*] was held under my presidentship in which I read loudly your letter and made them well understand the purpose of your letter's subject [*sic*], which made them very happy to find that you have your sympathy with them. Now they want to see you in the town among them and they obliged me to write you if you would accept their invitation. Therefore, I beg to request you that if your goodself will agree to it, then, we shall make the necessary preparation due [*sic*] for your honourable journey from Srinagar to Chrari Town, if that cannot be possible, you may kindly inform us accordingly.

In my previous letter[2] which I have sent you, I have neglected the duty of writing you that since last year some miscreants of the so-called National Conference [have] introduced germs [*sic*] of their misdeeds into the town and led the simple-minded Muslims to fight with [*sic*] each other, which divided the people into two factions/parties as the result of which they faced much miserable conditions during the last year. They have now come to understand that it is the National Conference who are treading a wrong path and who are misleading the poor zamindars for their selfish motives.

Now I am trying to bring them under one banner and to bring home to them the motives of the Muslim Conference and the aims of All India Muslim League.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD YOUSUF SHAH

[1]No. 366
[2]No. 347.

405

Ghulam Nabi H. Taufiq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/241-2

DOODHIA TALAO,
BOMBAY,
28 May 1944

Respected Quaid,

We have a great pleasure to enclose herewith an invitation card,[1] and to request you to kindly send a message[2] on 10 June 1944 to convey the same to the Muslims of Navsari, who have followed your instructions and established the above-named Society and [are] now starting a middle school.

If you will kindly send your message on the above date it will be read out to the public. Your message will inspire and encourage the Muslims for better work.

The Society will ever remain thankful to you for the same.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble given to you.

Your brother-in-Islam,
GHULAM NABI H. TAUFIQ
Hon. Secretary,
Navsari Muslim Educational Society

[1]See F. 1102 A/243, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.

406

M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau

F. 1092B/244

SRINAGAR,
29 May 1944

Dear Sir B. N. Rau,

Many thanks for your letter of May 28th.[1] I am sorry to say that I have already fixed up to shift to a houseboat within a few days, and it will not therefore be convenient for me at present to accept the honour of being a State guest from the 5th to the 18th of June, but in order that

there should be no hitch, I can tell you definitely that I shall be very glad to accept your kind invitation towards the end of June, as I have now decided to prolong my stay till the middle of July. Please, therefore, let me know if that can be arranged.[2]

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir B. N. Rau,
Prime Minister's House,
Srinagar

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 459.

407

Anwar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/253

84 B PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
29 May 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

My thousands of *Salaams* to you. I am just in receipt of your kind note of the 22nd May 1944.[1]

I sent a letter together with a true copy of my letter of the 12th May[2] to your Kashmir address thinking that my previous letters sent to your Delhi and Bombay addresses might reach you late.

Your message contained in your letter of the 22nd May 44 will serve our purpose and help the poor Muslim students of Bengal in forming a strong Muslim [*sic*] provincial unit of the All India Muslim Students' Federation. I offer my heartfelt gratitude to you for very kindly permitting me to widely circulate your message.

With best respects to you,

Affectionately yours,
ANWAR HUSSAIN

[1]No. 382.
[2]No. 335.

408

M. A. Jinnah to Ram Nath Chopra

F. 1102A/254

SRINAGAR,
29 May 1944

Dear Sir Ram Nath,

Many thanks for your kind invitation.[1] My sister and I shall be very pleased indeed to have tea with you at your lovely house, on Sunday next, June 6th, at 5.30 p.m.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Colonel Sir Ram Nath Chopra,
Rameshwari, Sheopara,
Srinagar

[1]Not traceable.

409

M. A. Jinnah to S. Mahmood Alam

F. 140/5

SRINAGAR,
29 May 1944

Dear Sir,

Your letter dated May 8th[1] was delivered to me by Maulana Mir Waiz, and I thank you for it. I am sorry that owing to your arrangements and reservation for your departure there was no sufficient time for you finally to look me up. Had I received your letter earlier, I would certainly have been very glad to meet you. However, I hope I may have the pleasure of seeing you in the near future.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Mahmood Alam, Esq.,
District Engineer,
Nizam's State Railway,
Secunderabad, Deccan

[1]Not traceable.

410

Secretary, Tanjore District Muslim League Conference to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/248

TANJORE,
29 May 1944

Sir,

The Tanjore District Muslim League Conference is extremely grateful for your kind blessing [*sic*] message[1] and guidance.

Janab Chaud[h]ry Khaliq-uz-Zaman presided over the Conference on 20th and 21st May 1944 and contributed for the success of the Conference.

True copy of the resolutions unanimously passed in the Conference, is appended herewith.[2]

We, here in the South, are anxiously waiting for an early opportunity of meeting you here.

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Assistant Secretary,
Reception Committee of the Tanjore District Muslim League Conference

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See F. 1102/249-52, *QAP*. Not printed.

411

Riaz Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/268

ALIGARH,
29 May 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to remind you about your promised message to the Pakistan Number of the *Aligarh Magazine*. Please send the same at your earliest, for which I shall be highly obliged to you.[1]

Yours obediently,
RIAZ AHMED KHAN
B.Sc. (Hons.)
Editor, the Aligarh Magazine

412

Syed Mahbub Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/137

C/O SHAMSUL HASAN,
ANGLO-ARABIC COLLEGE,
DELHI,
29 May 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant[1] in reply to mine of the 1st May.[2]

I note with regret that you have not been pleased to accept me for your service for which I offered myself with all sincerity and earnestness simply on account of my terms of service being not acceptable to you. In fact, I have not offered any hard and fast terms of my own for joining your service. Far from it, I have only shown my willingness to accept a pay which, as I understood from Mr. Chis[h]ti you would be willing to offer for the job. Since you asked me to write my terms in my letter, I showed my willingness to accept that pay even without accommodation at Bombay. Now that you do not agree to this pay being given, I do not like to see myself unacceptable for your service merely on this account. I would, therefore, request you to kindly let me know what terms may now be most acceptable to you. It is up to you to decide the terms. On my own part, I have the will and desire to serve you anyhow.

I hope you would kindly give the matter your very early attention and let me hear soon[3] to enable me to make a decision in this regard.

Wishing you perfect health and peace of mind in the calm and cool heaven-like valley of Kashmir,

Yours obediently,
SYED MAHBUB HASAN

[1] See. 1102A/132, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2] See F. 1102A/130, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3] See No. 430.

413

Ghulam Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/58

C/O SYED ALI ASHAR,
3RD BRIDGE,
SRINAGAR,
29 May 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You might be remembering that I had an interview with you along with the workers of Halqa Muslim Conference on the morning of Wednesday the 24th instant.

Some of the educated young friends of mine are anxious to see you and they have asked me to get an appointment when you could see them. Will you be kind enough to fix any morning when we could converse freely.

Hope that I shall be informed accordingly.[1]

Yours very faithfully,
GHULAM ALI

[1]Jinnah noted Saturday, 10 June on the letter as date of interview

414

M. A. Jinnah to Sami Ahmad

F. 1092 B/241

SRINAGAR,
29 May 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 20th.[1] The question of dress that you have mentioned has no significance, especially under the present conditions, as I think you are aware that there is no such a thing as one dress even for the Musalmans. Dress has its importance no doubt, but I think you are attaching too much importance to it. If we can have one

dress for all Musalmans, then I think it will stand out as a national symbol.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Sami Ahmad, Esq.,
Ramna Bagh,
Bankipore, Patna

[1]Sami Ahmad had objected to Jinnah's European dress. See F. 1092 B/239-40, *QAP*. Not printed.

415

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

SHC, Hyderabad II/95

SRINAGAR,
29 May 1944

My dear Laik Ali,

I have received your letter of May 15th.[1] With regard to the selection of a suitable person to fill in the post of the Managing Director of the Al-Meezan Corporation, I think that you people are the best judges. All that I can say is that if you cannot get a competent Musalman, then we have to get on with somebody else, and if you all think that Col. Slaughter will do, then certainly go ahead with him.

My programme in Kashmir is that I hope to be here till the middle of July. I may tell you that the rest and change have done me good already, and I feel much better. I, therefore, propose to stick on as long as I can, as you know that it is after seven years that I have allowed myself a holiday, and I wish to take advantage of it, as I don't know when next I shall have a chance.

Hoping you are well and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali,
Begumpet,
Hyderabad, Deccan

No. 343.

416

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

SHC, Hyderabad II/101

SRINAGAR,
29 May 1944

My dear Laik Ali

I am in receipt of your letter of May 15th[1] regarding Mr. Rafi Butt. I have not given Mr. Rafi Butt to understand that he would be invited to be one of the Directors. My letter of April 24th[2] left the whole matter to you and your co-Directors. I have given him no promise of any kind.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali,
Begumpet,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No. 344.
[2]No. 289.

417

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

SHC, Hyderabad II/97

SRINAGAR,
29 May 1944

My dear Laik Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 15th[1] and I am very pleased to hear that Mr. Mohamed Hasham Premji has consented to act on the Board of Directors of the Al-Meezan Corporation. I think he will prove useful, and I am glad that you have completed everything and

that you will soon be filing the application to the Controller of Capital Issue.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali,
Begumpet,
Hyderabad, Deccan

No. 345.

418

A. Z. M. Rezai Kazim to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (66)

AL-MOYEEN,
DEWAN BAZAR ROAD,
DACCA,
30 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am indeed thankful to you for your kind letter dated the 22nd of May 1944.[1] No body can grudge the rest that you deserve after the last few years of strenuous work and I pray that you will come back from Kashmir with full vigour and health for the service of your country.

There is a definite impetus for intensive organisation in this province. But we are experiencing certain difficulties, as you know very well, which occur when the forces of progressive opinion gradually come into the fore-front of life. Under your leadership the Musalmans of India are having really a new orientation in their life and ideology and it is only too natural that the first battle the Musalmans have to fight is against the reactionary elements in their own society. After these vested interests have been fought out, there will be consolidation in the community and then alone the greater fight for the freedom of this nation will take place.

In the history of the Muslim community in India, Bengal naturally holds a very important position and I am fully aware of your great concern for this province. I do not like to steal even a few hours out of your quiet retirement which you so deserve. But by or about the time Bengal becomes cooler and we have put up a little bit of tangible work we shall most likely like to have you in our midst. It may be possible for me to

come to Delhi at or about that time and discuss matters with you.

The Punjab is a great problem for us to-day. But I am always convinced that a community comes at its best when it is in the opposition and is fighting for its real place without the cover of governmental power behind it. This is a great opportunity for the Punjab Muslim Leaguers. I have found that the real progress of the League work in the province of Bengal has been when the League was out of office. I am sure the Punjab will also recover and establish the League's prestige and organisation fully and completely within the next few months. This is no pious wish but seems to be a certainty. I have suggested to Sir Muhammad Yamin that a small committee of the parliamentary party of the League should be formed in order to bring harmony in the Anglo-Muslim Law now obtainable in India. The Muslim law suffers on account of the adjective law of the country running contrary to it and these matters can't be left over very long. This is an important work and we should be able to take it up before the legislators meet or about the time that it meets next during the autumn session.

I shall keep you acquainted with the progress of affairs in this side from time to time and, in the meantime,

With kindest regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
REZAI KAZIM
Member, Council of State

No. 385.

419

M. A. Jinnah to S. Muhammad Ashraf

SHC, P&P I/38

SRINAGAR,
30 May 1944

Dear Mr. Ashraf,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 23rd.[1] I have done all I could to help you so that your proposed publication of my biography may be more reliable, but it is entirely for you to do what you think right, and it will be entirely your responsibility. Therefore, please do not think

that I wish in any way to come in the way of making your own arrangements for the revision and speed-up of its publication.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Muhammad Ashraf,
Publisher & Bookseller,
Kashmiri Bazaar,
Lahore

[1]No. 393.

420

S. M. Mohideen to M. A. Jinnah
F. 905/26

[*Extract*]

SATANKULAM,
30 May 1944

A public meeting was held on 29.5.44 at Satankulam under the auspices of this association and under the presidentship of Comrade S. M. Haneef and the following resolutions were passed:

[*Rest of the Resolutions not received*]

[RESOLUTION NO. 3]

3. The Japanese have put their bloody hands into the mouth of our holy mother country *Bharatha Nadu*. At this juncture, we experience severe type of famine, political dullness and difficulties in traffic and other worst [*sic*] happenings, which we have not so far heard or experienced. In order to prevent further growth and development of such worst incidents, it is absolutely necessary that unity between Congress and League should be at once created. To save our mother country from the clutches of the bloody Japs, famine and other difficulties, we think it our duty to emphasize that Janab Jinnah Sahib should immediately meet Mahatma Gandhi, taking advantage of his release, and should come to an amicable settlement taking into consideration the fundamental of self-determination for Indians.

S. M. MOHIDEEN
President, National Muslim Association

421

Yuvarajah of Pithapuram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/257

MOON HOUSE,
SHIVEPURA,
SRINAGAR,
30 May 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As I want to call on you and pay my respects to you, will you kindly let me know when it will be convenient to you to see me at your place.

I can go over to you any time any morning before Sunday the 4th of June 44, or any morning of the week beginning with the 5th inst.[1]

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
R. V. M. S. RAMARAU
Yuvarajah of Pithapuram

Jinnah invited him to tea on 7 June at 5 30 p m See F. 1103/63, *QAP* Not printed.

422

Ahmad Shafi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/255-6

INDIAN HOTEL,
AMIRA KADAL,
SRINAGAR,
30 May 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Would you please permit me to see you for a few minutes about the following three matters:

i. Conversion of the *Eastern Times,* Lahore, into a morning paper
ii. Substitute arrangement for the proposed Planning Committee, and
iii. An under-study for you

For No. iii, I once wrote to you in Delhi and you were pleased to say

that you would take it into consideration. For No. ii, I wrote to you in Lahore, but then you were too busy to give it a thought. For No. i, I want to plead for hastening the matter rather than to argue. There is a real difficulty about finding suitable habitation for the paper in the locality you have indicated and it looks as if the matter may have to be postponed indefinitely. Our need is immediate and persistent. Abdul Hamid gave me an assurance that he would be able to produce as good a paper technically as would compete with any first class paper if only he were allowed to make a start at any place he could secure. I know his present locality is very unsatisfactory and so are many other localities which are available. So we are reduced to the position of being content with the evening *Eastern Times* because we cannot secure a first class place to start a first class paper.

One word more, and this about No. ii overleaf. You will remember the Parsis of Bombay once imported an expert from England to advise them in regard to the working of their charities. If a business community of the calibre of Parsis find it necessary to seek advice from an outsider the Musalmans should not hesitate to follow their lead.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SHAFI

PS. If you are too busy, Sir, or would rather not like to be disturbed, I would understand it and would willingly forego the privilege of an interview.[1]

AHMAD SHAFI

1No. 434.

423

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

F. 419/5

BARODA CAMP,
SRINAGAR,
31 May 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

There has been a most awkward mistake made by the Staff

Officer concerned and I now find that Their Highnesses are booked on Saturday. They are, however, free on Sunday or Monday evening and have asked me to find out whether either of those days or any other day suits you. I am very sorry indeed for the inconvenience caused but you will understand it was not our fault. I do hope Miss Jinnah and you will be able to come.[1]

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

Jinnah confirmed that he would visit them on Monday, 5 June 1944. See F. 419/7, *QAP*.
Not printed.

424

Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

F. 257/5-8

8 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
31 May 1944

My most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I must humbly apologize for this long delay in acknowledging your very kind letter.[1] Both Nawab Iftikhar Husain and I were out trying to contact certain M.L.As of the Multan Division. On our return we were occupied day and night with the Provincial League Council Session and meetings of District League workers which followed it.

The situation in the Punjab is developing favourably. Muslim public opinion is solidly behind the League; in this the daily *Zamindar* has rendered us notable service. A majority of the M.L.As are undecided and will probably fall a prey to organised corruption, but we have a good number of about 25 M.L.As. none of whom have so far shown any signs of weakness. The treachery of Jamal Khan and the appointment of Ashiq Hussain might have had an adverse effect on the Multan division group, but so far the Gilani members (Makhdum Raza Shah and Wilayat Hussain) and Mian Allahyar Daultana stand solidly behind the League, and if they remain firm (as it seems certain they will) the two Multan Ministers will not be able to secure any recession [*sic*] of strength to the Unionists.

A firm foundation for more work has been laid during the Council Session on the 28th. On the 29th, meeting of divisional workers was held in which an elaborate programme for district work was decided upon. Iftikhar Husain, and myself (with Allahyar Khan and other M.L.As) will finalize a tour of almost the entire province by the end of June. Simultaneously, small public meetings will be held throughout the province. In July, we hope to hold large meetings at the *tehsil* headquarters (small towns) followed by District Conferences, at short intervals. At this stage, we will need speakers of All India fame and we feel that if a session of the All India Council is called in Lahore in the middle of July, we will get an invaluable support.

In Lahore and Amritsar, [Section] 144 has been applied ostensibly to check the anti-*Satyarath Prakash* agitation, but to stop three mammoth meetings which we had planned. After the 3rd, on expiry of the 144 we are planning these meetings again. By the 15th, meetings will be held in every district of the province and to stop us they will have to promulgate [it] throughout the province.

An Urdu daily is our greatest need. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali has spoken about the matter, but we have not so far obtained the quota.

You may have no anxiety, my Quaid-i-Azam. We will not rest till every Musalman in the Punjab stands firmly and unconquerably behind you and the Muslim League.

I have been urgently called by Allahyar Khan to Simla for a day, where he had gone to win Mushtaq Gurmani for the League. I was only to be summoned if the circumstances were very favourable.

I shall send another report[2] within a week.

I hope that both Miss Jinnah and yourself are having very happy stay at Kashmir.

My wife sends her deepest respect and regards to both of you.

With deepest respect,

Yours very obediently,
MUMTAZ

No. 390.

[2]No. 598.

425

Prem Nath Bazaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 176/18

SRINAGAR,
31 May 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since the news of the interview which you were kind enough to grant me on Sunday appeared in the local press, numerous friends have asked me to publish the details of the same. I have, therefore, written down a report. But I do not want to put it in my paper before I have your permission to do so. I, therefore, beg to enclose a copy of the report for your kind perusal. I have tried to be as accurate as possible. I have also avoided to mention what passed between us about controversial topics in Indian and Kashmir politics.

I shall feel highly obliged if you would kindly let me know if you approve to put it in my paper. Of course , if you object to any part I shall delete it.

An early reply would oblige.[1]

Yours sincerely,
PREM NATH BAZAZ

See No. 428.

Enclosure to No. 425

F. 176/19-24

"If the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir decide to organise themselves on a common platform to achieve complete responsible government, I shall have no objection to their doing so. It is their own business and the Muslim League does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the native States. When even Pakistan comes into existence, we shall not force Kashmir to join it. It may like to stay outside and enjoy a complete autonomy. We shall not stand in its way to do so. I would, however, like to see that the State Muslims of all castes and opinions unite under one banner to achieve their goal. In that lies their salvation", said Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, in the course of a long interview which he granted to P. Prem Nath Bazaz,

Editor , the daily *Hamdard*.

While discussing the British Indian politics in the earlier part of the interview, Mr. Jinnah explained how he started as a pure, honest nationalist in the beginning of his career and how he always resented any division of Indians according to their faiths. But long and bitter experience extending to over years of work in political field opened his eyes to the fact that India was inhabited not by one nation but by two of them whose civilisation, culture and mode of living were altogether different from each other. As a nationalist, he had to face iron walls on all sides. He came to the conclusion that he could either break his head against these walls to open them or he must retrace his steps. As a patriot, a realist and a believer in the freedom of his country, he found that the two great Indian nations could not be merged and must be organised separately to achieve the liberation of their country from foreign yoke.

Bazaz: I do not agree with you that India is inhabited by two nations. Economically considered, Indian masses, both Hindu and Muslim, are one. Only their religions differ. That alone cannot and should not make them two different nations. I do not say that the differences between the Muslims and Hindus do not or did not exist. I quite appreciate the difficulties in this respect. But I am of the opinion that the merging of the two communities into one nation has been taking place through the past centuries. We find this process going on even in the times of Mughals. In fact, it went on steadily till the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian politics. The National Congress was an expression of this unity. Many stalwart Congress leaders, among whom I consider you one, had been working for this unity in pre-Gandhian era. Of course when Gandhi appeared on the scene he revived the old communal mentality by mixing religion with politics. He checked the development of this wholesome process. His appeal to Hindu religious sentiment gave him tremendous influence among the backward Hindu masses but he created a terrible reaction among the Muslims who were justifiably afraid of the Hindu domination under the so-called freedom of Gandhian *Swarajya*. If the mentality created by Gandhi's teachings could be set right why should not the process that was cut short in 1920 by the Mahatma [*sic*]? Why could not there be one nation in India? Why should we think in terms of medievalism and not in terms of modern civilisation like all other progressive countries? I admit if Gandhism prevails then it is a different matter and Hindus and Muslims must part.

Jinnah: You are partly right but only partly. It is true that Mr. Gandhi, who is a Hindu from top to bottom, put a lid on it but the conditions in India were always indicating towards the existence of two nations. Indians did not and could never become one. Hindus and Muslims differ in many respects. If nations more similar than they and living under more favourable conditions in other parts of the world could not unite, how can they? For instance, why can't English and Irish unite? Even their religion is one. Why cannot the people of Canada and U.S.A. unite? My dear fellow, it is not only difficult, it is practically impossible to unite diverse elements. The idea of one nation has been deliberately fostered among us by the British imperialists with a sinister motive. They know Hindus and Muslims cannot unite. If put together they will always keep on quarrelling. So the British encourage this idea of unity in order to continue their domination. An Indian patriot and lover of liberty should see through this game. He should learn a lesson from the history of Egypt. Zaghlol [Pasha] organised Muslims separately and then came to terms with Copts by generously granting their demands. Thus they were freed from British yoke. Muslims and Copts are now one. Why cannot we do the same? The only way to win freedom is by establishing Pakistan for the Muslims and Hindustan for the Hindus. As I told you I was of the same opinion as you when I was of your age. I respectfully disagreed with Gokhale, for whom I had as great a regard as for my father, when in 1908 he accepted the principle of separate electorates. I became furious. But late in my life I found that he was right and I must retrace my steps.

Bazaz: If nations in other .parts of the world did not unite though they are placed in better and favourable circumstances it may be due to the fact that vested interests in those countries, who wield power, do not find this unity in their interests. When the masses in those countries come to their own and are truly awakened, the union will take place. You say Mr. Gandhi only placed the lid on it. Gandhi is no doubt a great man but I believe that whatever may be the opinion of Hindus about the Mahatma's nationalism he did a great disservice to India by reviving religious mentality in politics. Had he not done so, India, driven by world economic forces, would have seen the merging process completed to a large extent by now. I consider the Mahatma to be the real originator of Pakistan. His teachings and political theories can only lead us to the establishment of two separate Indias, one inhabited by Hindus and the other by Muslims. In 1934 when you were away in England and were yet to become the spearhead of the

separatist movement the Mahatma sent me a letter regarding Kashmir politics which envisaged Muslim rule in Kashmir. Pakistan idea is the direct outcome of this theory of the Mahatma. I take your theory to be only a reaction to what Mr. Gandhi taught all through his life. I am not therefore surprised that with the spread of Gandhism you and all other real patriots felt tremendous difficulties in the path of true nationalism and abandoned it. But much though I appreciate all this, I cannot believe that separation can bring freedom. It can help reactionaries and vested interests but not the masses whose economic interests are the same. I believe that the greatest service to India at the present moment would be to boldly face the Gandhian cult, suppress revivalism, separate religion from politics and revive the wholesome process of merging the two communities on economic basis which was smoothly going on till 1920. As regards your contention that you tried the nationalist way of freedom but found it unavailing, I would like to say that times have changed now. This war has tried Gandhism and found it wanting. That was not the case during the twenties when the Gandhian cult had overawed the Hindu intellectuals no less than the Hindu masses. World forces today are also more favourable. When I say this, I do not overlook, underrate or minimizé the religious, cultural and other special interests of the different communities which must, of course, be safeguarded in any case.

Jinnah: Now this is an old old tale. I find we disagree on fundamentals. I have told you that my long experience which is based on solid facts has taught me that India can achieve freedom by organizing Hindus and Muslims separately. In this way little scope is left for traitors and self-seekers to creep into the movement. For in well-organized communities they can be found out and exposed. In the so-called national movement that is not possible. While on the one hand all sorts of people come into it, on the other they are trusted neither by their own co-religionists nor by others. At least that is what happened to the Congress Muslims. But mind you when I lay emphasis on the organization of different communities under separate banner, I do not say so, as some Hindus believe I do, with any inimical purpose. I advise them to organise with the best of motives and for the freedom of their motherland and the prosperity of the masses.

Bazaz: I have no doubt in my mind that you are sincere and honest in what you say but don't you think that it is not possible for an average man to understand this high aim of a communal organizations.

Usually the rank and file of such organizations are imbued with inimical thoughts and they believe that sister originations are only their enemies.

Jinnah: I appreciate your point. No doubt the danger is there. But it is for the leaders to see that no such ideas spread among their followers. If leadership is dependable there is no reason why this object cannot be achieved. In this world not the professions but the actions count. So if leaders prove their bona fides at the critical times the possibilities of any danger are lessened. I consider it a right and a duty of all Hindus and Muslims to work for their communities. This is a natural aspiration in a man and anyone who has no such yearning is not a decent fellow.

I think if the two communities are well organised on secure basis they can then join hands for the achievement of the liberation of India. In this way alone the leaders of Hindus and Muslims can deliver goods. It is no use disrupting the Muslims by creating dissension among them; such a course is very dangerous and I warn all against it.

Coming to the Kashmir affairs, Mr. M.A. Jinnah said that he had come here as a visitor to take rest. It was none of his intentions to dabble in local politics. But many individuals of different shades of opinion had come to talk to him and what he could gather was that the State Muslims had every sympathy with the cause of the Muslim League.

Bazaz: I am of opinion that the people of Kashmir can achieve their social and political liberation by fighting jointly. In fact we started such an experiment in 1939 by establishing the National Conference on non-communal basis. Unfortunately, the Conference came under reactionary influences soon after its birth and lost its way. Since then, it has been tossing to and fro. One after the other many patriots left it and when it came under complete Gandhian domination in 1941, the Muslim masses no less than the Muslim intelligentsia abandoned it. Though I fundamentally disagree with the Muslim Conference I cannot see how the so-called National Conference is better than it in any way. Nay I believe that comparatively the Muslim interests can be safeguarded better by the Muslim Conference. I would, however, like to know your opinion in the matter.

Jinnah: If the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir decide to organise themselves on a common platform to achieve complete responsible government, I shall have no objection to their doing so. It is their own

business and the Muslim League does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the native States. When even Pakistan comes into existence we shall not force Kashmir to join it. It may like to stay outside and enjoy a complete autonomy. We shall not stand in its way to do so. I would, however, like to see that the State Muslims of all castes and opinions unite under one banner to achieve their goal. In that lies their salvation.

Bazaz: If the two organizations of the Muslims continue to work as at present what do you suggest should be done. I trust you have been posted with the details of the sad happenings of *'Id al-Azha* during Sir Gopalaswami Iyyangar's regime. Don't you feel there will be a repetition of that.

Jinnah: I don't think any repetition of such occurrences is possible now. I am a believer in democratic ways. Not only the two organizations and individuals have a right to propagate their principles and views, they have also every right to vehemently attack the ideas of their opponents. But it is cowardice to attack any one physically because he does not agree with you. Such behaviour should be intolerable. Given complete freedom of expression and choice it should be left to the State Muslims to decide which of the two organizations they own.

426

M. A. Jinnah to A. A. Ravoof

Telegram, F. 1102A/240

[SRINAGAR,
Undated] *May 1944*

I wish the *Deccan Times* all success and prosperity and congratulate you and management that it is now entering into its eleventh year of existence.[1] I hope Musalmans of the Madras Presidency will now turn this paper into daily for it has already rendered very great service to the cause of Musalmans and All India Muslim League.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 403.

427

A. A. Ravoof to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/260

137 BROADWAY,
MADRAS,
1 June 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have great pleasure in sending you, under separate cover, two copies of my book—*Meet Mr. Jinnah*. You may remember that some months ago, my friend Mr. Ahmed Basha (Bombay) waited on you with a request to pose for some photographs for illustrating a book on your life. The kindness which you showed in conceding to my request, I can never forget and I will be failing in my duty if I do not respectfully thank you for this honour you have done me. Since then I had been at work on the book and at long last it has taken shape. I had a great ambition to call on you personally and present the book myself. But, as ill luck would have it, a conspiracy of circumstances stands in my way to do so. Therefore, I send these books and eagerly look forward to an early opportunity to meet you and pay my respects to you at Bombay.

I may also mention that this book is my maiden attempt and nothing but the great love I have for you was responsible for undertaking it. I know my limitations and also the drawbacks under which I had to work. I will be only too pleased to carry out such alterations and corrections as you may deem necessary in the future editions. Meanwhile, I shall consider it a great honour if you will please acknowledge[1] receipt of this letter and let me know when you will be in Bombay.

Thanking you and with loving regards,

Yours very sincerely,
A.A. RAVOOF
Assistant Editor,
The Deccan Times

[1]No. 450.

428

M. A. Jinnah to Prem Nath Bazaz

F. 176/25

SRINAGAR,
1 June 1944

Dear Mr. Prem Nath Bazaz,

I am in receipt of your letter dated May 31st,[1] just now delivered to me, and thank you for it. I regret that I must adhere to what I told you from the very commencement that our talk was not for publication, and I, therefore, cannot permit you to give the version which you say you have written down in your report. The report is not correct, but in any case I hope that you will not use our conversation for publication, and nothing about it should be published in your paper. Had I known that you wanted an interview with me for publication, I would not have granted one. I once more wish to emphasize that I do not wish to say anything at present for publication in any newspaper.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

No. 425.

429

M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad

F. 167/6-7

SRINAGAR,
3 June 1944

Your Exalted Highness,

I am in receipt of your telegram of May 30th,[1] and I thank you for it. I am really astonished that the report of the valuation submitted to you is so flagrantly wrong, and I do not think that it is possible for me to accept your offer. The valuation upon which you are proceeding, according to your telegram, is on a pre-war basis. Much water has run down since then, and if you were to build a house like the one in question, the house alone would now cost you between 7 and 8 lakhs of rupees, and there is a land of 15,500 square yards, in the

neighbourhood of which, even according to the pre-war rate, plots not so beautiful were sold at the rate of Rs. 75 to Rs. 80 per square yard. I do not think there is any other plot anywhere in the neighbourhood which can be compared with the position of this land. It has got a magnificent sea view, and to get about three acres of land on Malabar Hill is now-a-days almost impossible, and at the rate of Rs. 100 per square yard, the land alone would cost Rs. 15,50,000 at present, and I feel confident that the property in this locality will go up very much. I am not therefore very anxious to sell it. The only reason why I have been thinking of disposing it of is that, having given myself entirely to the cause of the Muslim League and Muslim India, I am hardly now able to stay in Bombay, and therefore this beautiful property has become of very little use to me, and further in my absence, as it is normally the case, the servants do not look after it properly, and so I have come to the conclusion that I must dispose it of for a reasonable price, not pre-war but at the present price. If, therefore, Your Exalted Highness is willing to meet me in that spirit, then I think that the deal can be put through, but I am sorry that your present offer is impossible.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad, Deccan

'The Nizam had offered a sum of rupees eight lakh and fifty thousand See F. 167 8, *QAP.*
Not printed.

430

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Mahbub Hasan

F. 1102A/133

SRINAGAR,
3 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 29th,[1] and I regret to have to inform you that I am unable to engage you, as I must also consider your future and your interests, and I think that in the present post which you are holding you are much better off. I would, therefore, advise you not to give it up on sentimental grounds, and I will make

my arrangements according to my requirements.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Mahbub Hasan,
C/o Shamsul Hasan, Esq.,
Office of All India Muslim League,
Daryaganj, Delhi

[1]No. 412.

431

M. A. Jinnah to A. H. Siddiqi

F. 1102A/265

SRINAGAR,
3 June 1944

Dear Dr. Siddiqi,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 18th,[1] and I was really very pleased to read the account of the progress of the College, which I had the honour to inaugurate on the 20th of June 1943. As you want me to send you a message on the opening day, the 20th of June 1944, which you are celebrating as the Foundation Day, I wish you, the staff and the students every success from the bottom of my heart, and I hope that you will make the Sind Madrasah College worthy not only of the Musalmans of Sind but of all India.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. A. H. Siddiqi,
Principal,
Sind Madrasah College, Karachi

[1]No. 359.

432

M. A. Jinnah to a Student[1]

F. 1102A/266

SRINAGAR,
3 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 28th,[2] and thank you for it. I am glad that you are taking a very keen interest in the political developments, especially in the Punjab, but I would strongly advise you not to neglect your studies. You can do a lot consistently with your studies as a student, as I have so often explained in my speeches. This is the time for you to study and work hard, and these few years of your student life, if frittered away, will never return to you. We have to build up our nation in the various departments of life, and you young men must try to understand that Rome was not built in a day. I am very glad that you are taking an interest in what is happening...

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

V. & P.O. Khan Khanan,
Dist. Jullundur

[1]Addressee's name is not legible.
[2]See F. 1102A/244, *QAP*. Not printed.

433

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/264

ALAVI MANZIL,
[KARACHI,]
3 June 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Just a titbit for an idle moment: last night I went to dinner with a friend, where 'cross the table' said [*sic*].

A Hindu judge: When the quarrel is between a lawyer and a saint, it

is always the saint that will win.

Myself: Is it a personal quarrel?

Judge: No.

Myself: Then the Muslims score in either case; if the lawyer succeeds in his advocacy, certainly. No man can be a saint whose triumph will spell the political ruin of another nation!

Since I conveyed to you my acceptance of the membership of the Pakistan Planning Committee, I have not heard from the Secretary. At this rate, it will be difficult for us to submit our report before the annual session.

In the various committees being constituted by the Central Govt. whose membership is drawn from all India, the Leaguers are excluded, so much so that Abdul Hamid and myself who were members of the Foodgrain Policy Committee are not put on the Food Committee whose personnel is announced today. Yusuf Haroon is the only Leaguer who figures on many of these committees.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

434

M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Shafi

F. 1092A/246

SRINAGAR,
3 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 30th.[1] The matters mentioned in your letter are already receiving my attention, but nevertheless I thank you for the suggestions you have made. I don't think you need trouble personally to discuss them, and I am glad that you are taking a very keen interest in the organization of the Muslim League and the developments that are taking place.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Shafi, Esq.,
Indian Hotel,
Amira Kadal, Srinagar

No. 422

435

Jasjit Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/65

BARODA CAMP,
NANDA HOUSE,
RAMMUNSHI BAG,
SRINAGAR,
4 June 1944

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 1st June 1944,[1] to Mr. Habib Rahimtoola, I am directed to inform you that Their Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani Gaekwar of Baroda would be very pleased if you and Miss Jinnah come and have tea with them on Monday the 5th June 1944 at 5. 30 p.m.

Yours sincerely,
JASJIT SINGH
Private Secretary to
H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar

[1]See F. 419/7, *QAP*. Not printed.

436

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 696/38

BEGUMPET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
5 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith copies of my letter dated 15th May 1944[1] which I had sent to you under registered post to New Delhi. I beg to state that I have not received any instructions from you so far in regard to different points raised therein. As I am anxious to fix up matters early, I shall be very grateful if you will kindly favour us with your advice at your earliest convenience. I am forwarding copy of this

letter together with the enclosures to your Srinagar address also for favour of your early disposal.[2]

With kind regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. LAIK ALI

No. 343.
[2]Not traceable.

437

R.V. M. S. Ramarau to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/146

MOON HOUSE,
[SRINAGAR,]
5 June 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

How very kind. We accept with grateful thanks your most kind invitation to tea on the 7th instant.[1]

We are doing well and I hope you are feeling much better after your holiday. You are one of the greatest assets and may you be spared to us for a long time to come.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
R.V.M.S. RAMARAU
Yuvarajah of Pithapuram

See F. 1103/63, *QAP*. Not printed.

438

M. A. Jinnah to Pir Illahi Bakhsh

Telegram, SHC, Sind I/27

5 June 1944

Pir Illahi Baksh, Education Minister, Karachi

Extremely grieved unfortunate tragic death of your wife. Please accept sincerest sympathies from Miss Jinnah myself in

your bereavement.[1]

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Pir Illahi Baksh thanked Jinnah for his sympathy in his terrible grief. See *SHC*, Sind I, 28.
Not printed.

439

M. H. Saiyid to Consul for Afghanistan

F. 878A/147

SRINAGAR,
5 June 1944

Dear Sir,

Mr. Jinnah is very sorry that he was not able to acknowledge receipt of your kind invitation[1] to a Reception on Saturday, 27th May 1944, nor was he able to have the pleasure of accepting it, as he was away from Bombay, and the invitation card reached him only a few days ago.

Yours faithfully,
[M. H. SAIYID]
Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

The Consul for Afghanistan,
The Royal Afghan Consulate,
115 Walkeshwar Road, Bombay

[1]Not traceable.

440

Hasnain Kazmi to Archibald Wavell
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)[1]

F. 1102A/270

KALLOOMAL STREET,
CAWNPORE,
5 June 1944

Your Excellency,

The news that some Film Co. in Hollywood, America, is intending to screen the life of our holy Prophet, Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH), has been received with great hatred and indignation by the press and the

Musalmans alike. Your Excellency might have come to know it by now.

We, the Musalmans, have it as our faith that our holy Prophet [PBUH] was so high above all mortals in every respect and his life was so complete and perfect that it is not possible to represent his life by an imperfect being, which man is to-day all over the world, nor is there any human being commanding such virtues as to qualify himself to pose as such. This intention of the said company is highly objectionable to all the Musalmans, being contrary to their sentiments and faith and insulting to the holy Prophet [PBUH], they esteem so high. We sincerely hope that your Govt. being the champion of liberty, equality and rights will not allow the rightful sentiments of any nation to be injured thus nor an insult to be thrown on the originator of all these concepts.

We beseech Your Excellency to interpose in this matter to implore your Govt. to request the Govt. of U.S.A. not to allow the said company to fulfil this deplorable idea.

Anxiously waiting for a sympathetic reply,

I am,
Yours faithfully,
HASNAIN KAZMI
Secretary,
Muslims Cinema Control Board

Kazmi also wrote separately to Jinnah on this matter on 31 May requesting that it might be placed before the AIML. See F. 1102A, 238-9, *QAP*. Not printed.

— 441

M. A. Jinnah to Riaz Ahmed Khan

F. 1102A/267

SRINAGAR,
5 June 1944

Dear Mr. Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 29th,[1] and I am sorry I have not been able to send you a message for the Pakistan Number of the *Aligarh Magazine* earlier, but you will understand how pre-occupied I have been with the various political developments, especially in the Punjab, of which you must have read in the newspapers.

I hope that the message[2] I am now sending you herewith will

reach you in time.

Wishing your magazine every success,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Riaz Ahmed Khan, Esq., B.Sc.,
Editor,
Aligarh Magazine, Aligarh, U.P.

[1]No. 411.
[2]Not traceable.

442

V. M. Kureshi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (68)

RAUF LODGE, LASHKER,
5 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to draw your kind attention towards the memorial presented to you personally by me and the President on 12th March 1944, at your New Delhi residence.

Since then inquiries from the Musalmans all over the State as to what steps Quaid-i-Azam has taken in our case, have been pouring in daily in the office.

We deliberately abstained from reminding you on account of your being exclusively devoted to the Punjab Muslims' affairs. We should have refrained this time too from giving you trouble when you were enjoying a rest but public pressure has compelled us to approach you.

On our return from Delhi all the branches of the Anjuman in the State had been directed by the Central Office to cease holding open meetings and to keep control over the masses as long as instructions from Quaid-i-Azam were [not] received. But this step has apparently resulted in inaction.

The question of Mr. Manzar-i-Alam's entry into the State has become the prime necessity of the time for the Musalmans and his absence from Gwalior has been causing a considerable drawback in our organizational activities.

I, therefore, most respectfully request Quaid-i-Azam to be so kind as to direct us so that instructions may be issued to the branches.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
V. M. KURESHI
General Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Islam Riyasat Gwalior

443

M. A. Hafeez Khan Farabi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/148-51
[*Original in Urdu*]

C/O CH. MOHAMMAD SADIQ MOHAMMAD HUSSAIN,
SEED MERCHANTS,
KASHMIRI BAZAR,
HOSHIARPUR,
6 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Hope you will pay due attention to the following, as promised:

You desire every Muslim, specially every Muslim Leaguer, to offer advice to you as their Quaid. I hope you, being the wisest amongst the Muslim Leaguers, will attend to the causes which are making the Muslim League unpopular.

You claim to be the initiator of the idea of Pakistan whereas it was first conceived by Allama Iqbal who, besides being a great thinker, a well-wisher of the Muslims and a philosopher, had profound Islamic knowledge. He considered the Mirzai sect to be non-Muslim, in fact an arch enemy of Islam and a creation of the British. You declared in Kashmir that anybody who claims to be a Muslim can become a member of the Muslim League and that the minor differences did not matter. I would request you to please reconsider this declaration and do not compel Muslim majority to leave the Muslim League just for one sect which is not Muslim indeed. Please do not contradict Allama Iqbal's considered views due to your ignorance Such an attempt is bound to be an exercise in futility. If there is a clash between the

government and the masses, this sect will side with the government. Despite the fact that the Turks did no harm to them during the last Great War, these traitors left no stone unturned in sabotaging the Muslim unity. So much so that they celebrated the British victory over the Turks. They did not utter a single word of sympathy for Iran and Palestine.

If in your view religion and politics should be separated from one another, then why do you mention Islam, God, the holy Prophet [PBUH] and the holy Book. An alcoholic would wish that the whole world should emulate him and consider drinking desirable. A diamond obtained through the betrayal of one's conscience cannot illuminate the heart's darkness. You should declare as outcast from Islam and enemies of the *Millat* all those who, according to Allama Iqbal, hold a distorted belief in God, the holy Prophet [PBUH] and the holy Book. You should also declare that these "Indian Jews" who are eternally disloyal traitors can, on no account, become members of the Muslim League, besides the Communists. Such a declaration from you will help lessen the nation's anxiety.

The self-proclaimed "Allama", master and teacher, Mashriqi is trying to coerce Muslim League and its Quaid to make peace with the Congress. Mashriqi, under the garb of Hindu-Muslim unity, is trying to convince the Congress of his leadership amongst the Muslims. This vain, presumptuous 'general,' devoid of any army, should be told that he is betraying his nation. When Sir Stafford Cripps came to India, this man, through his letters and writings, tried to impress upon him that he is the sole leader of the Khaksars who are a distinct body with distinct interests and therefore merit special attention. In other words, he did not trust the Muslim League and the leadership of its Quaid. This man has recently made venomous statements against League and its leaders. The Muslim nation provided this old 'general' with a team of three lakh young Muslims and ten lakh rupees. He should be asked as to what sort of facilities has he secured for the Muslims in return. Old age has already upset his mental balance and that is why he has been committing such follies. But, the nation is no longer going to tolerate his activities and he should know that he will be taken to task.

Sir Fazale-Husain, along with his cronies, has formed an anti-Muslim party, dominated by selfish toadies. It is futile to expect any good of

Muslims from this type. Here are some examples of Sir Fazale-Husain's "services" to the nation.

a. In connivance with Sir Akbar Hydri, he manoeuvred to get the finest son of Islam, Sir Ross Masud, expelled from Hyderabad State and compelled him to resign from the Chancellorship of the Muslim University.
b. By accepting the Sikhs as a separate nation, he tried to convert the Muslims into a minority.
c. He always opposed the great thinker, selfless servant of the nation, Allama Iqbal.
d. He never served Muslims' interests and was simply power-hungry. Can we call such an opportunist's politics as Islamic? Our national interests demand that we should annul the secret deal made with non-Muslims by such men.
e. No doubt Khizar Hayat seems prepared to accept Pakistan but not for the majority provinces. He would like it to be established in areas like Bombay and Madras. Should Punjab continue to be a slave of Chhotu Ram? If in Khizar Hayat's view Punjab's interests can be best served under the Unionist Party, let him hold fresh elections and see the results. However, when elections are demanded, they shamefully make the War an excuse.
f. Sir Chhotu Ram has a Hindu majority constituency which does not contribute much to the Punjab exchequer. The revenue from Muslim agricultural areas like Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] and Montgomery [now Sahiwal], goes to Chhotu Ram's starved constituency; thus Chhotu Ram's Hindu Jats feast on the Muslims' labour. Every year whatever is deposited in the treasury is consumed by this area on famine relief. Chhotu Ram's constituency is also exempted from property tax. He thinks rightly that if the Muslim League comes into power, his personal interests, ministry, authority and the advantages enjoyed by Hindu Jats will come to an end.

Hope you will give this letter to the press.

M. A. HAFEEZ KHAN FARABI

444

C. S. Vohra to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/274-5

ANAND,
DISTRICT KAIRA,
7 June 1944

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I have respectfully to approach you with the following request which I hope will be favourably considered:

I may hereby state that the Charotar Sunni Vohra Youngmen's Association, Bombay, has been working in the field of Muslim education for the last twelve years. The Association has been registered under the Societies Registration Act 1860 and it has been helping Muslims of Charotar (Kaira District) by way of giving scholarships, loans and books, etc., to Muslim students and helping *madrasas* all over Charotar. By the efforts of some of the enthusiastic workers of this Association, a fund of about a lakh of rupees has been raised and the Charotar Muslim Educational Trust, Anand, has been created and influential businessmen have been appointed as its Trustees.

It has been decided by the Trustees to start a commercial Muslim high school and a Muslim technical institute at Anand which is a central place in Charotar. The Commercial Muslim High School will be started from 16th June 1944 after *Jumʻa* prayers. A telegram[1] has already been sent to you for your blessings. On enquiries, I have learnt that the Quaid-i-Azam is likely to stay in Kashmir till the end of June 1944. It has been, therefore, decided by the Trustees that for the opening ceremony of the Commercial Muslim High School at Anand, the Quaid-i-Azam should be respectfully approached. Any day suitable and convenient to the Quaid-i-Azam in July or August 1944 would be fixed for the purpose. The Muslims of Kaira District would be very much thankful to *Allah* if they would get an opportunity to pay their respects to their Quaid.

I, therefore, earnestly and humbly request the Quaid-i-Azam on behalf of the Trustees of the Charotar Muslim Educational Trust and the Musalmans of Kaira District to allot one day to our Trust and honour us by performing the opening ceremony of the Commercial Muslim High School. There are no such institutions in Kaira District. There is only one Commercial High School in the whole of Gujarat. It

is hardly necessary to stress the need of vocational institutions for Muslims.

Such a venture in a place like ours requires the patronage of a person of the highest status among the Muslims of India. I trust the Quaid-i-Azam will not dishearten us. I request that I may be informed of the day and time suitable to the Quaid-i-Azam so that necessary announcements might be made in time and arrangements for the ceremony made.[2]

I beg to remain,
Most obedient servant,
C. S. VOHRA
Hon. Secretary,
The Charotar Muslim Educational Trust

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah replied on 13 June that he was unable to perform the opening ceremony but advised that the school should be started, nevertheless. See F. 1102A/283, *QAP*. Not printed.

445

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

F. 372/14-5

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
7 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank you very much for your kind letter[1] which I received a few days ago. I am very sorry that I kept you waiting for the reply but you must have heard from Mumtaz[2] that I have been away most of the time. I hope you will kindly forgive me.

Here, the situation is decidedly improving and I am sure that you will find more M.L.As. in our camp by the time you return from Kashmir. Khizar's expulsion from the Muslim League is being appreciated all over the province and the Committee of Action is being congratulated for this decision. Shaukat, Mumtaz and myself are constantly on the move and Nawab Allah Yar is rendering us great help. Mushtaq Gurmani may join us very soon. With him and Nawab Allah Yar on our side we will be able to hit the Unionists in their own stronghold

(Multan Division).

As regards the Urdu daily, Nawabzada Sahib personally took our application and spoke to Sir Aziz-ul-Haq who has promised that he would sanction the necessary quota of the newsprint as soon as possible. Still, as a matter of precaution I have bought an Urdu weekly called the *Pakistan*. Not only that, we have also bought and secured for a sum of rupees twenty-four thousand and five hundred the best available Urdu press. The registration, etc., has been completed and we have obtained possession of the machinery and the building as well. I hope you will agree that we have not been sitting idle.

The registration of your property was completed about a fortnight ago. Now we have to apply for the mutation and I will do it as soon as I get the deed back from the Sub-Registrar's office. Lala Lajjya Ram is still negotiating with the owners of the other property. I will intimate to you as soon as I get their final word.

Lahore is very hot during the day but the nights are still very pleasant. Thank you very much for enquiring about the children. But as I cannot leave Punjab this year, my wife has decided not to go to the hills. I think they will be going to Jalalabad where they will be a bit more comfortable than Lahore.

From press reports it appears that you [are] having a very busy time and that you are not having the rest which you need so much. I am glad to learn that you and Miss Jinnah are enjoying your trip and hope that both of you have improved your health. Kindly give her my *salaams*.

The tailor has sent your *achkans*. I will send them to you when anybody is going to Srinagar. I and Mumtaz are going out tomorrow morning on a four days' tour. I will be back in Lahore on the 12th morning.

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

[1]See No. 392
[2]See No. 424.

446

S. L. Saraf to M. H. Saiyid

F. 1103/66

SRINAGAR,
8 June 1944

Dear Sir,

About four representative nationalist Hindus of Jammu & Kashmir State want to interview Mr. M. A. Jinnah and as such would request you kindly to let the undersigned know per bearer as to when will it be convenient to come over to see Mr. Jinnah[1] at his Boat.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
S.L. SARAF
Government Auctioneer

[1]Jinnah fixed the interview at 10. 30 a.m. on 12 June. See F. 1102A/279, *QAP*. Not printed.

447

Inamullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092B/249

INDIA BOOK HOUSE,
ABID ROAD,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
9 June 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

This is once again to request you to please write a few words[1] as Foreword to the re-print of the presidential address of the late Dr. Sir M[ohamma]d Iqbal which he delivered at the Allahabad Session (1930) of the All India Muslim League. We have named it *Iqbal's Way Out*—the way out of India's political chaos as envisaged by the late Iqbal by his first concrete proposal of Pakistan which has taken such

deep roots under your leadership.

Thanking you,

Faithfully yours,
INAMULLAH KHAN

[1]Reply not traceable However, responding to Inamullah's letter of 9 May, Jinnah regretted that he could not write the Foreword. See F. 1092B/250, *QAP*. Not printed.

448

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/52-4

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
9 June 1944

My dear leader,

I thank you very much for your very kind letter.[1] I wish to submit to you briefly my views on the present situation, particularly after Mr. Gandhi's release. I wonder to what extent you approve them. Your silence at present is most significant and well-advised. This is the best answer to Mr. Gandhi's letter which was published recently. It is a most disappointing document. I never expected anything better, in spite of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's protestation to the contrary.

2. It seems to me the best course is to leave Mr. Gandhi alone in the first instance to meet the two "political experts of India", viz. Doctors Sapru and Jayakar and also his religio-political brother Pandit Malaviya. After seeing these advisers, he must see the Viceroy and clear up the Congress position. I believe we should have nothing to do with him till then, for no purpose will be served in dealing with him at present. Let us know what his plans are so far as the Govt. is concerned. Besides, he is seeking to arouse sympathy for him[self] by telling people that he will be sent back to jail immediately as he recovers from his illness. To Mr. Gandhi there is no Hindu-Muslim question. It is of no importance to him. He still thinks that he can settle it as he likes or force a settlement on us.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

4. I feel sure that you were able to get some rest which you needed

very much, especially in view of the strenuous times that are likely to follow.

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

·Not traceable.

449

M. A. Jinnah to R. A. Khan

F. 1092B/247

SRINAGAR,
9 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 2nd,[1] and much as I sympathize with your case, it is really not possible for me to undertake recommending people for employment, as if I were to start on this mission, I shall have nothing else to do, because I receive constant requests of the kind mentioned in your letter. There are other channels open to you which you can explore for your purpose.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

R. A. Khan, Esq.,
3 Radice Road,
Lucknow

[1]See F. 1102A/261, *QAP*. Not printed.

450

M. A. Jinnah to A. A. Ravoof

F. 1092B/248

SRINAGAR,
9 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 1st[1] and also of the two copies of your book, and I thank you for them. So far as I have looked into it,

there are many inaccuracies with regard to my private life. It seems to have been based on inaccurate information, especially with regard to my having received a dowry of thirty lakhs of rupees on the occasion of my marriage to Miss Petit. There is absolutely no truth in this. Neither she nor I received a single pie on that occasion or on any other occasion during our married life. There are several other inaccuracies, which are based perhaps on rumours and *gups* [gossip], which relate to my sartorial taste, but they need not be taken very seriously.

As regards the other parts, I have glanced through, relating to political activities of mine, I think you have brought out very prominently the important points, and fairly well and accurately. I will read the book more critically later on, and, if necessary, I will communicate with you if there are any further important inaccuracies.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

A. A. Ravoof, Esq.,
Assistant Editor,
The *Deccan Times*, Madras

No. 427.

451

M. A. Jinnah to A. R. Changez

F. 579/98

SRINAGAR,
10 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of May 7th,[1] and I note that you are holding a students' conference on the 17th and 18th instant at Rawalpindi.

The recent events and developments in the Punjab and the decisions taken by the Muslim League have, I am happy to say, liberated Musalmans of the Punjab from the clutches of our enemies. You have before you now a clear-cut policy and programme to organize the Musalmans throughout the Punjab and carry the message of the Muslim League to every village and hamlet of the province. The Punjab is the corner-stone of Pakistan, and it is up to the Musalmans of the Punjab

to rise to the occasion and organize themselves in every department of life—social, economic, educational and political. The future of not only the Punjab but the whole of Muslim India is now in the hands of the Punjab Musalmans, who are custodians of the honour, prestige and reputation of Islam. I therefore earnestly appeal to you to regenerate your entire energy and fortify your determination to organize our people and work with all your heart and soul for the achievement of Pakistan as early as possible, for therein lies the salvation of Musalmans—in Pakistan alone lies our destiny, our defence and our deliverance. I wish your conference, from the bottom of my heart, all success.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A. R. Changez, Esq.,
Chairman, Reception Committee,
Rawalpindi Muslim Students' Federation,
Rawalpindi

[1]See F. 579/99, *QAP*. Not printed.

452

Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/40
[*Original in Urdu*]

DARUL MUTALIA HAMIDIA,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
11 June 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have opened a study centre which is the only Muslim institution of its kind. Recently, we have published a pocket book containing about two hundred of Iqbal's couplets under the name *Iqbal Rezay*, which became very popular. Now we intend to publish views of people from different faiths about Iqbal in the form of a book. It is hoped that you would also send your views or if you deem fit you may write the Foreword of this book.[1]

Alternately, you may kindly send your message for the Iqbal Day celebrations being held by this institution in the first week of August.

Regarding the structure of the book, we are directly contacting Bahadur Yar Jung, Dr. Topa, Dr. Latif Saeed, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi, Maulvi Abdul Wahid (Conservator of Forests) and calligraphist Din Mohammad.

I hope you will not deprive me of a reply. May God keep you safe and grant success to your mission. *Aameen*.

With many respects,

Yours obediently,
BAHAUDDIN MHAMOOD SALEEM SIDDIQUI
Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Ittihad

[1]Jinnah replied on 19 June that much as he admired Iqbal he could not write a Foreword of the book. See F. 976/41, *QAP*. Not printed.

453

Mohammad Yusuf Dar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/281

SRINAGAR,
12 June 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I will be highly thankful to you if you condescend to give some time for an interview to me and some other workers of Kashmir Youth Congress at your earliest convenience.[1]

Yours truly,
MOH[AMMA]D YUSUF DAR
Office Secretary,
Youth Congress

[1]Jinnah fixed 14 June for the interview, as noted on the letter.

454

Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/280

SIDIQUE MANZIL,
MAQDOOM KOOCHA,
SRINAGAR,
12 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you are the President of the All India Muslim League—the only representative organization of ten crores of Muslims of the continent of India—it would be an incomparable honour for my firm and I would feel proud of it without any particle of vanity, if you would very kindly prepare [propose] the name for it.[1]

I am a young man who is to deal in furniture and woodcarving.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL AZIZ

[1] Jinnah suggested "The Azad Woodcarving & Furnishing Co." See F. 1103/68, *QAP*. Not printed.

455

Manager, Allied Brothers, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/31

ARAMWARI,
SRINAGAR,
13 June 1944

Respected Sir,

We are fortunate enough that somehow with God's grace a sample of our product that is Comb Honey section [*sic*] was presented to your honour by one of the favourites [*sic*] of Pakistan.

We hope you might have been satisfied with the validity [*sic*] of this special product.

We would be much obliged if you would kindly favour us with your kind remarks about this which would remain with us as a souvenir.

We rear bees on the modern advanced American methods and are giving practical shows to intending visitors.

We shall be highly indebted if your honourable self fulfills our long-felt need of paying a visit to our apiary at any time convenient to your goodself.[1]

Ours is the only apiary unique in its form in Kashmir run by Muslims.

Yours obediently,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Manager,
for Allied Brothers

[1]Jinnah fixed 22 June at 5 30 p m. for the visit. See F. 1102 298, *QAP*. Not printed.

456

Report on Punjab Session of All India Muslim Women's Conference

F. 905/32-4

GUJRAT,
13 June 1944

The all-Punjab Session of the All India Muslim Women's Conference was held at Gujrat under the presidentship of Miss Khadijah Begum Feroz-ud-Din, M.A., D. Litt., M.O.L., M.R.A.S. (London), on 21st and 23rd May 1944. Nearly two hundred delegates participated from all parts of the province. The Conference was attended by 1,000 women in spite of the fact that admission was by ticket.

The following resolutions were passed:

i. This Conference reiterates its demand from the guardians of the tomb of the great saint Shah Daula at Gujrat to make adequate arrangements for the lodging of commonly called *Chuhis* under a woman superintendent, failing that hand them over to the Muslim Women's Conference but under no circumstances allow them to accompany male beggars for collecting alms.

ii. This Conference demands from the British Govt. to provide necessary facilities for the Muslim pilgrims to Mecca, as pilgrimage is regarded as one of the pillars of Islam.

[*Para iii omitted*]

iv. This Conference emphasises the need of absolute self-discipline as enjoined by Islam on all Musalmans in general and social workers in particular, and urges them to pay very special attention to

purity of mind which is the most important source of national strength.

v. This Conference calls upon all the members to be ready to safeguard their interests by self-effort and avoid depending on others.

vi. This Conference is much perturbed to see the blind imitation of western ways....

vii. This Conference, as a great admirer of the Islamic injunctions with regard to women's outdoor life, urges all Muslim women to draw down their coverings and appear in public with modesty and dignity.

[*Paras viii & ix omitted*]

x. This Conference encourages more social intercourse and spiritual contact between the women of various communities as a step towards national unity.

xi. This Conference calls upon all its branches to direct their special energies towards establishing *Dars-i-Qur'an* classes for adult women in the villages as the best method to encourage literacy.

xii. This Conference draws the attention of its members to work up [*sic*] girl schools established under the Conference patronage to a high standard and make them self-supporting and not to ask for Government and Municipal aid.

xiii. This Conference proposes to raise the Muslim Girls School to college standard in the near future and calls upon the Muslim public of Gujrat to come forward with their help and cooperation.

[*Para xiv omitted*]

xv. This Conference emphatically draws the attention of the Punjab University to the fact that they should follow the good example set by the Osmania University to start M.A. (Urdu) [classes] and that the University should make this language compulsory in all classes.

The Conference came to end by passing a vote of thanks to Ch. Nawab-ud-Din, Superintendent Jail, Gujrat, and Headmaster Islamia Primary School, Sheshianwala Gate, Gujrat, and Halqa-i-Adab, Gujrat, and appreciated their services.

BARKAT BIBI HARYA
General Secretary,
All India Muslim Women's Conference

457

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/318-9

7/2 A HAYAT KHAN LANE,
AMHERST STREET,
CALCUTTA,
13 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am hereby sending you true copy of a letter received by me from Maulana Ahmad Saeed. The letter was dated 30 May 1944.

This was in reply to my letter to Maulana Saeed inviting his attention to your Sialkot appeal to Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama for unity under League banner.

I have not replied to him direct but have refuted his statement in papers.

I am enclosing a cutting from *Star* of 13 June 1944[1] which gives another clue to their mind. It appears the Maulana is not so much anxious for the rights of the *'Ulama* and the *Shari'at* but for the Congress and the Congress-Muslims. But I believe it is in our own interest to have a free and frank talk with the Maulana and his party, guarantee all legitimate demands concerning *Shari'at* and the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama's voice in matters of *Shari'at,* and then, if they still refuse to join the League, set forth in a statement to the press that you conceded all legitimate demands and agreed to give full guarantees for the rights and position of the *Shari'at,* detailed as follows, but still they dodged away and insisted only on the rights of the Congress.

The news that Syed Aizaz Rasul, Secretary, U.P. League and Begum Aizaz Rasul invited the Governor of U.P. to a cocktail party has caused the greatest harm to the good name of the League. The enemy is using it against the League.

I appeal to you in the name of Islam and the good name of the League to make a prompt enquiry and, if it is correct, at once take steps to penalise both the culprits.

Yours sincerely and obediently,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 457
Ahmad Saeed to Raghib Ahsan

F. 878/139-40

[*Original in Urdu*]

MOTAMIR-UL-MUSANNEFIN,
BAIT-US-SAEED, KUCHA CHELAN,
DELHI,
30 May 1944

Respected Raghib,

Salaam-i-Masnoon

I have already attempted in this respect some four years back but failed on account of Mr. Jinnah's obstinacy and obduracy. However, I did not get disheartened and despite having buried the *'Ulama's* prestige in Calcutta, I took the initiative and in spite of the contempt with which M. A. Jinnah and his Muslim League behaved with the *'Ulama* I did not lose heart and that is why I sent him a message by telegram. The reply that I received must have come to your notice. I wonder particularly that a man of learning as you are and despite the fact that you had the opportunity of observing Jinnah so closely, you are still sticking to him and helping him set up an Ulster in India.

However, I am trying to go to Srinagar and give him another chance to come to the right path. I pray to God to give him sense to make peace with the Congress at an early date so that the country gets freedom even before the end of the War. But if his obduracy and indifferent attitude continues to persist as before, I wonder as to how long this unfortunate land would continue to languish in bondage. His arrogant attitude clearly betrays that in his view, struggle for freedom from the yoke of the British is not Muslims' job. Probably he thinks this is something for the Hindus to do. What other reason can be attributed to his present haughty instance?

Do you think the reply he gave to Mr. Gandhi's letter sent from prison, and which was initially withheld by the government, can be called gentleman-like? Did a man in captivity deserve such reply and was it in accordance with Islamic civility. Moreover, can the remark made against Maulana Abul Kalam Azad be called good manners?

Mr. Raghib! In the name of God, I appeal to you to have pity on Muslims. The English are not going to rule for ever. But Divine rule is eternal. I shall try my best to carry out your command. But please pay your attention to what your leader is doing and see as to where he is leading his nation by his obduracy. Please hand over my letter to

Maulana Hakim Abdul Rauf for which act I shall be thankful to you.

The humble,
AHMAD SAEED

458

A. A. Basith to M. H. Saiyid

F. 829/24

SYLHET,
13 June 1944

Resolution No. 1. of the Assam Provincial Muslim League General Conference held at Barpeta on the 8th April 1944

CONFIDENCE IN QUAID-I-AZAM

The Musalmans of Assam place on record their utmost confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and assure him of their unswerving loyalty and devotion.

A. A. BASITH
General Secretary,
Assam Provincial Muslim League

459

B. N. Rau to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/462

SRINAGAR,
13 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to your letter of the 29th May,[1] I am now to say that accommodation has been arranged for you in Guest House No. 4 (Iqbal Manzil) for about a fortnight from the end of June. Please let me know the exact date on which you propose to move in.[2] As already intimated, a car will be at your disposal during this period.

Yours sincerely,
B. N. RAU

[1] No. 406
[2] Jinnah replied that he would be able to move in on 1 July. See F. 1102/461, *QAP*.
Not printed.

460

M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed

SHC, Sind I/25

SRINAGAR,
13 June 1944

My dear Mr. Sayed,

Many thanks for your letter of May 26th.[1] I have noted all that you say, and I have also had a long talk with Mr. Gazdar about your local affairs. I have explained to him fully what my views are, and I can only once more say to you that you must really try and get above these petty disputes and differences. Mr. Gazdar has agreed to do his best to remove any misunderstanding that may have taken place between him and Mr. Yusuf.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

G. M. Sayed, Esq.,
Napier Road,
Karachi

·No. 402.

461

M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf Abdoola Haroon

SHC, Sind I/31

SRINAGAR,
13 June 1944

My dear Yusuf,

I have had a long discussion with Mr. Gazdar here regarding the misunderstanding that has taken place between you and him, and I hope that on his return you will put an end to it, which is not conducive to our cause, and it is far from dignified that two prominent Muslim Leaguers in Sind should attack each other in public, when you have got the requisite machinery to approach. I am not apportioning

any blame because I am not really in a position to do so until I hear fully both sides, but I do hope and pray that responsible men of your status and that of Mr. Gazdar's will be able to resolve any misunderstanding that may have taken place. We have to serve our cause and not damage it under any circumstances.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards to you, Lady Haroon and the family,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Esq.,
Napier Road,
Karachi

PS. Please send me a copy of my account at your convenience and I hope that you will recover the rent of my property 'Flagstaff' as and when it becomes due.

462

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/285-6

7/2 A HAYAT KHAN LANE,
AMHERST,
CALCUTTA,
13 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. British financiers' and economists' plea for the revision of financial settlement between Britain and India and the repudiation of sterling balances[1] vitally concern whole India, including Pakistan. It is hoped you will condemn this sinister move in due time.

3. You may have read Maulana Ahmad Saeed's latest statement. In fact, the Maulana himself wrote to me informing me that he was going to Srinagar specially to see Mr. Jinnah. Now that he has been pulled up by his Congressite mentors and prompters, he says that it is all League propaganda.

4. I am making arrangement to refute his statement. But still I pray and submit: Do not lose patience with Maulana Ahmad Saeed

or Mufti Kefayatullah. Do not refuse to meet the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama people or the Ahrar. Meet them at your convenient date and time. But corner them, isolate them and divide and expose them fully. Leave no escape [route] for any "honest" Maulvi but to join the League. Put them in a false position and show to the world that while you are conceding every reasonable demand for (1) *Qazi* or *Shari'at* courts, (2) *Khula* Act and (3) Reforms according to *Shari'at* and (4) even recognition. [incomplete]

[RAGHIB AHSAN]

During World War II, the payments due in sterling for the exports from India to Britain of war supplies were accumulated with the Bank of England. See Chaudhri Mohammed Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1988, 352.

463

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Rauf Abbasi

F. 1011/9

SRINAGAR,
13 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 23rd,[1] and I have read with interest the article in your paper, the daily *Haque*, a cutting of which you were good enough to enclose.

I think I have made it clear more than once with regard to the question of my meeting with Mr. Gandhi, and it requires no further discussion.

As regards the general policy of your paper, I can only request and hope that you will support the creed, policy and the programme of the All India Muslim League, which is the only authoritative and representative organization of the Musalmans of India. Let me tell you that I get the daily *Haque* and I do take an interest in it and follow its activities.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Rauf Abbasi, Esq.,
Editor, the daily *Haque*,
Golaganj, Lucknow

[1]No. 389.

464

Haji Abdul Karim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/166

AMRAOTI,
BERAR,
13 June 1944

Sir,

Combined associations of Hindu and Muslim merchants under the name of "General Merchants Association" have been formed in almost all big and small towns of C.P. and Berar, with a provincial organisation at Nagpur, to bring to the notice of the Government the grievances of the merchants and to get them redressed. As these associations consist of an overwhelming majority of Hindus, some of the Muslim general merchants, who fear that Muslim business interests will suffer in the long run by joining these associations, have kept themselves aloof from them. Now we approach you with the request of honouring us with your opinion in the matter. If you think that joining these associations is harmful for Muslim merchants, and that they should form separate associations for protecting their rights, please advise[1] us so, so that armed with your valuable opinion we may persuade those Muslim merchants who have joined the above-named association to sever their connections with them and form their own local as well as provincial association for safeguarding their own interests.

An early reply is solicited,

Yours faithfully,
HAJI ABDUL KARIM
President,
Memon Merchants Association

Jinnah advised them to form a Muslim Chamber of Commerce and get it affiliated with the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry See F. 878/165, *QAP*.

Not printed.

465

Nazir Yar Jung to M . A. Jinnah

F. 905/35

MANZIL-I-ADLE,
HYDERGUDA,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
14 June 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In reply to All-India Law Conference Managing Committee's request to send a message to this Conference, which is being held under the auspices of the Osmania University, in your letter dated [not given][1] you were good enough to speak highly of the University's achievements; now I would like to inform you that the Conference is being held in Hyderabad on 18-19 of July 1944.

The other day, I was told by a friend of mine that you are visiting Hyderabad on some professional business on the 22nd of July 1944. We are holding an exhibition in connection with this Law Conference, the scheme of which is herewith attached.[2]

May I request you on behalf of the Committee to deliver an address on the "Ideals of Legal Profession" (with special reference to India and Hyderabad). As an eminent lawyer, you have so long and closely been associated with the Bar of both countries that probably nobody in India could do greater justice to the subject than your honoured self.

If you could kindly give us[3] the date between 18th to 23rd of July 1944, the Committee will feel highly obliged, as it will be in a position to adjust its programme accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
NAZIR YAR JUNG
President, Managing Committee ,
All-India Law Conference

[1&2]Not traceable.

[3]Jinnah regretted his inability to visit Hyderabad due to tremendous pressure of work. See F. 1102/299, *QAP*. Not printed.

466

Abdul Latif to Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 878/158-60

KOOCHA DAKHNI RAI,
DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
14 June 1944

Respected Allama Sahib,

I, most respectfully, beg to address this personal letter to you as a private citizen of Delhi. I hope you will excuse me the liberty I am taking in doing so though personally unknown to you. But before I proceed further, I think, it is in the fitness of things if I tell you something about my antecedents.

2. I am a youngman, just a student of politics but having no direct or indirect connection with any political organization whatsoever of this country. I know you perfectly well. I have had seen you and read you. I am an eye-witness to almost all of your past social and political activities and your successes and reverses have had pleased and shocked me as they should naturally any impartial student of politics.

3. I also beg to tell you frankly something about my impressions about your present activities in the field of politics. I have come to feel that your politics have undergone a radical change and that you have begun to think and work in terms of Gandhi-Jinnah politics. This attitude gives some satisfaction to those who did not appreciate your past activities, while to the impartial political observers, the change is fundamentally opposed to the ideas embodied in your writings, which have ever since declared a revolt against the political ideologies and goals of these two leaders and their respective parties.

4. There is yet another aspect of this change! Between Gandhi and Jinnah, your sympathies have ever gone out and are still going out more for Mr. Gandhi than Mr. Jinnah. The reason for this is not understood at all. The mountebank and quacker [*sic*] politics of Mr. Gandhi have always been disdained by you in the past and you have also had hated the Muslim League and its leader no less. This fact is not also clearly understood at all when we see that there is no change for the better in the Gandhian politics and his methods of doing things remain the same—a policy which has always had incurred your condemnation in the past. Will you please enlighten me on the subject?

5. As regards Mr. Jinnah, the stand taken by him has also had never

any appeal for you and he is sticking to his guns even to-day. There is no change in his attitude. How is it then that you have now begun to think that the salvation of India lies in the combination of Gandhi-Jinnah politics? Either you have come to realize that stand taken by you in the past was wrong or you have taken up this attitude as a "counsel of despair"! Whatever be true, this goes without saying that such changes in minds, policy and attitude of the leaders are healthy signs and may go a long way towards ending many "international deadlocks" endemic to this country at this critical juncture.

6. To the impartial observers, it is also not clear why, after all, the Khaksar leader has always shown very scant sympathies for the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah. Political differences may be there and may be very acute but since the collapse of the Khaksar movement, when the Muslim India as a whole began to regard the downfall of the Khaksars as the greatest calamity ever befallen [*sic*] to the Muslim community, the Muslim League adopted the policy to accord unqualified support to the demand for the release of the Khaksars and their accredited leader, and as a matter of fact the Muslim League brought the maximum pressure it could to be borne upon [*sic*] the Govt. as a result of which the Government having repented for the injustice done to you, removed the ban imposed upon you and your organisation. But the League circles were, however, greatly shocked to know about the antagonising attitude resorted to by you towards the League and Mr. Jinnah, culminating in the dastardly attack made upon the life of the great leader and its further consequences. Love's labour lost! Why these hostilities after all? Perhaps, in your opinion, the stand taken by Mr. Gandhi is more justified than the one taken by Mr. Jinnah! Your previous writings on the subject, however, give the lie to this presumption. I, therefore, request you to kindly throw some light on this point also.

7. I appreciate your anxiety to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. I wish you all success because no work will be nobler than this. If your efforts were crowned with success and some permanent formula was adopted to re-unite these two communities, your name will go down in history as the real convener [*sic*] of the independence of this country and posterity will be put down [*sic*] under the deep debt of gratitude which it will not be able to repay you at all despite its love and devotion and respect which it will ever profusely shower upon you as a token of eternal honour to your good name. But you know Mr. Gandhi very well, and his ways and means and methods in politics tempered with spirituality and religious orthodoxy and yet with complete repudiation of any religious tinge in politics at all. You also

know his metaphysical "nonsense" which may at any time compel him to neglect very hard facts and you know he can assume infallibility any time. He is the same "demigod" venerated and worshipped as a full-fledged omnipotent, omniscient deity! You know Mr. Jinnah more than Mr. Gandhi. The hearts are required to be changed and even replaced in the slender frameworks of these skeleton bodies. And much more than these two personages, I think, you know the Musalmans—what are they and where are they! The movements including yours, have already failed to shake off their inertia.

8. The work that you have undertaken is great and heavy. Before you proceed further I think, you must be well-equipped and well-prepared in all respects to obviate any chance of failure in your noble mission. Kindly just satisfy yourselves [*sic*] with pre-requisites so as to ensure hundred per cent success. Let it be the last attempt! No doubt the goal is the complete independence of India. Doubtless, the Hindu-Muslim unity is the pre-requisite for this goal, but let us never doubt that the need for the Muslim unity constitutes to be the essential pre-requisite of the Hindu-Muslim unity, and therefore demanding the priority consideration in these endeavours which must be accorded without hesitation. Hence the immediate problem is to end the deadlock between the scattered and disintegrated units of the Muslim community itself and its numerous parallel organizations having the same aims but hostile to each other for nothing.

[*Para 9 omitted*]

10. I, therefore, beg to emphasise that the attainment of the Muslim unity is a patently essential preliminary [*sic*] for the attainment of the Hindu-Muslim unity.

11. First thing first! Kindly do this first! Circumstances are favourable. Ambassador of Muslim unity come forward and play the role. Hindu-Muslim unity will then be ensured by a switch over once the Muslim solidarity, on firm and unshakable footings, is ensured!

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL LATIF
B.A.

Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi,
P.O. Ichhra, Lahore

467

Wajid Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 979/24

INDIAN TRANSIT CAMP,
COLABA, BOMBAY,
15 June 1944

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter of 3rd June.[1] I am so sorry that I could not come to Srinagar to look after your comfort personally, owing to the rush of work on this side, and I have been rather anxious as to whether the servants are making you comfortable. If there is anything you require done, please do not be reluctant to order Lala Shambunath who will carry out your instructions.

I sincerely hope no urgent call will come for you, and that you will stay at Srinagar as long as you possibly can, to take complete rest and recuperate your health, after the strenuous time you have been having recently.

I am glad to say the monsoon appears to have broken, and with three or four showers of rain that we have been having, it has become more pleasant to live in Bombay.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,

WAJID ALI

[1]Not traceable.

468

M. A. Jinnah to Wajid Ali

F. 979/25

SRINAGAR,
19 June 1944

My dear Wajid Ali,

Many thanks for your letter of June 15th.[1] I am glad to tell you that we are quite comfortable here; the weather is continuing to be nice and cool, and I have greatly benefited, and so has Miss Jinnah. We shall have to leave this beautiful place perhaps by the third week of July.

I am glad to inform you that the people of Kashmir are getting more alive to their condition, and there is a great deal of awakening among them. I attended their Conference, and it was a wonderful gathering, nearly a lakh of people were there, and they are beginning to understand the problems that are confronting them. This is a very healthy sign, and I was pleased to note it.

Thanking you and with kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Wajid Ali, Esq.,
Indian Transit Camp,
Colaba, Bombay

No. 467.

469

Sh. Fazal Ilahi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/176-7

COMMITTEE MOHALLA,
RAWALPINDI,
19 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I heartily congratulate you on your exemplary success in awakening the Muslim masses of India. This is a wonderful achievement. Muslims were politically almost dead after being long in the same condition socially, economically and morally. The name of Jinnah has infused a new life in the Muslim world. Everywhere meetings are being held and plans passed as to how Pakistan is to be obtained. Muslims are trying to unite. They know they are illiterate, ignorant, poor and backward in everything. They have very few colleges and schools of arts or handicraft. They have no hospitals of their own. They have few or no banks of their own. Lakhs of Muslims are handicapped, only they have no poorhouses. Will it not be the most opportune time to start schools and colleges in all locations where they are needed—industrial schools and colleges along with arts colleges for men as well as women. School committees and college committees may be started, office-bearers elected, and funds collected.

The work of uplift may be commenced gradually. The leaders may

travel and visit all big towns and may carry on their propaganda and do substantial useful work along with the effort for the ideal of Pakistan. Do you like the idea?

May God give you long life and sound health. *Aameen*

Yours sincerely,
SH. FAZAL ILAHI
Vakil, *High Court, Punjab*

470

Shaik Daud to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/29

ABIRAMAM,
RAMNAD DIST.,
MADRAS,
19 June 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We are getting unbounded joy to inform you that we have decided to hold the 7th Primary Muslim League Political Conference at Abiramam under the presidentship of Abdul Hameed Khan M.L.A. of Madras on 2.7.44.

Hope that you will be kind enough to send us a message[1] for the encouragement of our people to fight for the cause of Pakistan.

We the Muslims of the extreme south have full confidence and full support in [and for] you. We assure you, we will strictly abide by the principles, the policy and the programme of the All India Muslim League and will be ready for whatever sacrifice you expect from us.

Yours truly,
SHAIK DAUD
General Secretary,
Reception Committee,
Primary Muslim League Political Conference

[1]Jinnah wished all success to the proposed Conference. See F. 829/34, *QAP*. Not printed.

471

M. A. Jinnah to Makhdum Murid Hussain Qureshi

F. 1092B/254

SRINAGAR,
21 June 1944

Dear Sir Makhdum Murid Hussain,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 16th,[1] and thank you for it. I shall be very glad to have the opportunity of meeting you and have a talk about the Punjab situation, but let me inform you that I am not influenced by any person or persons, nor am I actuated by any feeling of ill-will against anybody. It is not possible for me to discuss the matter in a letter and give you the correct picture as I see it after a most patient, independent and impartial investigation which I made during my stay in Lahore for nearly six weeks. I am only concerned with maintaining the prestige and the reputation of the All India Muslim League and upholding its creed, policy, and programme. However, when we meet, I shall be very glad indeed to discuss the matter with you fully with an open mind.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir Makhdum Murid Hussain Qureshi,
M.L.A., Central,
Multan City, Punjab

[1] See F. 1092 B/251-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

472

Gerald Bailey to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/44

144 SOUTHAMPTON ROW,
LONDON, W.C.1,
21 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

For a number of years, the National Peace Council, which is, as you

may know, a federation of some forty British organizations, has followed the Indian situation closely and has regarded the right solution of the political deadlock in India as providing an outstanding test of any work for a peaceful world.

We know of your deep concern over the present situation. We realise the important part that you, as leader of the Muslim League, will play in finding a solution to the impasse. On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Council, I have been asked to convey to you its earnest hope that the release of Mr. Gandhi may be made the occasion for a fresh effort to break the deadlock and to reach an agreed and honourable settlement among all concerned.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
GERALD BAILEY
Director, National Peace Council

473

Amin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102A/295

GAYA,
21 June 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is to say that I am contemplating to affiliate our local Merchants and Industry Association with All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bombay, but I doubt whether this Chamber has obtained your consent or not, therefore, I shall be pleased if you will kindly clarify the position at your earliest convenience. My intention is to conduct the commercial organisation subject to the programme of All India Muslim League.[1]

I hope that you will excuse me for disturbing your peaceful life and I hope you must have surely improved your health.

With deep regards I remain,

Yours sincerely,
AMIN AHMAD

[1]Jinnah asked Amin Ahmad to get in touch with the Secretary of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi. See F. 1102A, 296, *QAP*. Not printed.

474

Inayat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/33

22 VICEROY ROAD,
DEHRA DUN,
21 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I would like to have your guidance on the matter of Muslim Leaguers joining or cooperating in the collection or management of Kasturba Trust Fund. No definite lead has been given by the League in this matter. On the other hand, the President of the U.P. Muslim League has been reported as having accepted the chairmanship of this Fund's Meerut Committee. I wrote to the Nawab Sahib at Meerut but he has given a reply which to my mind, is not quite clear or satisfactory.

I enclose herewith[1] the reply that I have received from Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Sahib for your perusal. I request that you be kind enough to give a definite lead in the matter. Kindly also return the enclosure with your reply.

I have the honour to be,
Quaid-i-Azam,
One of your loyal workers,
INAYAT ALI
Advocate
President of the City Muslim League
and Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board

Not traceable.

475

M. S. M. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/69

CAXTON HOUSE,
KARACHI,
21 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I trust that Kashmir has helped to recuperate your health. If, as I

expect, you will return to Bombay this weekend, I shall take the opportunity of meeting you for a brief while on Thursday, June 29, on my way to Madras for a holiday. If, however, you are delayed in returning to Bombay, a copy of this letter will greet you at Srinagar. Accept my sincere good wishes for your early recovery.

Having read Mr. Gazdar's statement on Gandhiji's letter to you, it struck me that it had been inspired by you. The very tenor of the interview reveals your personality in an indefinable manner. An old admirer of yours since 1916, when I met you for the first time, thanks to the kindness of that great and good woman Mrs. Annie Besant, I earnestly hope and pray that you will again play your customary role of an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity.

There is just another reason for penning this letter. I desire to have the addition of a qualified Muslim sub-editor to my staff. It does not matter if he is not a trained journalist. A fresh Aligarh graduate will do, and I hope I have in me the capacity to train a good journalist. Can you select one for me? I would prefer a young man, dependable, loyal and delighting in service to the masses of Sind. I can trust you to make the right choice. If you take some time to make a choice for me, I suggest you should write to Mr. H. N. E. Dinshaw, as I would not be in Karachi until October.

If we do not happen to meet in Bombay next week, do you mind acknowledging this letter to my Madura address, c/o The Central Bank of India, Madura, South India.[1]

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. S. M. SHARMA
Editor, the Daily Gazette

See No. 493.

476

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/60

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
22 June 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have not written to you for some time as I left Calcutta in the first

week of May with the determination to cut myself away from every activity for a period of six weeks. I retreated to Darjeeling with the children and I had a very quiet and peaceful holiday. An S.O.S. from Nazimuddin to attend the Assembly brought me down from the cool air of Darjeeling to the burning heat of Calcutta, only yesterday. We faced the "No-confidence" motion with confidence. We had a majority of thirteen, six European members were absent and two of our party Musalmans could not rush here in time, because they were in the interior and travelling these days even for the influential is an extremely difficult task.

The day before I left Darjeeling I received a letter from the Secretary to Government, Judicial, Police & General Departments, Hyderabad, a copy of which I enclose herewith for your perusal and immediate direction. In the event you are not interested in the machinery, please telegraph me "express" so that I may continue the negotiation on behalf of the *Star of India* and the Alliance Press, from here. I do not want to miss this block of machinery at a time like the present when nothing is available.

I hope you are having a quiet and pleasant holiday in Kashmir. From Liaquat Ali Khan's latest statement in the press it seems that I shall have the privilege of saluting you before the end of July.

With my best regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Enclosure to No. 476

SHC, Bengal III/62

THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
12 June 1944

Subject: SALE OF PRINTING MACHINERY

Dear Sirs,

With reference to your letter dated the 19th April 1944,[1] I am desired to write and request you to let this office know definitely whether you wish to take advantage of our offer or to get out of the deal.

An early reply in the matter is requested.

Yours faithfully,
SECRETARY, JUDICIAL, POLICE AND GENERAL DEPTS.

Messrs M. M. Ispahani Ltd.,
51 Ezra Street, Calcutta

[1]Not traceable.

477

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/63

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
22 June 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After sending my previous letter,[1] I have found your letter of the 20th May[2] in the bundle of letters and papers awaiting my return to Calcutta.

The position of the printing machinery is now clear and I shall negotiate for it with Hyderabad direct.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 476
[2]No. 374.

478

Mustafa Kamal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/42

RAHAT FIZA,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
22 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry I could not respond to your kind reply of the 19th May[1]

earlier as I was out of the station and although your letter reached me where I was, the book could not be despatched because it was not with me there.

It was really so good of you to have readily complied to my request and in spite of your multifarious activities and holidaying, promised to fulfil my humble desire.

I am today sending you, according to your permission, the book *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah,* with the request that you may please autograph it with some piece of advice for me, the second part of the request being as essential as the first. I shall be more grateful if an early return of the same is arranged.[2]

Once again apologizing for the trouble and thanking you for all your kindness in this respect.

With humble regards,

I am,

Yours faithfully,
MUSTAFA KAMAL

Jinnah had agreed that the book be sent to him for an autograph. See No. F. 958, 82, *QAP.* Not printed.
The book was returned duly autographed by Jinnah. See F. 976 43, *QAP* Not printed

479

S. M. Haq Haqqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/46

HARDOI,
22 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am an old worker of the Muslim League and deeply interested in the same. My personal experience of 30 years which should not be outweighed by pecuniary difficulties has convinced me that the work of the Muslim League cannot be up to the mark, even successful, unless and until the Joint or Office Secretary is a paid official. I have moved in different phases of life as well as public offices and activities and my bitter experience is that unpaid or hon[orar]y workers are

seldom prompt in the discharge of their duties nay often negligent and disobedient as well. I am afraid that if this state of things continues, Muslim League work may suffer. Nay, it may lose in the next municipal elections which it has decided to fight this year. Trusting my suggestion will receive a favourable consideration as it is well-intentioned and not much costly. The office requires an official who is morally and legally responsible for his work which an hon[orar]y hand cannot be. There may be selfless workers in the high region but almost none in the Primary League and few in District Muslim League. Hoping to receive an early reply from you.[1]

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. M. HAQ HAQQI
B.A., LL.B.
Senior Vice-President, Incharge Hardoi Dist. Muslim League

[1]See No. 556.

480

Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 396/16-7

8 BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

You would be glad to know that we have decided to convert the *Nawa-i-Waqt* into a daily. The first issue, as a daily, I hope, would appear in the second week of July.

The *Nawa-i-Waqt*, as you know is the only Urdu journal in this province which has never wavered all these years and has steadfastly and consistently supported the creed, policy and programme of the Muslim League. It has the unique distinction of being a paper with a mission. All members of its editorial staff are honorary workers. We hope to maintain these traditions of missionary work, established by the weekly, as a daily. You would be glad to know that it is the only

Urdu Muslim journal in Punjab which has never accepted any help from the Punjab Govt., either in the form of a subsidy or Govt. advertisements.

I earnestly request you to send us an encouraging message.[1] Please inaugurate it as a daily if you are in Lahore in those days. I need not assure you that the *Nawa-i-Waqt* [true] to its traditions, will carry League message to every Musalman in Punjab.

Yours sincerely,
HAMEED NIZAMI
Managing Editor, the Nawa-i-Waqt *weekly*

No. 529.

481

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana

F. 257/9

SRINAGAR,
24 June 1944

My dear Mumtaz,

Thank you for your letter of May 31st.[1] I was not able to attend to it earlier, as I was somehow or other plunged into hearing the tales of the people here of their woes and miseries and disputes and quarrels. You must have read some of the reports and the news that have appeared in the press. There is one bright and hopeful feature which I noticed, that the average Musalman has awakened and takes a very keen interest in what is going on.

I have been following your activities and that of the Punjab Provincial League and the Committee of Action , and from the press reports and other information. I feel happy that things are going on well. No amount of opposition based on falsehood and mischievous propaganda can succeed. Ours is a really honest case and cause, and I have no doubt of our ultimate success. It is only a question of time.

Hoping Begum Sahiba and you are well and with very kind regards to both of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mian Mumtaz Daultana,
8 Durand Road, Lahore

·No. 424.

482

Abdul Azeez Basha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/45

NAWAB HAKEEM ROAD,
COIMBATORE,
25 June 1944

Sir,

This association is the only association which helps poor students of all castes and creeds. In fact, it is the only association in the whole presidency with such laudable aims. For the last 14 years, we have been helping students without any difference, with the limited scope of financial resources; we have been struggling hard all these days.

This year we have received applications from 40 students from all schools. If we decide to grant scholarships to all these students, we may require about Rs. 280 a month. Our monthly income is about Rs. 50.

In order to encourage this fundamental principle of our country namely Hindu-Muslim unity, we appeal to all generous hearted gentlemen to come forward with their donations.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras has also appreciated our work and has sent his contribution towards this fund.

We request you, therefore, to contribute your mite to encourage this greatest task of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL AZEEZ BASHA
General Secretary,
Anjumane Nou Nihalane Islam

483

M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau

F. 1102B/460

SRINAGAR,
25 June 1944

Dear Sir B. N. Rau,

I wrote to you on June 19th,[1] informing you that I would be able to

move from my houseboat on the 1st of July, and I wanted to see the Guest House and make the necessary arrangements. Please, therefore, let me know when it will be possible for me to do so. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me have your reply in the course of to-day.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir B. N. Rau,
Prime Minister,
Srinagar

See No. 459, note 2.

484

Ghulam Mustafa Shah Khalid Gilani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/31-2
[*Original in Urdu*]

URGENT

RAWALPINDI,
25 June 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The enclosed cutting[1] is taken from the *Zamindar* dated 25 June 1944 that reveals that your goodself is arriving Rawalpindi via Murree Hills in the middle of July. This good news has sent a wave of ecstasy among the Islamic circles of Rawalpindi Division. The after-effects of the conference[2] arranged by the Rawalpindi Muslim students proved harmful all around. However, the Muslim League Conference held on 20 June at Murree, generated a new life among the rural areas. I request that you may kindly intimate to me your detailed programme.

During the Sialkot Conference, you had told me that your departure might be via Jammu. However, you would inform me about your final plans in this regard. I wish you should be accorded a tumultuous welcome by the rural people during your sojourn. A public meeting be held at the historic Rawalpindi city that may leave an everlasting impact on people's mind. In this way, people of Punjab will derive tremendous benefit from your visit. Kindly treat this request on urgent basis and inform[3] us accordingly.

I think, the Murree Hills Muslim League, should arrange your welcome right from Kohala Bridge to Satra Meel. From Satra Meel to Rawalpindi, the District League should manage the welcome rally. At Rawalpindi, City and Cantonment Muslim League and Muslim Students' Federation should jointly organize the public meeting. Rawalpindi, Gujar Khan, Jhelum and Gujrat Muslim League should take the responsibility to give you a warm welcome. The main purpose behind this whole exercise is to take stock of the new situation that has now emerged from day-to-day developments.

As I have been assigned the arduous task of organizing Muslim League in the Rawalpindi Division, I am facing the Unionist Government's chicanery. In view of these circumstances, it has become imperative to get maximum benefit from your proposed visit.

As the sacrifice rendered by Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, dignified decision of the Action Committee with your speaking out the truth, have completely changed the scenario in the Punjab and people have quite awakened. Therefore, my candid opinion is that we have covered a long distance in June alone as compared to the previous five years. Since the exposure of the Unionist Party, the Muslim League has established itself on sound basis. In these circumstances, kindly keep in mind the following factors and provide an opportunity to us to benefit from your presence amidst us:

i. When would you leave Kashmir and at what time would you reach Kohala Bridge?
ii. Should we hold a public meeting in Rawalpindi on the day of your arrival?
iii. Would you leave for Lahore by car or rail? If you decide to travel by rail, the Frontier Mail would be most suitable as in this way, people would have a glimpse of your goodself all along the route.
iv. Just after your arrival in Rawalpindi, we will launch a campaign to project the image of Muslim League more vigorously. Hence, please do apprise us about your travel plans.
v. How many people would accompany you? We want to make elaborate arrangements for your comfortable stay.

We are extremely grateful to *Allah* Almighty for your absolute sincerity to the cause of Pakistan and we have already decided to sacrifice our all on your orders.

After your sincere appeal at Sialkot, the machinations of the Ahrars have increased manifold because they have made money their ultimate aim which is stated to be provided by the Unionists. This statement can be substantiated by the fact that they have intensified nonsensical propaganda against Muslim League with the result that they have lost their credibility among the Muslim masses.

Wassalaam

Yours sincerely,
SYED GHULAM MUSTAFA SHAH KHALID GILANI
Honorary Organizing Secretary,
Muslim League, Rawalpindi Division

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 510-3.
[3]See No. 537.

485

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/34-5

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
25 June 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

The Government of India's policy in empanelling various post-war reconstruction and other committees and in sending out delegations to foreign countries, was a bit of a puzzle to me till I read the correspondence between the Viceroy and Gandhi which the latter recently released to the press. There are broad hints in this correspondence of co-operation between the British and the Congress along commercial and economic lines if it was not possible to have a settlement of the political issues. While there is no acceptance by Gandhi of this new form of dyarchy, one may hazard a guess based on our experience that the various Hindu leaders who have been meeting the Viceroy seem to have assured him of the virtual co-operation of the Hindus.

In its intrinsic quality, freedom is a non-material equation and therefore Hindus, who worship *Sarasvati*, and who alone, among all

the peoples of the world, have remained slaves for several centuries have lost all instinct for it. Whenever it can be shown to them that material advantage can be had by following a particular course of action they will do so and freedom be damned.

It is not so with us. Throughout our history, we have madly pursued an idea. If that has brought us affluence and the good things of the world, we have smacked our lips at them and cleared the goblet of pleasure and happiness. But we have also done the other thing; faced death cheerfully and endured indescribable hardships in the pursuit of our idea.

The Congress has established various political departments in the country like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation, the Kisan Sabha, the No Party Conference, the All Parties Convention, the Muslim Majlis, etc. etc. While the parent body stands aloof in an open rebellion, its offsprings claim the fullest share of Government largesse.

The League's attitude is that it alone represents Muslim India and would have no truck with Government unless it was invited to share the responsibility with it. This is downright honest politics and it would not do for us to complain if Government took us at our word and ticked us off. It is for you to consider whether you should not insist for the Muslim share while still maintaining our political attitude.

Without burdening this letter with an exhaustive list of various Government appointments recently made, I may cite a few by way of illustration. Sir Firoz Khan Noon has gone to London on the War Cabinet but it is a seat which has been cast off by a Hindu. Except for this and Shafa'at Ahmad's old post in South Africa, all representatives of the Government of India in foreign countries are non-Muslims. Out of the five men that have gone to Washington for the monetary conference not one is a Muslim. The industrialists' delegation that would be soon going out may have Ispahani on it but it is in pursuit of a plan among the framers of whom there is not a single Muslim. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, who recently joined the Viceroy's Council, is a tycoon of these industrialists and as a measure of his bona fides, had to write articles in the Bombay papers proving the utter impossibility of Pakistan.

I could go on and on like this but I have no proposals to make. Some of these thoughts have been weighing heavily on my mind and I thought I might pass these on to you and get some relief.

I hope your stay in Kashmir has benefited your health. Never in the history of Indian Muslims were their fortunes so much linked up with one man and it is, therefore, our daily prayer that God may

fortify you with strength and wisdom and resources to lead the Muslim nation.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

PS. Have you seen a news-item in the paper that Nawab Mohamed Ismail was elected Chairman of the Kasturba Memorial Fund Committee at Meerut? If this is only a canard, a contradiction appears to be necessary. I trust you received my last letter at Srinagar.
HATIM A. ALAVI

486

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/36

CONFIDENTIAL

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
26 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had a talk with the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain regarding Muslim League-Congress settlement. He considers it desirable. I explained to him Mr. Gandhi's attitude in not sending his letter to you and that it was further clear from the published Viceroy-Gandhi correspondence that he had no inclination to come to terms with the League. At least he does not seem anxious about it.

In view of the fact that many leaders in both camps desire some settlement, he wants to move with his Congress friends to make Mr. Gandhi write to you for a meeting. But before he does that he would like to have your approval to his contemplated move.

The news of the untimely and sudden death of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung in this morning's papers was a stunning shock to me. May God give place to him in the highest heavens. We have lost a jewel amongst League workers.

With best regards to [your]self and Miss Fatima,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. GAZDAR

487

M. A. Jinnah[1] *to Begum Bahadur Yar Jung*

Telegram, F. 1102A/300

SRINAGAR,
26 June 1944

Begum Mohammad Bahadur Khan, Hyderabad

Extremely grieved and shocked hear sad news sudden death your husband. Most sincere sympathies in your bereavement. Pray God help you bear this terrible loss with fortitude.

JINNAH

Fatima Jinnah, too, sent a similar condolence message to Begum Sahiba See F 1102A 301, *QAP*. Not printed.

488

Resolutions Passed by the Council of the Jubbulpore Muslim League

F. 1119/57-61

JUBBULPORE,
27 June 1944

An important joint meeting of the Councils of the Town and District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, was held at the residence and under the presidentship of Maulana Mufti Mohammad Burhan-ul Haque Sahib, President of the Town and District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, on 24th June 1944. A number of important resolutions were passed at the meeting and a few of them are noted below for general information.

RESOLUTION NO. 1

This joint meeting of the Councils of the Town and District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, after considering the applications of Sheikh Amir of Bohriband (Tahsil Sihora) dated 2.4.1944 and of Munir Khan, Police Constable of Bijaraogarh (Tahsil Murwara) District Jubbulpore concludes that since the police, executive and judicial departments are totally manned by non-Muslim officials and not a single Muslim occupies a post of responsibility therein,

the Muslims of the District are being victimised by certain communal-minded non-Muslim officials. In Sihora-Bijaraogarh and Majholi circles, the non-Muslim policy under the instigation of a communal-minded D. S. Police (Vilaytiram) is putting not only Muslims but also the Hindus to trouble.

This joint meeting of the Councils of the Town and District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, therefore requests the Government of C. P. & Berar that in view of the vast Muslim population of Jubbulpore that it be pleased to appoint a proportionate number of Muslims in the higher posts in the above-said various departments and thus prevent the possibility of such occasions [*sic*] in future.

In this connection, this meeting desires and demands that the investigation of the Bohriband and Sihora case be taken away from the charge of the communal-minded officers and it be entrusted to some such officials who are free from communal bias and are justly inclined.

With regard to the above resolution, this committee [*sic*] authorizes Moh[amma]d Abdul Rahman Khan, Pleader, Vice President, Town and District Muslim League , Jubbulpore , to draft a representation for the C. P. & Berar Government detailing out [*sic*] all the grievances so that it may be forwarded to the Local Government of C. P. & Berar and also to the press.

[*Resolutions 2 to 4 not received*]

RESOLUTION NO. 5

This joint meeting of the Councils of the Town and District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, looks down upon the rebellious attitude of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, against the Muslim League with scorn and deplores his depressed [*sic*] mentality. This meeting further approves and applauds the decision of the All India Muslim League in expelling him from the League organisation and expects Malik Khizar Hayat Khan not to harm the organisational and disciplined solidarity of the Muslims in these difficult and critical times and to set an example of Islamic allegiance by submitting before the Muslim national parliament—Muslim League.

RESOLUTION NO. 6

This joint meeting of the Councils of the Town and District Muslim League, Jubbulpore was much distressed in consequence of an information regarding a proposed film to be prepared by a Hollywood film company on the life events of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him). The Muslims were all upset by the above news. This meeting is satisfied

to find a contradiction of the above distressing news in the *Dawn* dated 22 June 1944 and, while feeling grateful, it considers it essential to make it quite clear that it is the very faith of the Muslims to pay highest respect to the holy Prophet [PBUH] and to have proper respect paid to him and that whenever any such proposal would be made by anyone in any part of the world which may offend against the principles of Islam and is calculated to be disrespectful to the revered memory of Prophet of Islam, the Muslims of the entire world would create an upheaval in the world by a display of their religious fervour and, therefore, warns the non-Muslims and their Governments that they would do well to pay due regard to this feeling of the Muslims.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary, Town Muslim League

489

K. V. Gopala Ratnam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187/2

28 STATION ROAD,
JAIPUR,
28 June 1944

Dear and esteemed Sir,

Some time back, I wrote to you asking for the definition of a gentleman. You will be glad to know that the response has been on the whole encouraging and I have received definitions from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. G. S. Arundale, Dr. Sacchidananda Sinha, Prof. Nicholas Roreich, Seth G. D. Birla, Rajaji and others. May I request once more to be good enough, to send your definition too and oblige early?

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
K. V. GOPALA RATNAM

PS. I have also received from Sir C. V. Raman, Sir Jogendra Singh and Mr. K. S. Vankatarammiya.

490

Ghulam Qadir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/48
[*Original in Urdu*]

RAWALPINDI,
28 June 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Responding to your appeal, the Muslims of Rawalpindi had decided to take thirty orphans of the calamity-affected people of Bengal, through their Government. They were sent by Calcutta Muslim League and Rawalpindi District Muslim League got them admitted to the *Yateemkhana* (orphanage) of Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam where they are being looked after by the Administration Committee whose General Secretary is Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Khalid Gilani, who is also General Secretary of Rawalpindi District Muslim League. The other members as well belong to the District League.

Sir, you had promised that on your return from Kashmir, you will visit these Bengali orphans. Kindly allow me to remind you of your promise, as these hapless children are eager to see you in their midst.

Would you kindly visit these orphans who are being brought up under the patronage of Muslim League? In this way, their sense of deprivation will be neutralized to some extent. All of us are anxiously awaiting your positive response in this regard.

Praying for your long long life,
Wassalaam

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM QADIR
Founder & Chief Administrator,
Yateemkhana wa Madrasah,
Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam

[1]See No. 526.

491

A. Majeed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/306-7

[*Original in Urdu*]

JALGAON,
28 June 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Yesterday, the news of sudden demise of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung spread like wildfire. All the Muslim homes presented a mournful look. District and Primary Muslim League held a joint meeting after the *Zohar* prayers when thousands of admirers of the departed revered leader offered glowing tributes with tearful eyes. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting:

i. This meeting of Muslims of Jalgaon expresses deep grief over the death of *Shaheed-i-Millat* Bahadur Yar Jung who was a magnanimous person in the true mould of our noble forefathers. At the present crucial time the nation was in great need of his leadership. The departed soul had devoted his life to the cause of Muslim *Umma* in general and Muslims of the subcontinent in particular. We have to learn a lesson from him that no sacrifice, however great, at the altar of supreme national cause is enough.
ii. This meeting of Muslims of Jalgaon requests both the District and Primary League to fix a day for the commemoration of a *Quaid-i-Millat* day. We appeal to the other parties also to follow suit.
iii. We all pray to *Allah* Almighty that He, in His infinite mercy, grant him eternal peace in heaven and bless his near and dear ones with fortitude to bear this irreparable loss.

A separate telegram has been sent to Begum Bahadur Yar Jung, condoling the death of her illustrious husband.

The news of death of the departed leader reached the public very late and because of which the *Quaid-i-Millat* day could not be observed in India on a collective basis. Therefore, it is submitted that All India Muslim League should fix a day for countrywide condolence of the demise of the late leader. On this day, meetings be held in which his selfless services be remembered and the people persuaded to follow his footsteps.

The departed leader was an embodiment of virtues and one of the few remaining stars from the galaxy of our illustrious forefathers, born

in India. To perpetuate the memory of such a personality, it is imperative to build a befitting memorial. Therefore, we propose that a Bahadur Yar Jung Memorial Fund may be launched by All India Muslim League. You know the love and affection the late leader had for you. Let us mention here that on the death of Kamala Nehru,[1] a hospital was established in her memory. Again, when Kasturbai Gandhi[2] died, a sum of fifteen lakh rupees was collected to raise a memorial for her. So, there is no reason why we should not erect a memorial that would ever remind us of the noble qualities of head and heart of the great leader, which should serve as a beacon of light for the generations to come.

We give a solemn pledge to contribute to the Fund, whether we are rich or poor, male or female, Leaguer or non-Leaguer at your beckoning. If each one of us contributes just a single rupee to this Fund, lakhs of rupees can be collected.

We feel sorry for the inconvenience caused to you by writing this letter.

A copy of the resolution was sent to the Provincial and All India Muslim League.

Wassalaam

A. MAJEED
Joint Secretary,
East Khandesh District Muslim League

[1]Wife of Jawaharlal Nehru
[2]Wife of M. K. Gandhi.

492

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/15

P.O. ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
28 June 1944

My dear Jinnah,

I am sending you a copy of the letter I addressed to Mahatma Gandhi on June 12. The reply I have received from him is unhelpful so far but I have sent another telegram to him to-day and am awaiting the result. The telegram runs:

> Your reply received to-day unhelpful. Please reply if sending fresh and clearer invitation to Quaid-i-Azam. My letter of June 12 to you was released to the press on the 26th June.

I have written to you again and again and am trying my level best to make matters as easy as possible. Your silence, although I can account for it to some extent, cannot be helpful and the time is very precious indeed. I still trust, therefore, that you will come forward and improve matters. I am determined to bring this matter to tangible conclusion and I do not want that in the face of the tense feeling that exists you will make matters worse. I am, therefore, writing to you in the full spirit of loyalty and friendship.

I hope you are well,

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

PS. I have just heard the news that you have released something to the press in this connection, but I have not seen it yet.

Enclosure to No. 492
Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. K. Gandhi

SHC, AMPO/16

P.O. ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
12 June 1944

My dear Mahatma Gandhi,

I thought telegraphic correspondence would suit better with you in order to expedite matters but the telegraph office informs me that my telegram of 24th May was not delivered to you as it was addressed to Bombay.

I now take leave to put the matters before you in more details. Enormous pressure is being put on me from every side, even from those who belong to the Muslim League that I should make you and Quaid-i-Azam meet each other at this critical moment. I am trying and shall do my utmost. Mr. Jinnah has not replied to my reminder, but I am sending another before taking the next step.

Your publishing the letter of invitation to Quaid-i-Azam of last year was indeed most prompt and cordial and it has been appreciated everywhere. The atmosphere is tense even in League circles and Mr. Jinnah's silence is getting extraordinary, if not exasperating. But being so undelightfully technical, you can still checkmate him by writing a fresh invitation and making the matter still more clear, if it is not already clear enough. I suggest this to you in all humility as I have come to understand that the time at our disposal is very precious.

From close quarters, I have come to know that the Britishers, if they do not arrest you after you get well and prove un-embarrassing, will put the country in a labyrinth of Conferences, outwardly pleasing, in order to pass time—they want in fact two more years in order to get safe,—and these Conferences will be unofficially engineered in such a way that they will end in nothing, in fact end in accentuating differences and proving India unworthy of anything before America. I have reasons to believe this information as reliable provided you are not arrested again. You must be remembering in what exact terms I warned you in 1930 through Dr. Ansari and I trust you will manage better this time.

I must avoid coming to see you at Bombay until I have exhausted all efforts to make your meeting with Quaid-i-Azam possible. I hope you will not mind it in the interest of the country, as I understand that a report was recently issued from your office that I was coming over to see you to discuss the question of Hindu-Muslim understanding. I have, no doubt, been extremely pressed for this, but I still consider Mr. Jinnah the proper man for this unless he totally refuses to meet you. I shall then certainly meet you.

I hope you are getting better every day,

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

493

M. A. Jinnah to M. S. M. Sharma

SHC, P&P III/70

SRINAGAR,
28 June 1944

Dear Mr. Sharma,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 21st,[1] and thank you for it. I know nothing about Mr. Gazdar's statement, and I am afraid you are under a wrong impression. Of course, I shall be glad to see you when you are in Bombay, but you are not correctly informed that I am returning to Bombay by the end of June. According to my present plans, I don't think I shall reach Bombay till the end of July.

As regards your having a Muslim sub-editor on your staff, it will certainly receive my attention, and I will get in touch with Mr. Dinshaw, as you suggest. I will take this matter up as soon as I

can and let you know.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. S. M. Sharma, Esq.,
C/o The Central Bank of India,
Madura,
South India

No. 475.

494

Prem Nath Bazaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102B/304

SRINAGAR,
28 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Pandit Jagan Nath Sathu, the city reporter of our paper tells me that you have been keeping yourself informed of not only what appears in the *Hamdard* regarding state politics but that you have felt interested in the comments we had to offer regarding recent developments in Muslim politics here. I wonder if you would care to let me know what opinion you have formed about our daily. I feel it would help me a great deal if I could know this. I hope you will excuse me for this trouble.

Yours sincerely,
PREM NATH BAZAZ
Editor,
The daily Hamdard

495

M. A. Jinnah to Prem Nath Bazaz

F. 1102B/305

SRINAGAR,
29 June 1944

Dear Mr. Prem Nath Bazaz,

Many thanks for your letter of June 28th.[1] I have great pleasure in confirming my conversation with Pandit Jagan Nath Sathu that I read your paper more or less regularly and with interest, as I find that your writings, especially your leading articles, are based on true facts regarding the recent developments in Muslim politics in Kashmir. Your views are expressed with moderation and reason, and fairly, which should be the guiding principle of every responsible journal. The press can and has the power to mould and guide public opinion, and therefore there lies the corresponding responsibility that the great traditions of journalism should be observed and followed honourably. I have no doubt that your leading daily in Kashmir, the *Hamdard*, will always remain true to these traditions, and set an example to others.

Wishing you all success,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Prem Nath Bazaz, Esq., Editor,
The daily *Hamdard*, Srinagar

[1] No. 494.

496

Secretary, Jubbulpore Muslim League to Director-General, Posts & Telegraph
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 834/105-7

JUBBULPORE,
29 June 1944

Dear Sir,

Some Muslim students of the Telegraph Training Institute, Jubbulpore, complained to the President, Muslim League (Maulana

Mufti Mohammad Burhan-ul Haque) that they were unable to attend mosques for offering Friday prayers as the authorities had not made any provision for enabling Muslim students to attend the Friday congregational prayers in mosque without suffering any disadvantage in their training as the working hours of the Institute tallied with the actual time required by the Muslim students to go for attending the Friday congregational prayers in mosques. Consequently Messrs Abdul Rahman Khan, Pleader, Vice-President and Mr. Nazir Ahmad Khan, Contractor, Secretary, Town Muslim League were directed by the President to personally approach Mr. Umashanker, Superintendent of the Telegraph Training Institute and to explain to him the difficulties of the Muslim students in offering Friday congregational prayers in mosques and also to request him to be good enough to have a proper regard for the religious sentiments of his Muslim students. The said Superintendent Umashanker was also given some suggestions to which he said he had no personal objections but further said that in order to bring about change in the working hours on Fridays he would be required to consult others before passing necessary orders....

After waiting for quite a long time without hearing from the Superintendent, a letter was addressed to him on 13.5.44 requesting for information as to what was done with regard to the said grievances of the Muslim students. To our surprise, we received a reply that nothing could be done in the matter.... We are, therefore, constrained to appeal to your goodself as wielding superior powers over the Telegraph Training Institute, Jubbulpore to realize the gravity of the inconvenience and disability of the Muslim students of the Telegraph Training Institute to offer Friday congregational prayers and to direct the local authorities of the Telegraph Training Institute, Jubbulpore, by issuing necessary instruction to them that the said Institute be kept closed on Fridays during the hours of midday prayers from 1.30 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. for all students as otherwise the Muslim students would suffer in their training and their efficiency would be impaired if they alone are given leave and others are allowed to get along with their training.

An early action in the matter would highly oblige.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary,
Jubbulpore Town Muslim League

497

M. A. Jinnah to J. N. Wali

F. 1102B/308

SRINAGAR,
29 June 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 24th,[1] and I thank you for it. I have read it with great interest, but I regret that I am unable to give you a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Muslim University, Aligarh, as I am sure you will understand that if I once begin the practice of giving letters of recommendation, there will be no end to further applications pouring in, and if I take up the case of one, what justification can I put forward in refusing another? It has, therefore, been my firm determination not to undertake this task, which will require perhaps my opening a bureau for this purpose, which is impossible, having regard to the duties that I have to perform as the President of the All India Muslim League, which is mainly a political organisation. I, therefore, hope that you will understand and appreciate my refusal and take it in a proper spirit.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

J. N. Wali, Esq.,
Dookani Sangin,
3rd Bridge, Srinagar

J. N. Wali requested Jinnah's help for admission into B.Sc (Civil Engineering), in the Muslim University, Aligarh. See F. 1102B/309-10, *QAP*. Not printed.

498

S. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/39

KASHMIRI BAZAAR,
LAHORE,
29 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Hoping you will be gaining good health in Kashmir, the paradise of this world, as it is said by a Persian poet that "if there is a paradise on earth, it is this (Kashmir) and this place only."

We wish you to be young in physique as you are young in your determinations. We always wish you long and endless life.

We are enclosing a statement of royalty account of your book *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah* and a cheque for Rs. 594 (five hundred and ninety-four only). Please acknowledge.[1]

With affectionate regards,

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

[1]Jinnah acknowledged the cheque and informed him that this money would be sent to the ML Fund. See *SHC*, P&P I/41. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 498

SHC, P&P I/40

Royalty Account of Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah

Copies published	2,000
Books sold up to 31st of March'44	660
Price of a copy	Rs. 6
Total sale proceeds	Rs. 3,960
Royalty at the rate of 15%	Rs. 594

499

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102B/311

SRINAGAR,
29 June 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It was indeed very kind of Miss Jinnah and yourself to drop in to enquire about my daughter's health. By the grace of God, she is better now and keeps normal temperature for the last two days.

I would like to call on you on any day and at any time[1] suitable to you. Please let me know when it will be convenient.

With renewed thanks to Miss Jinnah and yourself for your visit and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

[1]"Monday, 3 July 1944, 11 a.m. at the Guest House" was noted by Jinnah in the margin.

500

Statement[1] *by Begum Bahadur Yar Jung*
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 976/47-8

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
30 June 1944

On the 25th June at 10 o'clock in the night, Dr. Mrs. Munawwar Ali telephoned to me but I could not myself talk to her as the telephone at the upper storey was out of order. I ordered that the instrument from below which is kept in the Guard Room be brought up. But instead I received information that Nawab Sahib has become senseless while smoking a *hooka* at the residence of Hashim Ali Khan Sahib and that I should bring Dr. Bahadur Khan with me. I went to Dr. Bahadur Khan's [residence] and was told that he was called for and had already left. About 10.30 in the night, I reached there. The males went aside and Mrs. Hashim Ali Khan and her sister and daughters came to receive me in a manner as if I had been invited to a party. I was bewildered and asked how he was, in what state and where he was. I was asked to come up and when I reached the verandah Mrs. Hashim Ali Khan told me that Nawab Sahib was finished. There were no signs of sorrow whatever on their faces but contrary to habit they were chewing *paan*. When I went to the deadbody, there was nobody beside it. The face and the lips were quite blue. Experienced people say that in a case of heart failure the colour does not change so quickly. I asked what had happened and what they had fed him with. I was told that he did not take anything. Asked how he died, Mrs. Hashim Ali Khan told me that he was finished in two pulls at the *hooka*. I demanded the *hooka* to be brought and shown to me and was told that it was in the adjoining room. I could not go and see the *hooka* as there were males there. If such a thing had happened at my place to my guest and if my heart were [*sic*] clean, I would have first of all shown the *hooka* and would have handed it over to the Police. These people did not do like that. From the deadbody I was taken away into another room. There, after ten minutes Lady Doctor Mrs. Maqbool Ali came and sat by my side. I asked her, "Have you seen the deadbody. How the colour has turned blue and how the lips are above all so blue." Without any hesitation

she replied, "What is there to see. God had sent death and he died. And now you should try to be as your husband was." At this I began to cry and she said, "Are you a Muslim to cry like this. And can Muslims like you make me a Muslim." I was badly hurt and did not talk to her. Mrs. Maqbool Ali was wearing a silk *sari*. She did not express any sympathy with me. Whether she was already there or had arrived later I do not know. The revolver that went off many years ago had wounded his thigh but he had never complained of any pain on this account, at any time. The revolver had wounded his right leg. In the knee of the left leg during winter he used to feel pain. After the death of the Nawab Sahib, I have informed every important personage that Nawab Sahib died of poisoning through the *hooka*. Even now, I suspect this. Complete inquiries and investigation may be held and I may be informed. Out of the invitees at Hashim Ali Khan's, it is only Qazi Abdul Gaffar, Editor of the daily *Piam*, who had differences with him on political grounds. It was Hashim Ali Khan himself who had tried to bring these two together for a better understanding. The late Nawab Sahib was not used to taking supper at night but would take some fruits, milk or some light diet. He used to take a full lunch.

Read out and accepted as correct in person. In our presence, the above notes were taken [by Abdul Naeem Khan, Assistant Superintendent of C.I.D] from the Begum Sahiba in person.

SHAH ALAM KHAN
BHIKAN KHAN

[1]Forwarded to Jinnah by S. Allah Bux, Private Secretary to Bahadur Yar Jung. See F. 976, 44-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

501

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/37

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
30 June 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith enclosing a cutting from the daily *Al-Wahid* of 29th June 1944, for your perusal. This gives a report of the proceedings of a

meeting of the shareholders of the Al-Wahid Company held on 28th June 1944. I, though a Director, purposely did not attend the meeting in order to leave the entire field to Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon and the Hon'ble K. B. M. A. Khuhro. I had already brought it to your notice that they are working against Mr. G. M. Sayed. In this meeting, they expelled Mr. Sayed (who was also absent) from the Board of Directors and secondly they approved of the conduct of and congratulated the Editor for criticising G. M. Sayed and the entire Provincial League in the issue of *Al-Wahid* of 16th May 1944, after the annual elections for not re-electing Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon as the General Secretary [*sic*]. Lastly they passed a resolution determining the policy of the paper as independent of that of the Muslim League. I have apprised Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain of the whole thing. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Vice-President and now Acting President of the Provincial Muslim League, Sind, saw me yesterday and complained that after the provincial elections held on the 15th May 1944, the *Al-Wahid* had not published any matter sent by the Provincial Muslim League office.

The Al-Wahid Company was started and control taken over by the late Sir Abdoola Haroon to serve the Muslim League. We all subscribed and also asked others to do so to strengthen the League. But the paper is now being used to hit G. M. Sayed and the League as long as the former remains President. The paper's policy is that of a paper which appears to be personal property of Haroons. I am writing all this for your information.

Certain developments have taken place here and in Delhi as a result of my speech in the conference held at Rawalpindi by the Students Federation on 18th June 1944. I would like to have a talk with you on the subject. Our Assembly is being called on 17th July 1944, and it is likely to last for a week. If it conflicts with the dates of meetings of the Working Committee and the Council which you propose to call in Lahore, I would request you to ask the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain to fix these dates so that we may be all able to go to Lahore.

With best regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. H. GAZDAR

Enclosure to No. 501
Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shareholders of Al-Wahid Company

SHC, Sind I/38
[*Original in Sindhi*]
29 June 1944

Karachi 28 [June]: Annual meeting of the shareholders of Al-Wahid Company Limited was held today at 10.30 a.m. under the chairmanship of Sheikh Abdul Majid, in which minutes of the last meeting and accounts of the year 1943, were passed.

Two seats of Director vacated after the retirement of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and Mr. G. M. Sayed were filled in by the Board of Directors. Khuhro was re-elected as Director but G.M. Sayed was replaced by K. B. Ghulam Muhammad Khan Wasan as Director.

An editorial note of *Al-Wahid*, published on 16 May 1944, on the issue of Sind Provincial Muslim League election, as pointed out by a Director, was against Muslim League policy. A resolution was passed that the objection is not valid. The editor represented the whole nation in his leading article of 16 May 1944, who should be congratulated. *Al-Wahid* is not the property of Muslim League. This is an independent newspaper and it independently represents the nation, and it will work freely in future.

502

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 98/45-6

EXPRESS

POONA,
30 June 1944

My letter of seventeenth April[1] touching matter personally discussed on 8th April remains yet unanswerd. Have not [*sic* for now] met Gandhiji who still stands by Formula presented to you by me. I would like now publish the Formula and your rejection. This telegram is sent with Gandhiji's approval. I would like you at this juncture reconsider your rejection.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]No. 278.

503

Atma Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/314

SAIDPUR ROAD,
RAWALPINDI,
1 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was really stunned to hear [of] the sudden and untimely demise of our friend Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. Really he was a jewel and it is an irreparable loss to the community and his friends. He has chosen eternal abode for himself and let us pray [to] the Almighty that his noble soul be bestowed with everlasting peace and the survivors [granted] fortitude to bear such a severe shock.

I have sent a condolence telegram to Begum Sahiba at Hyderabad.

Please accept my best sympathies.[1]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ATMA SINGH

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the condolence message. See F. 1102/315, *QAP* Not printed.

504

Said Ahmad Zia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 979/26-7

MUZAFFARABAD,
(KASHMIR),
1 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I shall be highly obliged to you if your honour will very kindly intimate to me about the date and time of your departure from Srinagar and arrival at Domel.[1]

Furthermore, I shall be highly obliged if your honour and Miss Jinnah will very kindly accept my poor dinner.

I hope your honour will be kind enough as [*sic*] to accept my invitation and inform me.

Yours affectionately,
SAID AHMAD ZIA
B.A., LL.B., *Advocate*
President, District Muslim Conference

[1]No. 530.

505

M. H. Saiyid to Naseer Ahmad Sheikh

SHC, OM II/23

REGISTERED

SRINAGAR,
1 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of Quaid-i-Azam's letter to you dated May 21st,[1] and also of the one which I wrote to you on June 10th,[2] as apparently these letters have not been received by you.

Mr. Jinnah is anxious to have this matter put right, and he would therefore be much obliged if you would kindly let him have a fresh cheque for Rs. 25,000 in replacement of your cheque No. 39435, which was returned to you with his letter of May 21st on account of some alteration in the date.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. H. SAIYID
Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

Naseer Ahmad Sheikh, Esq.,
P.O. Box 207,
Lahore

[1&2]See *SHC*, OM II/19&20. Not printed.

506

Midrarullah Midrar Mardani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/40-1
[Original in Urdu]

HOTI, MARDAN,
1 July 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

In pursuance of a premeditated scheme, the Congress has been active in the tribal areas for a long time and its special agents have been staying there for propaganda purposes. On the other hand, the Muslim League has paid no attention as yet to conveying its message to those people although it was badly needed. I, therefore, found it necessary to tour some of the important places in Mohmand, Charmung, Bajaur and Jandul tribal areas and convey your message of unity and cooperation to the *'Ulama, Sajjada Nashins,* political leaders and the general public. There I tried to make them understand the aims and objects of the Muslim League and pros and cons of Pakistan issue. As, by the grace of God, I have close relations with these people and I possess vast knowledge of the conditions prevailing in this part of the country, I had great success in attracting people towards the Muslim League which badly disturbed the Congress workers active there. The success of my visit can be gauged by the fact that after my return from the tour, the Hindu press started publishing concocted stories about failure of my mission in these areas, on the basis of misleading information. The enclosed clipping from the *Milap* of 16th June is an example.[1] I refuted this in a detailed statement in the newspapers including the *Shahbaz* of 22nd June.[2] Hope you will appreciate my efforts and consider the need for preparing a propaganda scheme for tribal areas. In this regard, you can rest assured of my services and those of my co-workers. There are good prospects for Muslim League to promote its programme there. At the same time, I would request you to send your message for the tribal people, especially for the leader of Bajaur, Hazrat Gul Sahib, so that I may arrange to hand it over to him. In case you propose to get this message published in the newspapers, these papers will be sent to them. This gesture will produce good

results for Muslim League.

Hope you are enjoying good health.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
MIDRARULLAH MARDANI
Secretary-General, Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama

[1&2]Enclosures 1&2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 506
Congress Propaganda in Tribal Areas

F. 829/43

[Original in Urdu]

MARDAN,
13 June 1944

PRESS REPORT[1]

Importance being given to Congress in North-West Frontier Province cannot be denied even in the tribal areas. People here are getting more and more sympathetic towards the Congress. No Muslim League worker has dared to propagate against the Congress.

Maulana Midrarullah Mardani, Secretary-General, Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama, confident of his religious influence among the tribesmen, did not have much success in propagating the cause of Muslim League.

The workers sent by the Congress to the tribal belt were warmly welcomed wherever they went. These workers were the honourable guests of Hazrat Gul Sahib and were continuing with their mission.

[1]The daily *Milap*, 16 June 1944.

Enclosure 2 to No. 506
Statement by Maulana Midrarullah Midrar Mardani

F. 829/42

[*Original in Urdu*]

MARDAN,
17 June 1944

PROPAGATION FOR PAKISTAN IN TRIBAL AREAS AS THE NATIONAL GOAL[1]

In view of the imperative need of conveying the voice of Muslim League and the message of the Quaid-i-Azam, I decided to visit Mohmand area on 19 May 1944. I held meetings with the *Sardars* of Mohmand and Qandhari tribes and explained to them the viewpoint of Muslim League and the objective of Pakistan.

Later, I went to Ghaziabad to meet the renowned Badshah Gul with whom I discussed the Muslim League programme and conveyed the sympathetic and affectionate views of the Quaid-i-Azam about him. In reply, Badshah Gul stressed the need for strengthening a Muslim organisation rather than the Congress. However, he expressed the view that the Frontier Pathans should get organised under their own tribal system.

Then, I left for Bajaur where I exchanged views with the local *Sardars*. Here, I stayed with my respected friend, Gul Sahib, who is an influential religious leader of all the tribes in that area, who had participated in all the *Jehadi* struggles. He is getting Rs. six thousand as annual stipend from the Afghan Government in recognition of his services in the religious field. I conveyed the message of Quaid-i-Azam to him and he reciprocated with good wishes to the great leader. Although a few Congress workers were staying with Gul Sahib, I can say with full confidence that he himself was in favour of the League, a view also expressed in one of his recent speeches.

I also made a speech after *Jum'a* prayers attended by eminent religious leaders and local *Sardars* during the course of which I dwelt at length on the genesis of League's objective—Pakistan.

At Khar, the local politician and Chief Secretary to the Nawab expressed their sympathy and support to the League.

Hazrat Gul Sahib gave a message to the Muslims of the sub-continent in which he expressed his solidarity with their cause—Pakistan, and prayed for its achievement.

In view of the above, let papers like the *Milap* determine if my tour was a success or a failure.

[1]The daily *Shahbaz,* 22 June 1944.

507

M. Timur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/316-7

TOURISTS HOTEL,
GULMARG,
2 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I went to the P.W.D. Office this morning and asked about Lady Shafi's hut. The clerk read out the whole list to me. The only hut which can in any way be connected with Lady Shafi's name is the one leased to Justice A. Rashid. This is No. 82 and is 5 minutes' walk from the Club. It is a clear and quiet place. Though near the Club, it is secluded from the more frequented roads by a thickly wooded ridge. In my opinion, it is an ideal place to sojourn for a week. The hut has three bedrooms, a dining room, drawing room, kitchen and servants' quarters. The rooms are well-furnished. There is crockery but no cooking utensils which will have to be brought from Srinagar. Justice Rashid does not live here, for the height does not suit his wife. He lives at Shanpura, Srinagar, but his *chowkidar* told me that he would be coming here in a day or two, probably for a short stay. If you think it advisable you can communicate with Justice Rashid at Srinagar instead of wiring to Lady Shafi. This is the most suitable hut I have so far been able to find here. I am told, however, that there are some huts reserved for State guests, but they are not furnished. Please let me know if you decide to come here.[1] The weather here these days is beautiful. I shall be glad to do anything I can to make your stay comfortable.

Yours most sincerely,
M. TIMUR

[1]Thanking him in reply, Jinnah said he hoped to see him if he went to Gulmarg. See F. 1102 318, *QAP.* Not printed

508

M. A. Jinnah to C. Rajagopalachari

Telegram, F. 98/47A

[SRINAGAR,]
2 July 1944

Your request[1] to publish your Formula. Your wrong version our talk that I rejected your Formula is unfair surprising. True facts are I was willing place your Formula before Working Committee Muslim League although it was not open to any modification but you did not agree allow me do so. Hence no further step was taken. My reaction was that I could not personally take responsibility of accepting or rejecting it and my position remains same today. If Mr. Gandhi even now sends me direct his proposal, I am willing place it before Muslim League Working Committee.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 502.

509

Bahauddin Mhamood Salcem Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/208
[Original in Urdu]

DAR-UL-MUTALE'A,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
3 July 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

May you live long! I thank you for your letter.[1] I had informed you earlier that I had set up a reading room by the name of Dar-ul-Mutale'a Hameedia which has now been renamed as Dar-ul-Mutale'a Bayadgar Quaid-i-Millat, in memory of late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung who was its Patron. I intend to hold a meeting in memory of the departed leader in the last week of July and shall be grateful if you could very kindly send a message for this occasion.

Although we are not directly concerned with the Punjab politics, yet as Muslims we feel concerned by the gross misconduct of the

Punjab Premier Malik Khizar Hayat and with your permission wish to send him a letter condemning his actions so that he repents and to let him know that, besides Muslims of India, Muslims of Deccan look with contempt at what he had done.

We shall be eagerly awaiting your reply.[2]

Your loyal servant,
BAHAUDDIN MHAMOOD SALEEM SIDDIQI
Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Ittehad, City College

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 547.

510

Babu Ram Saksena to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/11

FARRUKHABAD,
3 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I am sending you a copy[1] of my Urdu booklet *Jamal-e-Kashmir* for your kind perusal. I have sent copies of the same to many important personages interested in Urdu poetry or those men of learning who have visited Kashmir. They have very kindly acknowledged it with their appreciation.

I hope you will kindly accept this humble present and acknowledge receipt of the same, and find it a faithful picture of the interesting sceneries of Kashmir.

Yours faithfully,
BABU RAM
[*Advocate*]

[1]Jinnah acknowledged receipt of the booklet. The author was a well-known historian of Urdu literature. See F. 926/12, *QAP*. Not printed.

511

Munadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/15

BHAGATALAB ROAD,
SURAT,
3 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Our brethren in South Africa are holding a big educational and cultural conference—the first of its kind there—in Durban, at the end of this month.

The Reception Committee have charged me to obtain [*sic* for with obtaining] a message of blessings and guidance for the conference from you and cabling the same to them so as to reach in time for us. The original will, of course, follow by air mail.

They and I shall be very grateful if you will kindly send me such a message.[1] I shall do the needful by way of forwarding the same to them.

You are not unaware that these friends are highly League-minded, its true lovers and keen supporters. They deserve the Quaid-i-Azam's love, guidance and encouragement. Your message will surely hearten them to some practical action.

Yours sincerely,
MUNADI
Editor,
The Muslim Gujrat

[1]See Enclosure to No. 555.

512

M. Mozaffar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 853/7

KATRA SHAHAB KHAN,
ETAWAH,
3 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

From A.P.I.'s report it appears you are leaving Kashmir about the

15th of this month. Maulana Hasrat Mohani and myself are anxious to see you and, if possible, to assist you in the task of an honourable understanding with Mr. Gandhi on the basis of complete independence for India embracing the principle of Pakistan. Our services are at your disposal and should you think it worthwhile, please let me know when we can see you at Delhi or Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
M. MOZAFFAR

513

K. T. Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/194

8 LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY 7,
3 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have quite recently brought out a book entitled *Why Pakistan—And Why Not*, a copy of which I have taken the liberty to have sent on to you.[1] The book is written in the form of a Socratic dialogue, or rather a round-table discussion by representatives of all shades of opinion, who try to examine the problem from every standpoint. The spokesmen of the different schools are, of course, imaginary characters; but you will, I think, easily trace echoes of the leading schools of thought on the subject, put in the mouth of those most effectively representing that particular shade of opinion. There are fourteen participants in the discussion—five Hindus, four Muslims, three Christians, one Sikh and his German-Jewish wife. Alternatively, there are three women, and the rest men of whom one is an actual and one a former administrator; one a college professor, who had been a journalist; one a doctor; one a former public servant (called *'Allama*); three lawyers who have also been active politicians, of whom one is a Congressman, one represents the Mahasabha view, and one a Muslim. The discussion is carried on, as far as I could make it, as between university research workers, i.e. dispassionately and amicably on the whole. The social, cultural, financial, industrial, as well as political and constitutional points of view and considerations have been duly taken into account from every angle. The writer does not offer his own solution, and tries to keep his

own view, if any, studiedly in the background—though, of course, the general inclination would be easily noticeable. The style is light, as of a play, and I venture to think that, even on a holiday, it might prove good reading. I shall be grateful if you will let me have your reaction at your convenience.

Hoping you are enjoying your holiday, and are in the best of health; and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. T. SHAH

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the book. Prof. K. T. Shah was well-known Indian writer. See F. 878/210, *QAP*. Not printed.

514

Syed Allah Bakhsh Shah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/17

OFFICE SALAR-I-KHAS HIND,
DALELPURWA, CAWNPORE,
3 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am attaching herewith the cutting of a newspaper from which you will know that I have been appointed Salar-i-Khas Hind, by Idara-i-'Aaliya. As you have paid [*sic* for turned] a deaf ear to all the repeated requests of Allama Mashriqi for Hindu-Muslim unity, I have been ordered to tour all over India—from district to district, tehsil to tehsil, town to town and village to village—and make the public realise that your despair and inaction are the only hindrance in the way to achieve Pakistan.

Before starting my work I deem it my religious duty to inform you about my future programme. I will wait for your reply for a fortnight and if no hopeful response came [*sic*] from you, I will begin my campaign with all the three million Khaksars at my back.

Yours sincerely,
SYED ALLAH BAKHSH SHAH
Salar-i-Khas Hind

Enclosure to No. 514

KHAKSAR CAMPAIGN FOR UNITY

SHC, APMO/18

Allama Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, has started an India-wide campaign for Hindu-Muslim unity. In this connection, he has appointed one of his lieutenants, Mr. Syed Allah Bakhsh Shah, M. A., as Salar-i-Khas Hind, who will be in charge of this campaign. Allama Mashriqi has ordered him to tour all over India and send him suggestions as to how to induce public to compel Mr. Jinnah to see Mr. Gandhi in order to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. He has stressed upon the point that Hindu -Muslim unity is not only essential for the complete freedom of India but it is equally important for the achievement of Pakistan as well. The office of Salar-i-Khas Hind has been established in Cawnpore and he has begun his work.

515

Mahmood Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/41

THE *DAWN*,
P.O. BOX NO. 103,
DELHI,
4 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 24th June,[1] which reached me on the 29th. I have gone through the list of machines carefully, and I am of opinion that the entire machinery will be useful to us. As a matter of fact, with the addition of a few Linotype composing machines we could equip a fairly good press, both for Urdu and English newspaper printing. As instructed by you, I shall go over to Lahore about the end of this month and see the condition of the machines, etc.

I made enquiries from the Linotype Co. about the two Linotype machines which are available in Lahore. My information is that these machines were purchased by Lala Harkishan Lal years ago and since the day of purchase they have not been seen by the Linotype Co. people. Major repairs in these machines, which had been very badly handled, were made locally with the result that some very important parts are in a hopeless condition. The opinion of the Linotype Co. is

that they are worthless and it shall not be wise going in for them. The only course left open to us is that we should immediately import the six new Linotype machines from America, as contemplated. Nawabzada Sahib will speak to you about this and request you for a cheque for Rs. 22,500, being the amount of advance for these machines.

With respectful regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
MAHMOOD HASAN

[1]Jinnah had written to Mahmood Hasan about the possibility of purchase of printing machinery in Lahore. See *SHC*, P&P II/39. Not printed.

516

Ali M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/46

4 JAMAICA STREET,
EDINBURGH 3, UK,
4 July 1944

Dear Sir,

Here in this country, as you might know, there is a strong body known as the India League which is exploiting Muslim energy against Muslims and Islam. I have been reading for a few months some of the pamphlets written by Mr. Akbar Khan and published by *Hindustan Press*, Coventry. These pamphlets are in a highly objectionable tone and their obvious purpose is to efface Islam from the face of the world. They have started a new movement designated as "Paci-Red" which clearly indicates Hindu ambition to rule all over the best part of the world, i.e. all Muslim countries stretching from Algeria to China. I wrote a very long letter to the above-mentioned Mr. Khan, giving scientific reasons against his crude and unscientific views and asked him to return to his religion to serve and uphold its cause instead of playing in the hands of its hostile host. He has sent me a letter in answer to mine giving not a single reason to refute my assertions but called Muslims, me and Islam names and has threatened me with these words, "The pity is that people like you are courting the fate that befell the Muslims in Spain." It is obvious that a Muslim shall have no place in India for him. He must either desert his religion or leave the

country. Majority of the Muslims are still unconscious [*sic*] while Hindus are misleading them to commit suicide by throwing themselves from a precipice. I suddenly got conscious of the danger ahead. Though, as a matter of fact, I have no time to devote to such activities, yet I feel it my duty to stand up to defend, to serve and to uphold the cause of Islam to my utmost capacity. I, thus, am soon publishing a pamphlet refuting their crude and unscientific arguments by quoting *Qur'an* and modern sciences such as Psychology and Sociology, copy of which will be forwarded to you soon after its publication.

It will not only be my efforts to perform such a difficult task against a ruthless enemy but I will have a very active cooperation of my friends here.

I would need your help urgently to publish further pamphlets. Would you, therefore, be kind enough to supply me with full statistics regarding membership of Muslim League, Congress and other bodies. It will also be very useful for the purpose if you will please send me the latest Census report, indicating in brief population of each province separately and denoting the strength of each religious party. Besides that, would you please furnish me with other necessary matters that may be useful for me here in waging this conflict of arguments.

My all effort will be to establish a strong branch of M. L. here not only because there are considerable Indian Muslims living here but also because of its dire need to put forth our views and claims before the people in this country who will decide the future fate of India. Would you, therefore, please authorize me to register members for it and intimate full instructions.

Awaiting your reply at your earliest,

I am,
Yours faithfully,
ALI M. KHAN

517

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 344/106-8

ZARAFSHAN,
LAHORE,
4 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a cutting of a statement I gave to the press a

few days ago. This cutting is from the *Civil & Military Gazette* and it was published by all the leading English and Indian newspapers in India. I am sending it to you as I thought it might interest you to know what I have said.

2. Since last May, I have intensified the work of the League in Lahore city. Every Friday at prayer time, I go to mosques in the city accompanied by leading workers and explain the policy and programme of the League to Muslims. Three times a week I lead a deputation to leading wards and *mohallas* in the city accompanied by leading Muslims of the locality, and enrol members of our League in large numbers. The heat is terrific; sometimes 115 degrees in the shade, and it is extremely uncomfortable and tiring to go in the bazaars. But in spite of it, I am carrying on this programme of enrolling members all over the city. Apart from this, I am carrying on my general work for the advancement of the League cause. Owing to the promulgation of Section 144,[1] no public meetings could be arranged so far. The Section has terminated now and we hope to have some meetings shortly.

3. When having a talk with you on the evening of 6th of May before your departure for Kashmir, you asked me to go ahead with the work and propaganda for the League cause in Lahore and you said that in all this work "we are behind you". In my sphere and in the place where I am in charge, everything will be done but I hope that the words spoken by you and quoted above will stand as without this there would be no point in doing anything.

4. For over a year now we have wanted to hold a Lahore City Muslim League Conference, but unfortunately owing to unforeseen circumstances, it has had to be postponed twice. When Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was in Lahore last month, I had a talk with him and at my request he has promised to preside over our Conference. He promised me that he will let me know the dates very soon and that they will be some time towards the 3rd or 4th week of July. I have written to him to-day to let me know about this immediately so that I can announce the dates.

5. I have suggested to him and he welcomed the idea that the Conference should be round about the time when the Council of the All India Muslim League meets in Lahore.

6. I have to request you now on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Conference and also the Lahore City Muslim League to kindly open the Conference. You will no doubt realise that at this critical stage of Punjab politics, this League Conference in Lahore, having the good fortune to be opened by you and presided over by Liaquat Ali Khan, will have a very great and beneficial effect on the cause of the

League and the strengthening of its organization in the Punjab.

7. I have discussed about the Conference with the President of the Punjab Muslim League, Nawab of Mamdot, and he is absolutely in accord with me that this is the most appropriate occasion to have it and he thinks it an excellent thing that you should open the Conference and that you could possibly have no objection to opening the Conference. I have started the spadework for the Conference and as soon as I hear from Liaquat Ali Khan, I will announce the dates.

8. I hope you are keeping quite well and [that] the bracing air of Kashmir has had an invigorating effect on your health. May I hope to hear from you?[2]

Yours sincerely,
NAWABZADA RASHID ALI KHAN
[*President, City Muslim League*]

[1]A provision of law in the Criminal Procedure Code prohibiting assembly of five or more persons at a public place.
[2]No. 557.

Enclosure to No. 517
Statement by Rashid Ali Khan[1]

F. 579/100-1

14 June 1944

LEAGUE READY FOR SETTLEMENT BUT PAKISTAN DEMAND MUST BE ACCEPTED

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi and Congress

"A settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress is the only guarantee of India's freedom. We, in the Muslim League, hope that Mr. Gandhi, with his great sense of looking at the practical side of things, will rise to the occasion and endeavour to come to a settlement with the leader of the All India Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah," says Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, President of the Lahore City Muslim League, in a statement to the press.

"It must be remembered that what has always stood in the way of a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League has been the tendency on the part of the Congress to monopolise all power in the country to the exclusion and detriment of Muslims. The Muslims of India have chosen their goal of Pakistan. It must be clear to even the most rabid Congressite that, without the consent of the Muslims of India, no constitution can work in this country."

"I can venture to say that the Muslim League is ready and willing to come to a settlement, provided its demand for Pakistan is conceded or accepted in principle. We will not press it during the period of the War. Once the League demand for Pakistan is accepted, there can be an understanding on details of the settlement."

"I regret that certain Congressites in the Punjab are working against a Congress-League settlement and are thus doing the greatest disservice to their country."

Concluding, he says: "I am confident that, as the Congress leadership comes to realise the strength of the Muslim demand, all these voices, which are now raised to create mischief and bar the way to a settlement, will be silenced and the antagonism of centuries, which has smouldered beneath the surface of Hindu-Muslim relations, will die out and the two nations will settle down to work out their separate destinies in their own way, for the freedom and glory of India in the new world to come."

[1]See the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 14 June 1944.

518

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 98/48-51

DILKUSHA,
PANCHGANI,
4 July 1944

Thanks [for] telegram.[1] My letter seventeenth April[2] showed how I felt over what I thought was rejection of Formula so far as you were personally concerned. Shall be glad indeed if as your telegram suggests, you did not reject it. Gandhiji, though vested with representative or special authority in this matter, definitely approved my proposal and authorized me to approach you on that basis. Now again he reaffirms his assent. Weight of his opinion would most probably secure Congress acceptance. You were unwilling to accept my proposal but were willing to place it before the League Council. I think no purpose served by such procedure so long as it does not have your own support.

RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]No. 508.
[2]No. 278.

519

M. A. Jinnah to Azizul Haque

F. 1011/18

SRINAGAR,
4 July 1944

Dear Sir Azizul Haque,

With reference to our recent conversation, I hope that you will give your early attention to the following two papers, whose applications have already been, I understand, forwarded to you:

First, *Eqdam* in Lahore. This is going to be Muslim League's Urdu daily.

Second, *Manshoor*, which we have been running along with the *Dawn* for a considerable time as a weekly. We have now decided to make it a daily, and that application also has been forwarded to your Department.

I understand that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has already discussed the matter with you with regard to *Eqdam* recently while he was in Delhi.

I do hope that you will expedite the matter and much oblige [me],

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Sir Azizul Haque,
Member, Viceroy's Executive Council,
New Delhi

520

Mian Hafizur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/196-7

PUNJABI ISLAMIA
HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOL,
SADAR BAZAR,
DELHI,
5 July 1944

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Since the moment I received the shocking news of the death of that

brave son of Islam, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung (may peace be upon him), I have been rather in a fix and unable to determine as to who is the most direct and closest target of this blow, yourself or Begum Bahadur Khan, or my own self or each and every Musalman of India. As a matter of fact every Musalman is sorely afflicted by this unexpected blow and everyone deserves condolence. Stark reality as it is, my judgement urges me to believe that our Quaid-i-Azam must be the most sorrow-stricken of us all as his right arm, that our *Quaid-i-Millat* was, has been all of a sudden amputated. No doubt, in the words of the deceased, "He was the heart and you are the brain of the Muslim nation." Who can, therefore, be more bereaved than yourself! Hence my duty is to send my message of condolence first to you and then to Begum Bahadur Khan and after that to all and sundry. O God! Grant unto us [an] other Bahadur Yar Jung and shower Thy blessings upon that brave soul! O God! We were already poor in men and are the poorer by this fresh loss! O God! Make good this loss of Thy faithful servants!

I am,
dear Quaid-i-Azam,
a humble servant of Islam ,
HAFIZUR RAHMAN
Principal

521

M. A. Jinnah to C. Rajagopalachari

Telegram, F. 98/52

5 July 1944

Rajagopalachari, Dilkusha, Panchgani
Regret unable go beyond my telegram second July.[1]

JINNAH

[1]No. 508.

522

M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/ 85

35-A FEROZEPUR ROAD,
LAHORE,
5 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have keenly followed the news of your activities through the columns of the *Dawn* and locally as well. I am glad you are well and enjoying the much-needed rest.

The scheme for an English daily for which you did so much during your last visit to Lahore has not made any progress in your absence. Intimation from my bank has reached me that the cheque drawn in this connection has been credited, but I wonder why you delayed its presentation. It is my earnest desire to see a first-rate English daily of the League functioning in this Province and I pray for the success of your efforts.

My brother Taqi wishes to be associated with the newspaper scheme, and I shall, therefore, be pleased to have the contribution as from both of us.

I shall close with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. RAFI BUTT

523

Hasanali Khan & Others[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

Telegram, F. 701/96

[MUZAFFARNAGAR,]
6 July 1944

Provincial Working Committee on first July proposed to contest Municipal elections, recommended to form Parliamentary Board of 25

members. On second July the Council met under Nawab Ismail. [Z. H.] Lari moved resolution forming Parliamentary Board. Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman opposed contesting elections. Council adopted resolution. The President invited names for Board. About 40 names were proposed, including Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Aziz Ahmad, Jamal Mian, Kareemurraza, Lari, Zahoor Ahmed, Shoukat Ali, and others withdrew their names and refused [to] serve Board. Khaliq-uz-Zaman even resigned legislature leadership. Council adopted 21 names and formed Board with Rizwanullah as Convener, rest had withdrawn. President authorised to nominate two. Raja Mahmoodabad and Aizaz Rasool were in view. Next Nawab Ismail asked Council to allow four months leave as he had urgent personal work. House persistently requested Nawab Sahib not go on leave. Nawab Ismail informed House that he had spoken to Mr. Jinnah at Lahore who had relieved him. Then House agreed and asked to nominate Acting President. Nawab Ismail invited names for Acting President. Rizwanullah proposed Khaliq-uz-Zaman for Acting President. Khaliq-uz-Zaman withdrew his name. Rizwanullah having withdrawn twice was pressed by House to agree. Ultimately Ahmad Ashraf and Rizwanullah were proposed. Election took place. Ashraf got 23 and by overwhelming majority Rizwanullah was elected Acting President. Nawab Ismail invited Rizwanullah to occupy chair. In spite Rizwanullah's reluctance, Nawab Ismail asked him to take up presidential duties from that very moment. Rizwanullah occupied chair and requested House to help in discharge of [duties of] Acting President. Next Rizwanullah asked House to elect Convener Parliamentary Board as he has become Acting President, House authorised Board to elect Convener. Then General Secretary asked Acting President to adjourn House. Rizwanullah taking sense adjourned House. Next morning Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Begum Aizaz Rasool, Jamal Mian, Kareemurraza, Zahoor Ahmed resigned from Working Committee membership. They addressed their resignation to Rizwanullah. On fifth July, Rizwanullah received copy of letter addressed to General Secretary by Nawab Ismail informing Secretary that he is not going on leave. Situation is Rizwanullah has been elected by Council as Acting President for four months. He had taken charge and accepted resignation of those members of Working Committee who refused to work with him. Requisition has been made by 28 members to

summon extraordinary meeting of the Council to consider the situation. On the requisition of members, the Acting President ordered the General Secretary to issue agenda and summon extraordinary meeting of the Council on 23 July at Muzaffarnagar. Members of the Council look upon Nawab Ismail return to office on a pretext to protect those members of Working Committee who revolted; resigned and flouted the decision of Council. Immediate sitting of the Council is the urgent need of the hour. Pray advise and guidance.

HASANALI KHAN
President, Muzaffarnagar League

Post copy of this telegram was signed by Rao Abdul Hameed Khan, Muzaffarnagar; Kunwar Mushtaq Ali Khan, President, Muttra League; Ghazanfarullah, MLA, Allahabad; M. Shairzaman Khan, Vice-President, Muttra League.

524

Nizamuddeen Hyder to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/204

KAKORI,
LUCKNOW,
6 July 1944

Dear Sir,

Some time ago, I sent you a copy of my book in English, *Talks on Rural Development in India*. It has been rendered into Roman Hindustani and published by the Translation Department of the U.P. Government, with the title, *Gram Sudhar ke bare mein do do baten*. It is a complete translation of the English book, with the addition of three chapters at the end, meant specially for villagers and rural development workers in villages.

The Secretary to the U.P. Government, in charge of the Translation Department, has been kind enough to present some printed copies to me. I am despatching one of them to your address separately by post. I hope you will accept it and read it at your convenience.

Yours faithfully,
NIZAMUDDEEN HYDER

525

M. A. Jinnah to Midrarullah Midrar Mardani

F. 829/39

SRINAGAR,
6 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of July 1st.[1] I am glad that you have been explaining to the people of your District the aims, policy, and the programme of the Muslim League, and I wish you all success in your efforts. A Committee of Action has been appointed by the All India Muslim League, and now the function of organizing the League has been delegated to this Committee. I request you that in future you should get in touch with the Convener of the Committee of Action, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, whose address is 8A, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi. Please convey my thanks to all those who are supporting the League, particularly Hazrat Gul Sahib.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abur Ridwan Midrarullah Midrar Mardani,
General Secretary,
Jamiy'yat al-'Ulama, N.W.F.P.,
Hoti, Mardan

[1]No. 506.

526

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Qadir

F. 905/47

SRINAGAR,
6 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter,[1] and I hope to be in Rawalpindi on my way back to Lahore. I would certainly take the opportunity of visiting your institution,[2] if it can be arranged in my programme, but you know I shall be entirely in the hands of Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani, who is the Secretary, District Muslim League, Rawalpindi. I

will get in touch with him regarding my programme there.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Qadir, Esq.,
Organiser,
Yatim Khana wa Madrasah,
Anjuman Faizul Islam,
Rawalpindi

[1]No. 490.
[2]Jinnah visited Anjuman Faizul Islam on 27 July 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 528.

527

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

SRINAGAR,
6 July 1944

My dear Liaquat,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 22,500 as arranged by way of deposit required for the order of the machinery, which I have under the terms of the arrangement to pay to Messrs Linotype & Machinery, Limited, Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
Houseboat "Sheila Anne",
Srinagar

528

M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau

F. 1102 B/459

SRINAGAR,
6 July 1944

Dear Sir B. N. Rau,

I am enclosing herewith a reply[1] to my application[2] for petrol for the

month of July. It is quite correct that at present I am using the State car until the 15th, but I have decided to extend my stay in Kashmir till about the end of July, and, therefore, I shall need some petrol for this month, and also to enable me to get to Lahore. Would you, therefore, be good enough to see that I get some petrol for the latter half of this month, and also to enable me to reach Lahore by the car which is with me.

M. A. JINNAH

Sir B.N. Rau,
Prime Minister,
His Highness' Government, Jammu & Kashmir,
Srinagar

[1&2]Not traceable.

529

M. A. Jinnah to Hameed Nizami

F. 396/15

SRINAGAR,
7 July 1944

Dear Mr. Nizami,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and telegram,[2] asking me to send you a message for your paper, the *Nawa-i-Waqt* weekly.

I trust that your paper will support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, and I wish it all success.

As regards the inauguration, when I am in Lahore I will be better able to know whether I can undertake this task.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A. H. Nizami, Esq.,
Managing Editor,
The *Nawa-i-Waqt* weekly
8 Beadon Road, Lahore

[1]No. 480.
[2]See F. 396/13, *QAP*. Not printed.

530

M. A. Jinnah to Said Ahmad Zia

F. 979/28

SRINAGAR,
7 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 1st,[1] and beg to inform you that according to my present programme, I propose to leave Srinagar on the morning of July 25th, and have already agreed to halt at Baramulla for a short time, and thereafter at Uri, reaching Domel in the evening, where I shall stay for the night. I must leave Domel on the morning of the 26th for Pindi. Sh. Abdul Rahman, Secretary, District Muslim Conference, Muzaffarabad, saw me this morning, and I have fully explained to him that I have got to get to Lahore on the 28th for the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, and this is the programme I wish to follow.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Said Ahmad Zia, Esq., B. A., LL. B.,
President, District Muslim Conference,
Muzaffarabad, Kashmir

·No. 504.

531

A. R. Changez to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/99

NEAR MASJID KAILIANWALI,
RAWALPINDI,
7 July 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be glad to know that Muslim Students' Federation, Rawalpindi, is holding a students conference on the 17th and 18th instant. *Shaukat-i-Pakistan* Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan has kindly consented

to preside over its deliberations. The local students have been working hard for making the conference a success. It would have been our privilege if you could be personally present in the said conference. We should have extended invitation to you, but realizing, as we do, the circumstances under which you are working at present, we hesitate to do so. But all the same, it will give us immense pleasure if you be pleased to send us a message for the Muslim students to be read at the conference.

We assure you that at such a critical time your message will be a source of inspiration for all of us and infuse a true spirit in us. Your leadership is a great blessing for us and our final goal of Pakistan.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
A. R. CHANGEZ
Chairman, Reception Committee,
Rawalpindi Muslim Students' Federation

532

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Maratib Ali

SHC, Punjab IV/62

SRINAGAR,
7 July 1944

Dear Sir Syed Maratib Ali,

Very many thanks for your kind thought in sending me a parcel of mangoes.

As regards my stay on *Kooshik* and *Queen Elizabeth,* I don't know how to thank you sufficiently, as I was really made quite comfortable. I left *Queen Elizabeth* on the 1st instant, as the Government of Kashmir had, on my arrival at Jammu, asked me to stay as their guest, but I was not then able to do so, as all arrangements had been made by you. The Prime Minister, however, repeated his request, and I, therefore, accepted his kind invitation, and at present I am in the Government Guest House for about a fortnight. I shall be going back to *Queen Elizabeth* and after a few days I shall leave for Lahore about the 25th.

I have benefited very much by this change and rest, and I am very much attracted by Kashmir. I understand that none of your family stays in the houseboat, and if you are inclined to sell it, I would like to purchase it, as I am almost determined to come again here in October.

I shall be willing to pay any reasonable price. Of course, this is on the assumption that you or your family do not want the boat.

Thanking you again and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Syed Maratib Ali,
Ashiana,
Lahore

533

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind I/45

7 July 1944

Sayed again out intriguing to oust me and disturb smooth working of Ministry. Has intrigued with opposition and hinders and caused no-confidence motion being moved against me. Working Committee consisting Sayed's relatives, friends and nominees actuated to pass condemning resolutions against us.

League Assembly Party being ignored altogether. This is function of Leader Assembly Party. This policy leading to disruption. Assembly meeting 17th, request issue interim stay orders to Sayed pending your decision.

M. A. KHUHRO

534

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/49

SEAFIELD ROAD,
KARACHI,
7 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

There is a rift again between the prominent members of our League here. K. B. Khuhro and Yusuf Haroon are on one side, while Mr. Gazdar and Mr. G. M. Sayed are on the other side. If this sort of thing goes on any longer, it may bring about the disruption of the League here.

I have been doing all in my power to keep all the parties together, but my efforts have not been very successful.

Some guidance or advice from you to some of our more prominent members seems to be necessary. I do hope you will write to them to work in harmony and cooperation.

They have inspired a motion of no confidence in K. B. Khuhro, and if this is carried, there will be no more League Ministry in Sind.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH
Premier, Sind

535

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/7

MAHMOODABAD HOUSE,
LUCKNOW,
7 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I desire to place before you a correct statement of facts which led to the wholesale resignations of some of the most prominent Muslim League leaders in the U.P. from the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League and which no doubt must have caused you some anxiety and disquiet. At the last meeting of the Council held on 2nd July 1944, two important questions came up for its consideration. One was whether the forthcoming elections to the Municipal Boards should be contested by the League by putting up its own candidates. (I may mention in passing that there are about nine hundred Muslim seats in these Municipalities all over the Province). The second question was the formation of a Provincial Parliamentary Board, as the Central Parliamentary Board had not framed a constitution for the Provincial Parliamentary Board.

With regard to the first question, there was a difference of opinion as to whether all the seats should be contested or only those for which other political parties would set up candidates. The Council decided by a majority of votes to contest all the elections. With regard to the constitution of the Parliamentary Board, there was an agreed formula which was accepted by the Council with only one or two very minor

amendments. The elections to the Parliamentary Board were, however, conducted on party lines and some prominent men withdrew their names from it for that reason. Notwithstanding the fact that this decision was taken against the express wishes of some eminent leaders of the League and the selection of the personnel was purely on party lines, those leaders assured the Council that they would do their best to see that the Council decision was successfully carried out, and placed their services at the disposal of the Parliamentary Board. This assurance, however, did not have the desired effect and subsequent proceedings were also carried on in the same party spirit.

Before I proceed further, I would like to mention, for your information, that for some time past party feelings were running high in the districts and the enrolment of members had been done on that basis. Office hunting had become the pre-occupation of interested persons within the League. This was only too visible at the last elections to the District and City League in the province. At some places our Election Officers were subjected to great harassment and calumny. When the Council met in April last to elect office-bearers, this spirit was very much in evidence and great rowdyism prevailed at the meeting, which could be controlled with great difficulty. The reason for this was that Mr. Rizwanullah, the ex-Secretary, was put up as a candidate, in spite of the fact that the Working Committee, by its resolution dated 13th March 1944, had censured him for the most unsatisfactory manner in which he had maintained the Reception Committee accounts of the Allahabad Session of the All India Muslim League, and after examining the accounts very carefully had found that a sum of Rs. 1,000-odd was still due from him, which he had omitted to show in the accounts, and which he was asked to make good. In connection with these accounts, it may be mentioned that no proper account books had been maintained and the statement of accounts prepared for the auditors had been compiled from loose slips of papers . Hundreds of receipt books issued to various persons for raising funds could not be accounted for. The Working Committee became aware of these facts when articles began to appear in a local vernacular paper and anonymous letters were addressed to the members of the Working Committee individually. The Committee thereupon requested the Honorary Treasurer, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, to scrutinize the accounts. His report will be sent to you later. The Working Committee, after receiving his report and making further enquiry of its own, passed a resolution (copy of which is enclosed for your perusal)[1] and realized the amount which was found to be due from him, and took an undertaking from him that he would not stand for any office in the League.

Despite this undertaking, he allowed his name to be proposed for Secretaryship last April, and it was only after great difficulty that I could persuade him to withdraw. His supporters have organized a party of the disgruntled elements in the League. The Muslim Congressmen and the *Ahraris* have also been joining the League in sufficient numbers for some little time past and they are also supporting him. Mr. Rizwanullah has thus organized a party within the League, not on any ideological basis but merely to oust the saner element, from offices and committees. It must be regretfully admitted that the saner elements had done very little work among the Muslim masses and have depended on their past laurels to maintain their leadership.

As I have stated above, although the elections to the Provincial Parliamentary Board were not approved of by an influential section of the Council, because they were fully aware that the other section had come to the meeting with the deliberate intention of capturing the Board in order to run their own candidates at the forthcoming elections, yet nothing untoward happened at the meeting at that time. There is no denying the fact that the Board as constituted would not carry much influence and command any great respect in the province.

You are aware that I have personal and private business to attend to in the near future. I informed you of this at Lahore and you very kindly promised to relieve me from my work at the Centre for a month. I made the same request to the Working Committee, but as the Council was meeting the next day I considered it advisable to lay this matter before it, so that the Council may make acting arrangements for carrying on my work during my temporary absence. The question then arose as to who was to be elected as an Acting President. Several names were proposed but withdrawn by the candidates. Ultimately, Mr. Rizwanullah was elected to act for me during my absence. It may be mentioned here that there is no provision in our constitution enabling either the President to nominate or the Working Committee to appoint some one to deputize for the President, in case of either illness or absence. Further, there is no provision in the Provincial Muslim League constitution which gives these powers specifically even to the Council, but acting on the assumption that the residuary powers vest in the Council of the Provincial League, I made this request. The members of my Working Committee resented the election of Mr. Rizwanullah, because of his mishandling of the accounts of the Reception Committee, and resigned the next day *en bloc* from the Working Committee. This created a great stir not only in the League circles but throughout the province. In the meanwhile, I received deputations and messages from various quarters asking me to remain in office with a view to averting

this crisis. Mr. Rizwanullah's party welcomed these resignations and induced Mr. Rizwan Ullah to accept them.

On the 5th of July 1944, I decided not to relinquish my office and inform[ed] Mr. Rizwanullah of my decision, which I reduced to writing in the Order Book, and directed the General Secretary to convey this information to all concerned. Mr. Rizwanullah and his party are, however, now challenging my right to resume my duties, which they regard as unconstitutional, for they consider that I am acting in contravention of the decision of the Council. They derive some support for this view from the fact that I vacated the chair after Mr. Rizwanullah had been elected, and also because the members of the Working Committee had addressed their resignations to the Acting President. There is no resolution of the Council granting me leave or specifying the date from which I should avail [myself] of it. My own interpretation is that it was left entirely to me to avail [myself] of this leave, if and when I chose to do so and for the period I wished. All that the Council had decided was that a particular individual was to act for me, and not that I became *functus officio* no sooner than that individual was elected. I need not stress that I have decided to continue in office much against my own inclination and wishes merely for the purpose of serving the best interests of our organization and keeping the saner and responsible element associated with its executive. I do not think that I have committed any constitutional impropriety in acting as I have done. I may inform you that I intend to summon a special meeting of the Council early in August for considering this matter. In the meanwhile, I will be grateful if you will kindly favour me with your advice and guidance, as it is quite possible that the other party may constitute a rival body acting under the orders of Mr. Rizwanullah. This would be deplorable.

I am sorry that I have troubled you with this lengthy letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN

[1]See Annex to No. 554

536

M. A. Jinnah to Muhammad Aziz Khan

F. 878/206

SRINAGAR,
7 July 1944

Dear Nawab Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of July 4th.[1] According to my present programme, I can only halt at Murree for tea, as I shall be reaching there from Domel on the evening of July 26th. I have written to Mr. Gilani, Secretary of the Rawalpindi District Muslim League, to get in touch with you, and in consultation with him you can arrange the programme, but I must get to Pindi on the 26th.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Muhammad Aziz Khan of Toru,
Brockhurst, Murree

[1]Not traceable.

537

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani

F. 829/44

SRINAGAR,
7 July 1944

Dear Mr. Gilani,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 25th.[1] I was not able to reply earlier, as my programme was not fixed, but I am now in a position to tell you that I propose to leave Srinagar on the morning of July 25th, and I have to stop at various places on the way, as people have pressed me to do so. I shall stay at Domel for the night of the 25th, and leave on the morning of the 26th, halting at Murree for tea at 5 p.m. I have received an invitation from the Nawab of Toru, and I am writing to him to get in touch with you. I can only halt at Murree for a short time, as I must get to Pindi the same evening. I shall stay at Pindi for

the night, that is the night of the 26th, and I have to leave for Lahore on the 27th either by train that evening or by car on the morning of the 28th. I have received a telegram from Gujrat, asking me to halt there on my way to Lahore. I am replying to them to get in touch with you. If it can be fitted in with my programme, I shall be very pleased to meet our friends there, halting for a short time.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani, Esq.,
Secretary, District Muslim League,
Rawalpindi

[1]No. 484.

538

M. H. Saiyid to M. Motamedi

F. 878/205

SRINAGAR,
7 July 1944

Dear Sir,

As desired by Mr. Jinnah, I am sending you herewith a copy of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact.

Yours faithfully,
[M. H. SAIYID
Secretary to M. A. Jinnah]

M. Motamedi,
Srinagar

Enclosure to No. 538
F. 1049/3

TERMS OF SIKANDAR-JINNAH PACT

a. That on his return to the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan will convene a special meeting of his party and advise all Muslim members of his party, who are not members of the Muslim League already, to sign its creed and join it. As such they will be subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Boards of the All India

Muslim League. This will not affect the continuance of the present coalition Unionist Party.

b. That in future elections and by-elections for the Legislature after the adoption of this arrangement, the groups constituting the present Unionist Party will jointly support the candidates put up by their respective groups.

c. That the Muslim members of the Legislature who are elected on, or accept the League ticket, will constitute the Muslim League Party within the Legislature. It shall be open to the Muslim League Party so formed to maintain or enter into coalition or alliance with any other party consistently with the fundamental principles, policy and programme of the League. Such alliances may be evolved before or after the elections. The existing combination shall maintain its present name, the 'Unionist Party'.

d. In view of the aforesaid agreement, the Provincial League Parliamentary Board shall be reconstituted.

539

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 98/53

PANCHGANI,
8 July 1944

Your telegram of fifth[1] received today. With it private negotiation ends. It is necessary take public into confidence now. I am accordingly releasing entire correspondence ending your wire fifth.

RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]No. 521.

540

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind 1/44

8 July 1944

Last evening Provincial Muslim League Working Committee passed following resolution:

Faced with the alternatives of having Sind ruled either under Section

93 of the Constitution Act or under a Council of Ministers enjoying popular support, the Muslim League accepted office in October 1942 as an experimental measure to see how far and to what extent it is able to safeguard and promote the interests of the masses of Sind. For years prior to this crisis, the Muslims of Sind had groaned under the regime of unstable Ministries which had no constructive policy or programme for the betterment of the masses, and one of the primary reasons that moved the League to choose the Treasury Benches was to free the Muslims of Sind from this nightmare. A new hope was born and all over the villages and towns of Sind, the Muslims looked forward to their Ministers inaugurating a regime that will be broad-based on the cooperation of the people and inspired by a zeal for their welfare and carry out the Muslim League programme. The experiment has gone on for a year and three-quarters and nothing substantial has been done in the constructive field. Corruption has become the order of the day. The Working Committee has before it a long list of the misdeeds of some of the Ministers. It is unnecessary to draw up a detailed indictment. But the Committee cannot help putting on record the unsatisfactory character of the foodgrain policy of this Ministry. After enhancing land assessment by 200 to 300 per cent and giving no return for the same to the people in shape of nation-building activities, the Ministry has brought into being various syndicates mostly consisting of its pickmen [*sic*] whose operations have robbed the cultivators of their dues. One of the most unfortunate results of this policy has been that the poor Muslim agriculturists are compelled to sell their wheat at Rs. seven per maund in spite of the control price being Rs. nine and eight *annas* per maund. What justification the Muslim League will have for its existence if it will not actively and energetically advance the cause of the *hari*, the Sindhi cultivator, who is the back-bone of our province and whose welfare is the first charge on the Muslim League. The Ministry by adopting delaying tactics has so far enacted no tenancy laws. Not only that, but they intend to introduce modifications in the *Jagirdari*. Act which are prone to prove of little benefit to several thousands of poor Muslim cultivators. This is being done only to keep in the *Jagirdar* members of the Assembly. The only honourable course, therefore, for the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League is to record its definite findings that it is in the interests of the Province and the Muslims of Sind that the Council of Ministers as at present composed should resign. The Working Committee accordingly urges the President to ensure that the above resolution is implemented and to take all the consequential steps. Above resolution being placed before Council for ratification seventeenth July while Assembly meets

nineteenth July. In [the] event [of] Council confirming resolution, new Muslim League Ministry assured. Kindly instruct.

G. M. SAYED
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

541

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/40

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
8 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League have passed a resolution[1] that the Muslim League Ministry, as at present composed, should be asked to resign office.

This will bring about a disruption not only of the League Ministry but also of the League itself in Sind.

I bring this to your notice so that you may do what you can to save the situation, which is very critical.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH
Premier, Sind

No. 540.

542

Mir Ghulamali Talpur to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind 1/42

KARACHI,
8 July 1944

G. M. Sayed passed no-confidence motion all Ministers in Working Committee. Working Committee has constitutionally no control over Ministers or MLAs. Assembly Party not consulted. Sayed assumes

dictatorship, desires destruction indirectly. Many Members desire leaving Assembly Muslim League Party. Assembly session seventeenth. Kindly intervene suspending resolution of seventh July telegraphically, else same results as in U.P. This move adverse [to] Muslim interests. Address 40 Bunder Road Karachi.

MIR GHULAMALI TALPUR

543

J. R. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (83)

CONSTRUCTION DIVISION NO. I,
CENTRAL P.W.D.,
NEW DELHI,
9 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

After a great hesitation I have ventured to write you this letter without any previous introduction.

To introduce myself to you, I have qualified in Sanitary Engineering from Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay. I am now working for the Govt. in Construction Division No. 1, Central P.W.D., New Delhi. I have carried out most of the hot water and sanitary schemes for the U.S. Army in New Delhi.

During my four years' stay in Bombay (1936-39) in connection with my studies I never missed any public meeting which had the honour of your presence. Once, to admire your talent as a lawyer, I along with a friend of mine went to the Bombay High Court. As it was given in the *Times of India,* you were to appear in a big case before the Chief Justice but instead we found you in the court room of Justice Engineer. You were pleading case after case. We admired you the whole day at very close quarters. We were sitting on the table, just opposite to you. Perhaps you may be taking us as of the opposite party. There were many other lawyers, too, who were watching the proceedings.

I guess this is enough for the introduction. Coming to the main subject of this letter, I wish to tell you that I never fail to notice No. 10, whenever I happen to pass along Queensway or Aurangzeb Road. Every time I feel a burning desire and wish that I could take care of the hot water and sanitary installation of your residence. In this way I shall have a chance to do my bit to comfort my master, the undisputed

leader of ten crores of Musalmans.

May you live long to guide the destinies of poor Muslims during these critical years.

It will be a great honour if you consider me fit enough for this service.[1]

If any further reference is necessary, please write to my Executive Engineer, Malik Akbar Hayat Noon, 28 Pirthivi Raj Road, New Delhi.

Please convey my respects to Miss Jinnah,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. R. KHAN

Overseer

[1]Jinnah replied that he would be glad to see him when he was back in Delhi. See *SHC* (89).

Not printed.

544

Liaquat Ali Khan to Lobo[1]

F. 1102 B/340

H. B. SHEILA ANNE,

[SRINAGAR,]

9 July 1944

Dear Mr. Lobo,

I am returning three copies of the statement[2] which may kindly be issued to the press.

I notice that you have not made copies of the full text of resolution No. 4 (of the June 1940)[3] and resolution No. 7 (of 2nd September 1940).[4] I want copies of the full text of these resolutions. Kindly type these out and send them to me by tonight, if possible.

Yours sincerely,

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

PS. Book of resolutions is also sent.

[1]A member of the staff of Central Office of the All India Muslim League at Delhi.

[2]Not traceable. However, see the *Dawn*, 11 July 1944.

[3&4]Relate to Muslim National Guards. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 491-4 & 499.

545

Mohammad Amin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/352

S. P. COLLEGE,
SRINAGAR,
10 July 1944

Sir,

On behalf of the office-bearers of Muslim Students' Union of S. P. College, Srinagar, I request you to kindly grant us an interview.[1]

For this honour we shall feel oblige[d] to you.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD AMIN
Secretary, Muslim Students' Union

[1]"Tuesday 11 July at 10.30 am" noted in the margin.

546

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/46

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
10 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I sent you a telegram[1] a few days back about the trouble between Mr. Sayed's Provincial League Working Committee and the Ministry. You must have seen summary of his resolution in press which he has got passed against the Ministry in spite of the fact that we have done our best during the period we have stayed in office for the masses in general and Muslims in particular. We will shortly issue a statement in which we will recount all our work and services to the Province during the period Muslim League coalition Ministry has functioned here.

According to the constitution of the Muslim League it is primarily the function of the League Assembly Party to criticise the actions of

the Ministry and to pass resolutions giving advice what to do and what not to do in the various spheres of ministerial activities. Mr. Sayed himself is a member of the Assembly Party and he could move any resolutions there, failing that he or any other member could appeal to the All India Parliamentary Board against it and to the Working Committee of All India Muslim League.

I would, therefore, request you kindly to instruct Mr. Sayed not to create disruption among Muslims and leave it to the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain to decide the matter. If he is not satisfied with it he can put it before you on 29th instant at Lahore where myself and other Ministers will be coming to attend the Working Committee and the Council meetings by the end of this month. I may also inform you that Mr. Sayed is being guided by Hindus, chiefly by Mr. Nihchaldas Wazirani, in creating this trouble as their sole object is and has always been to divide Muslims and rule over them. It will be a serious calamity which should be avoided at all costs and in the interest of the Muslims of the province.

I hope and trust you and Miss Jinnah had a good and pleasant holiday at Kashmir. May I know when you are returning to Delhi.

With all best wishes and kindest regards,

Yorus sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO
Khan Bahadur
Minister, Sind

[1]No. 533.

547

M. A. Jinnah to Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqi

F. 878/207

SRINAGAR,
10 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter[1] and I thank you for it. You know I have already expressed my deep sorrow regarding the very sad news I received about the untimely death of Maulvi Mohammad Bahadur Khan. In him not only have the Muslims of Hyderabad lost a great pillar of strength but today the whole of Muslim India deeply mourns

his death. It is a terrible loss and we must bear it up with fortitude and courage, as it is God's will.

As regards other matters referred to in your letter, it is for your people to use your own discretion and deal with them, but I do appreciate your sympathy and support for us in the recent betrayal of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. I am confident that we shall come out of it successfully, and I find that the Punjab Muslims are now fully awaken[ed] to the situation.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqi, Esq.,
Secretary, Anjuman-i-Ittehad,
Hyderabad, Deccan

No. 509.

548

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/344-7

7/2 A HAYAT KHAN LANE,
P.O. AMHERST STREET,
CALCUTTA,
11 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

BENGAL SITUATION AND A WAY OUT

I hope you will get first-hand information about the Bengal situation from Sir Nazimuddin. In brief outline, the position is that the Centre (Wavell) is hostile, and wants Rule 93;[1] the Governor (Casey) is impressed with the good work of the Ministry and did not like Rule 93; but he is definitely of the opinion that the Speaker is dishonest and thoroughly incompetent and is definitely working to obstruct Govt. business, and unless he is removed, the Govt. cannot run; moreover he is also convinced that members are being corrupted by offers of huge bribes (Rupees ten thousand per vote) and unless public opinion rises and revolts against this corruption, the situation is so fluid that no Premier can undertake to run a Ministry with any standard of morality and efficiency. Sir Nazim also explains the situation in the same way. He is

of the opinion that in the absence of the fear of general election and a strong public opinion, there can be no end to corruption of members of the Assembly by a party of haves.

The Bengal League has adopted a programme of work and propaganda and the Ministers have placed themselves at the League's disposal. You may have seen Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy's speech at Mohammad Ali Park, published in the *Star, Dawn* and *East India*. It sums up the situation. Unless at least seven or eight Muslims return to the League Party, the present Ministry is doomed.

I may here point out that [words missing] has been caused not only by the Hindu-Congress' bribes but there are other things also. Mr. Masud Ali Khan Panni, M.L.A. of Karatia (Mymensingh), is not a man to be purchased. There is great disaffection against the inclusion of K. Shahabuddin in the Ministry along with Sir Nazim, his elder brother. Everyone is complaining against Shahabuddin and Fazlur Rahman (the Chief Whip), and the domination of the Dacca group. If the Cabinet is reshuffled and Shahabuddin and Fazlur Rahman are replaced, the League Cabinet can still survive and pass the Secondary Education Bill and also unseat the Speaker.

The League Ministry must be kept in power at least for passing and enforcing the Education Bill. The whole future of Muslim Bengal and Pakistan in E. India depends on the educational freedom and development of Bengal.... The Hindus know it. Hence there is so dogged Hindu opposition to the Bill which seeks to end their complete monopoly control on secondary and higher education. It is this monopoly control which has given the Hindus their predominance in every sphere in Bengal and crushed Muslims to dust. And it is Muslims equal share in the education policy, control and development which alone can equip them for undertaking the burdens of the independence, statehood and government of their homeland.

Hence I appeal to you to help us in this matter and I suggest a way out. It is this. Let the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board pass a resolution , and call all League Ministries to follow it at once, to the effect that no Ministry should have two members of a single family or near relations as Ministers without the previous sanction and approval of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board or, in case of emergency, of the President of the All India Muslim League who will later duly place his particular direction before the Board and get its considered view.

I had a very short interview with Hon'ble Hossain Imam and he agreed with our view that Shahabuddin may be given some other suitable work and the Ministry should be reconstructed.

Your ruling that no Minister should be an office-bearer of the League has much strengthened and purged the League.

The above rule will be a very great step forward and improve the situation. It will make the League stronger and healthier and enhance its reputation thousand fold.

On passing this direction the Bengal Cabinet will have to be reconstructed and saved for passing the Education Bill. There is no other alternative. Because the Governor and the European group are firmly of the opinion that either the League Ministry should be in the saddle or there should be no Ministry as they believe that Fazlul Huq has been adjudged by the High Court to be unfit for any post of trust and Shyama Prashad Mukerji has failed and Bengal will never tolerate his rule again. Hence they say the Nazim Cabinet or Rule 93.

But Rule 93 cannot pass the Education Bill and if we cannot pass the Education Bill it will be difficult to get and run Pakistan. Some say it will seal the fate of Bengal.

RAJAGOPALACHARI'S FORMULA

The first impression on my mind about the Rajagopalachari's Formula of Pakistan was that it does not look to me a genuine coin because it does not bear the authority of the Congress leader, Mr. Gandhi. It is strange that Mr. Gandhi has the strength of writing long letters to the Viceroy and others and giving long discourses but he has not the requisite strength to write or dictate this short letter to you directly. You have done the right thing on [*sic*] insisting on Mr. Gandhi writing to you directly. No other man will carry weight and authority with the Congress.

My second impression is that Mr. Gandhi has not up-till now changed his heart. He seems to have only acquiesced in the new clever and subtle move of Mr. Raja to place the League and Jinnah in a tight corner or to get a new handle for making anti-League propoganda.

Yours truly,
RAGHIB AHSAN

Refers to Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935, which provided for the imposition by the Governor-General of Governor's rule in a province.

549

M. M. Razik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102-B/348-51

63 CRIPPS ROAD,
GALLE, CEYLON,
11 July 1944

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

At long last I have resolved to communicate two suggestions to you which have been running [*sic*] in my head for some time and which, I sincerely trust, will receive your serious attention and analytical examination.

At the very outset I wish to declare outright that I give in [*sic*] my unqualified adhesion [*sic*] to the Muslim League's standpoint that Pakistan, for various cogent, logically sound, morally invincible reasons, is the most realistic approach to the satisfactory solution of the Indian impasse brought about by the implied intention of the Hindu leaders to relegate to vassalage the democracy-desiring, self-respecting and ardently national-conscious ninety-five million Muslims of India whose right to self-determination, of which Pakistan is an embodiment, is as irrefrangible and incontestable as the claim, for example, of the Greeks, a small and secondary nation in the continent of Europe, to its inviolable right to choose its own form of government unfettered or unmolested [*sic*] by the intrigues or influences of other nations on any ground whatsoever. Moreover, Pakistan is in tune with the *Zeitgeist* of the present time [*sic*], when every subject nation avidly aspires after its sublime goal—the right to form a government of the nation for the nation and by the nation. Besides, Pakistan is in conformity with one of the avowed aims of the United Nations, namely the granting to every nation, irrespective of strength or size, [of] freedom to decide by itself the form and details of its governmental organization. If the Hindus have any doubt as to the claim of the ninety-five million Muslims of India as a distinct nation among the many nations that have found a habitation in the sub-continent of India, then the Oxford dictionary, that authoritative work, will dissipate them once for all.

[*Next para omitted*]

The Hindus have buckled to annihilate Pakistan for it involves the division of India into several states, each enjoying sovereign power.

They even dread the dream of such a contingency for two reasons. Firstly, the acceptance of Pakistan, the Hindus are made to believe, is tantamount to severing the neck of a cow, an object sacred to the Hindus, from its body and, secondly, Pakistan will undermine the strength of India to resist external aggression. The first is, no doubt, an argument that will simply thrill through the emotional fibres of the Hindus until they, stupefied with senseless sentimentalism, inexorably pledge themselves to plunge Pakistan, body and soul, into plumbless perdition. The second argument is a plausible pretext of the Hindus for reducing a mighty nation of ninety five million Muslims to human chattels placed at the complete disposal of the selfish and faint-hearted Hindu imperialists to whom '*Swaraj* for India is synonymous with' establishing a Hindu hegemony over the length and width of India by trampling on the sturdy seedling of the surging nationalism of the Muslims of India.

The tug-of-war between Pakistan and Hindustan will only postpone the day of India's independence. The Muslims will not and cannot accept Hindustan. The Hindus, at least by implication, conceded the claims of the Muslims for Pakistan, but have preached against it as its fulfilment necessitates the partitioning of India into several independent states. Had the Hindu leaders realized that separation is a natural corollary of independence, they would have in two shakes of duck's tail withdrawn their objection to the element of separation and secession involved in the acceptance of Pakistan. Each nation possesses its own national territory within the limits of which it expresses its singular national character. I cannot understand why the Hindus should deny to the Muslims their own national territory on selfish, satanic grounds. But the Hindu leaders seemed to have succeeded in injecting into the skull of many a Hindu the cocaine of anti-Pakistan by the constant mention of the vivisection of India it involves and its comparison to the severance of the neck of the sacred cow from its body.

I feel that a scheme, shorn of the snag of separation, which bestows on the Muslims powers that enable them to stand on an equal footing with the Hindus, would not be unacceptable to the Hindus in their present mood....

[*Four paras omitted*]

I hope you will forgive me for trespassing on that part of your precious time you must have devoted to reading this message from a Muslim of a land which is, at least, culturally linked to the country that produced a man of your genius. May the *Rabb* of all existence lighten the heavy burden that you have been called upon to bear as the

most celebrated leader of the Muslims of India. May the Very Invisible Hand that protected you from the knife of that cowardly Muslim who attempted to let daylight [*sic*] into your irreplaceable body, guard over you till death. May the Mighty Maker of the Universe preserve and lengthen your life till not only the ninety-five million Muslims see the brilliant light of the birth of the 'Muslim Nation' but till that 'Nation' passes its infancy, childhood, and adolescence and reaches its maturity or manhood. Till this new nation, the Muslim nation, attains manhood, your unrivalled political wisdom, unequalled legal knowledge, and your proud attainments in many other directions will be of incalculable value. I hope you will accommodate me with an acknowledgment of this message.

Yours sincerely and fraternally,
M. M. RAZIK

550

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

F. 372/16

SRINAGAR,
12 July 1944

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of June 7th.[1] I have been following the activities of you all as far as it is possible for me to do so through the press and otherwise. Many thanks for sending me the *achkans* through Begum Liaquat Ali Khan. I have received them.

My programme now is that I am leaving Srinagar on July 25th. I have to stay on the way and I shall spend the night at Domel and reach Pindi on the 26th evening, where also I have to stay for the night, and I hope to get to Lahore on the 28th. I have really benefited by this change, although it was not quite a holiday for me even here.

As regards the property, I was waiting to hear from you, but I have not yet heard anything further from you. I hope some progress will be made by the time I reach Lahore, so that I may be able to deal with the matter.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards to you all

from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road,
Lahore

[1]No. 445.

551

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

Telegram, SHC, Sind I/49

12 July 1944

Ghulam Hussain, Premier, Karachi

Your letters including eighth July.[1] Have wired Sayed as follows:

> Your telegram eighth July.[2] Power deal with matters referred in your telegram rests with Central Parliamentary Board. Please refrain proceeding further. Place matter before Parliamentary Board meeting first August Lahore. Also Working Committee Council meetings twenty ninth July onwards.
>
> M. A. JINNAH

[1]Nos. 534 & 541.
[2]No. 540.

552

M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Mohammed Aurangzeb Khan

SHC, NWFP I/4

SRINAGAR,
12 July 1944

Dear Sardar Aurangzeb Khan,

I have not heard from you a long time now. I would like to know what progress you have made in connection with your invitation to hold the annual session of the All India Muslim League at Peshawar in November next, as I propose now to place the matter before the Council meeting on July 30th at Lahore. I hope that you will

also be present there.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Sardar Mohammed Aurangzeb Khan,
Premier, NWFP

553

M. A. Jinnah to M. Rafi Butt

SHC, Punjab IV/86

SRINAGAR,
12 July 1944

Dear Mr. Butt,

Many thanks for your letter of July 5th.[1] I have not given up the scheme for an English daily to be established in Lahore, and I will talk to you further on the matter when I am in Lahore. I have noted that your brother associates with you to the newspaper scheme. I wonder whether you have made any progress with regard to the securing of premises and some of the machines which we were informed were available in Lahore.

The cheque that I received from Naseer Ahmad Sheikh was not met because there was some alteration in the date, and I had to return that cheque to him, requesting him to send me a fresh cheque or to initial the irregularity in the date. I have sent him two reminders, but I am sorry to say that I have not yet heard from him. I wonder whether he received my letter enclosing his cheque, which was not met by his bank. Please make enquiries and let me know.

I hope to be in Lahore on July 28th, and shall then be very glad to have the opportunity of meeting you and further discussing, amongst other subjects, the scheme for an English daily.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. Rafi Butt, Esq.,
35-A Ferozepur Road,
Lahore

[1]No. 522.

554

Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/8

FERANGI MAHAL,
LUCKNOW,
12 July 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You might have heard about the recent developments in the U.P. Muslim League. I would also like to place before you my humble reading of the situation. For some time past, Mr. Rizwanullah was trying to capture the Provincial League for his own purposes. He adopted all sorts of methods, fair and foul, to gain his object. Last year, a few months before the term of his Secretaryship finished, we came to know about his mishandling the accounts of the Reception Committee of the AIML session held at Allahabad, and also of his misappropriating some money. The Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League entrusted the enquiry of the charges to the Treasurer, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. The Working Committee found him guilty of both the charges. From his own statements, it was proved that every charge levelled against him was true. The Working Committee instead of going to court or even placing the entire matter before the Council of the League for its decision, dealt with the matter rather leniently. They passed a resolution[1] and also took an undertaking in writing from Mr. Rizwanullah to the effect that he would not stand for any office. They also realised Rs. 1,148 from him; this was the amount which he himself admitted to have embezzled. When the last election of the office-bearers was to be held, he took great interest and put his right-hand man for the Secretaryship but he was defeated by S. Aizaz Rasool. In spite of all his misconduct, Mr. Rizwanullah, was not exposed and to keep the solidarity among the Leaguers, the high command of the Provincial League tried to placate him. Mr. Rizwanullah for his part, made a tour of the whole province and presented himself as a martyr. He collected around him all sorts of irresponsible persons, including Ahrar and Congress hirelings, opportunists and office-hunters etc., whose only object was to destroy the organisation and to gain monetary benefit for themselves. In the last meeting of the Council, the question of the formation of the P.B. [Parliamentary Board] for the coming municipal election gave them an opportunity. We, as usual, did

not form any party and tried to settle the matter on non-party lines while Mr. Rizwanullah had managed to collect men of his party in majority at the time of voting with the result that the Board was made consisting of men purely of his gang. These persons have got no influence and no status. In spite of all these tactics, we offered whole-hearted support to the Board. As Nawab Ismail Khan wanted that someone may be elected Acting President for the period he would remain absent from his office. Mr. Rizwanullah, as I have said had a temporary majority, was elected. At the time of his election most of the responsible persons, having being disgusted by the formation of such a Parliamentary Board, have left the house. After his election, 18 members of the Working Committee refused to cooperate with him on account of his past misconduct, and requested Nawab Sahib not to hand over charge [to him]. Nawab Sahib accepted the request and informed Rizwanullah accordingly.

Mr. Rizwan and his party defied Nawab Sahib's order and set up a parallel League. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, after hearing about the situation, rushed to Lucknow and became the leader of rebels. They have given notice to hold a meeting on the 23rd instant at Muzaffarnagar while Nawab Sahib is thinking of holding a meeting of the Council in the second week of next month. As Mr. Rizwanullah was sure that because of his misdeeds he had lost the sympathies of the saner element and would not be able to maintain his majority in the next meeting, he created all this mischief. I herewith enclose[2] a cutting of my statement for your perusal.

With respects and *salaams*,

Yours sincerely,
JAMAL

Annex.
[2]Not traceable.

Annex to No. 554

Resolution by the Working Committee of U.P. Muslim League

SHC, UP I/25

13 April 1944

The Working Committee, after going through the report of the Honorary Treasurer, Raja Sahib Mahmudabad, and examining other papers and accounts relating to the Reception Committee income, is of opinion that the method of keeping the accounts, particularly mixing up his personal account with the League account in the bank and the

issue and return of the Reception Committee receipt books, was highly unsatisfactory, for which the General Secretary is principally responsible. After careful examination of the account, the Working Committee has come to the conclusion that a sum of Rs. 1,148 is still due from him, for which he is prepared to give a cheque but has requested the Committee to give him an opportunity to produce further documentary evidence to show that some of the items, out of those which constitute the aforesaid amount, are his. The Committee resolved to realise this amount from him forthwith and to give him further opportunity to substantiate his contentions.

The Committee is definitely of the opinion that the conduct of the Office Secretary, the ministerial staff and others connected with the accounts of the Reception Committee also, both at Allahabad and Lucknow, be enquired into, and it authorises the President to call for their explanations and lay them before the Committee.

Cheque of Rs. 1,148 from Mr. Rizwanullah in connection with above resolution was received at the meeting and it was made out in favour of the President who, after due endorsement, handed it over to Mehdi Hasan Sahib, Private Secretary of the Treasurer Raja Sahib Mahmudabad.

555

M. A. Jinnah to Munadi

F. 1011/16

SRINAGAR,
12 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 3rd,[1] and as requested, I have much pleasure in enclosing herewith a message to Muslims in South Africa on the occasion of their Educational and Cultural Conference in Durban. Please do the needful in forwarding the message to them.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Editor,
Muslim-Gujrat Press,
Bhagatalab Road,
Surat

No. 511.

Enclosure to No. 555
Message from M. A. Jinnah to the Educational and Cultural Conference, Durban

F. 1011/17

SRINAGAR,
12 July 1944

On the occasion of the Educational and Cultural Conference which you are holding at Durban, and which I understand is the first of its kind there, I send you my best wishes for the success of this Conference.

Let us now concentrate on the uplift of our people for their educational, political, economic, social and moral well-being. Let us co-operate and help the leaders to work for our collective good. We must rely mainly upon our own inherent qualities, our own natural potentialities, our own internal solidarity, and our own united will to face the future. Let us make our organization, the Muslim League, stronger and stronger, a thoroughly efficient instrument to fight the great battle of Muslim India. I particularly appeal to the Muslim intelligentsia and Muslim youth to come forward and rise to the occasion. The final victory depends upon you and is within our grasp. Let us rally round a common platform and under one banner for the attainment of our national goal—Pakistan.

556

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Haq Haqqi

F. 829/45

SRINAGAR,
12 July 1944

Dear Sir,

The subject matter of your letter dated 22nd June[1] is one for your Provincial Muslim League organization to deal with. Failing that, there is the Committee of Action which is invested with all powers to deal with the entire organization of the All India Muslim League. The Convener of this Committee of Action is Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,

whose address is 8A, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. M. Haq Haqqi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.,
Senior Vice-President,
Hardoi District Muslim League,
Hardoi

[1]No. 479.

557

M. A. Jinnah to Rashid Ali Khan

F. 344/109

SRINAGAR,
12 July 1944

Dear Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 4th,[1] and I regret very much to note that, as usual, you have already given out in the press, without waiting for my reply, that I am expected to attend the Conference of the Lahore City Muslim League. I really don't know why you go on repeating the same things in spite of my request not to follow this practice, which is not fair to anyone. I can make no promise until I reach Lahore, and it is not possible for me to make any commitments in view of the programme of work that is ahead of me.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan,
"Zarafshan",
Lahore

[1]No. 517.

558

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/150

INDIA OFFICE,
WHITEHALL,
12 July 1944

My dear Jinnah,

Please find enclosed a letter from Ikbal Ali Shah—he has written it at my request. I am sending it to you for your information. I shall personally discuss the matter with you when I am in India. I hope to be there early in August. I hope you will have a pleasant time in Kashmir.

With kindest regards to your sister and yourself, believe me,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ

[PS.] Some people are about to start a Muslim paper here now. I am in touch with them and shall help them too.

Enclosure to No. 558

Ikbal Ali Shah to Firoz Khan Noon

F. 399/151-2

4 TURL STREET,
OXFORD,
7 July 1944

Dear Sir Firoz,

The background of the necessity, the great necessity of Muslim representation in London, is well-known to you; and in this connection, I wish to make the following suggestions so that, if possible, the whole thing could be got going before you actually leave these shores for India.

If there might [*sic*] be difficulty, or delay in having an Indian Muslim League office here, let us start a Muslim News Agency with which we could couple a Muslim Information Centre, the object of such an Agency being to send all kind of Muslim news and reactions from London to Muslim India; and notably to the Muslim papers in India;

and the Information Section of it to give news and interpretation of the kind that the Muslim League wants to the British press and institutions in this country.

Naturally, a Muslim League office is desirable, but I am suggesting the News Agency and the Information Section, in case Mr. Jinnah may not feel disposed to give full authority to anyone in London. If that be the case then the News Agency and the Information Centre will do all, or nearly all, that work which the League may wish to be done in London.

This organisation (Muslim News and Information Centre) in London should be housed in an office of at least two rooms in some central part of London, maybe in Fleet Street or the Strand.

The work of this London organisation should be to receive and give Muslim India news to the British and American press in London and to other offices, to publish small pamphlets on Indian Muslim point of views, to send out regularly information leaflets far and wide in this country, to address public meetings in Britain, to entertain public-spirited persons here, to meet Members of Parliament in order to give them facts about the Muslims of India.

In policy, it may not necessarily "go for the Congress", but only give its own version of the Indian political situation to the British people. But if the Congress confuses the issues, and deliberately gives the wrong impression to the British men and women, then most certainly challenge the Congress views and facts, and correct the impression.

The budget of such an organisation roughly will be one hundred and fifty pounds a month; and can, of course, be either increased or decreased after examining its usefulness every year. It is necessary to have funds for at least three years in a bank in England; and most certainly one year's funds in advance in London.

It should have power, of course, to work from an evacuated address, if conditions in London might at any time become unsafe for its working, and it should come back to London as soon as normal conditions might return. As long as the effectiveness of the work does not suffer, it does not really matter if it begins to operate from another town for a short time in emergencies.

If the Muslim League cannot set down its seal upon an organisation under its own name, then, one can start or rather re-start the old movements entitled the London Muslim League, with which I was intimately connected in London during the lifetime of the late Syed Amir Ali; and we worked very well with the Khilafat Delegation, and the Muslim League Delegation that came to this country, when Sir Wazir Hussain of Lucknow came here as its Hon. Secretary; and I am

now speaking of a time quite twenty years ago. At that time, of course, we had a weekly English journal, too, called the *Muslim Standard*. This I mention because I feel that if the Muslim League is not going to start something right-away now, then we could re-start the movement of Syed Amir Ali, and do the same kind of work. For all this, naturally, funds have to come from India, or some other avenue, so that this imperative work should really be got going. If the Muslim League cannot muster £1,500 a year at the moment, then let us have half of this sum, or one thousand from other Muslim sources, or other sources in Britain, so that we could start the work at once. I have other co-operators here, but none can afford to give their time free; and certainly printing and other items must be paid for here for anything effective that we might start.

I am willing to take on its Directorship, and represent the best interests of the Muslim League—indeed, I have been doing this on my own for a long time—but one man's show cannot do more than merely scratch the surface.

Will you, therefore, be so kind as to let me know whether you can have it arranged for me to start some activity within two weeks or three weeks, so that I could show actual work whilst you are actually here, and that we could hold some meetings, and get the ball rolling. But I want a firm understanding so that the thing should be kept alive for at least three years.

Can you oblige me by making some quite positive moves in this direction right-away? Writing to India, or even cabling does take time, and even if this matter might be postponed till your return home, it will be a great pity, for I know that being a leading Muslim figure in India, upon your return your time will be taken up in India by other matters, and this effort of London will again passout [*sic*] into the thin air in which it has remained for so many years. I am waiting to release the enclosed booklet, but you see that I have not yet given my name to it, because I have nothing permanent going here, and unless I know that I can keep this sort of publications going, I will not feel that I should be doing real good to the Muslim cause in India: for what after all is one pamphlet in the face of a hundred already published by the Congress workers in London? Also, its publication will cost me fifty pounds; how can I afford to spend this fifty pounds on a venture of my own: for I do not seek personal publicity through this kind of thing; my forty-eight books are big enough publicity for me. I most earnestly await your early observations, and my illness—which has affected my walking about—prevents me to come [*sic*] to discuss these

matters of urgency personally; therefore I write them to you in the hope that something might be done. The gentleman to whom I referred in my Urdu letter in your office will help too. May I have your early reply, which I shall treat confidentially.

Yours sincerely,
IKBAL ALI SHAH

559

Begum Firdaus Rizvi to C. Rajagopalachari
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1102 B/355

KISHOREGANJ,
BENGAL,
13 July 1944

Dear Rajaji,

Kindly refer to your statement dated 8th July from Panchgani, and the correspondence between you and Quaid-i-Azam.

At the outset excuse me for telling you that your remark "it was futile to allow Mr. Jinnah, if he could not himself wholeheartedly back it, to put my proposal before the Muslim League", reminded us [of] the haughty pronouncement of Sir Stafford Cripps that the Cripps proposal stood withdrawn. You have spoken of "powerful" help of Quaid-i-Azam. You know it fully well that he is the leader of a nation which has democracy in its blood. The fate of Muslim nation shall have to be decided by the National Council (Muslim League). The leader has no right to commit himself.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. F. RIZVI

560

M. A. Jinnah to Shamshad

F. 878 A/211

SRINAGAR,
15 July 1944

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter dated July 8th.[1] I have noted all the information contained in your letter, and it will receive my careful attention. In the meantime, please do not despair but be patient. We have to deal with millions of people—and to organize them efficiently and as a disciplined people is not easy and cannot be accomplished suddenly—but I am confident that we shall overcome all the difficulties and certain evil forces and elements within, sooner than many people think. Let our motto be: Hope, Faith and Courage. *Inshallah* we shall not fail in organizing our people into a great nation before long in the North-West Frontier Province.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Shamshad, Esq.,
Vice-President, District Muslim League,
Tarlandi, P.O. Nawan Kalli,
Tehsil Swabi,
District Mardan

[1]Not traceable.

561

Mohammed Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/362

COMILLA,
TIPPERA, BENGAL,
15 July 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

The undersigned desires to lay the following facts before your honour for your honour's kind information and action.

That there is [an] Islamia Madrasah three miles away to the south of Comilla (P.O. Galiora Dist. Tippera, Bengal). The Sikh soldiers heavily wounded the Islamia Madrasah pupils and teachers having entered into the Madrasah house. The wounded teachers and pupils of the said Madrasah are ten in number. All of them [were] sent to the Sadar Hospital Comilla for treatment.

The fact of the case is that this is a big bazaar just north of the Islamia Madrasah. The cow slaughtering is regularly held in that bazaar. The Sikh soldiers prohibited cow slaughters [and ordered them] not to do that any more in future, and if they do so anywhere they will be shot down. The prohibition of the Sikh soldiers made no effect. Then on the 9th July '44 on the grudge of cow slaughtering the Sikh soldiers attacked and wounded the Chowora Islamia Madrasah pupils and teachers.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours truly,
MOHAMMED ABDUL AZIZ
Secretary,
No. 7 Chowora Union Muslim League

562

Abdul Haq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/258

1 DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
16 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith an appeal[1] for the establishment of the proposed Urdu University in British India. I feel much encouraged in the pursuit of this ideal because I could count on your sympathy for and support to it. Later, I hope to let you know what practical measures we propose to take to achieve our object.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL HAQ
Honorary Secretary,
Anjuman-e-Taraqqi--e-Urdu (India)

[1]See F. 1092/259-70, *QAP*. Not printed.

563

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/363

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
16 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I wrote to you something about the wonderful work of Islamization being done by His Holiness Maulana Shah Mohammad Elyas. He was critically ill. I have now been informed by *Dawn* that the great Muslim divine, a silent missionary who transformed the lives of millions, brought a marvellous revolution in Mewat and converted lakhs into [*sic*] Islam, breathed his last on Thursday morning.

I do request you to visit his tomb and pray and offer *Fateha* at Nizamuddin, Delhi. Please send your condolences to his son care Maulana Ihtashul Hasan, Madrasah Kashfululum, Nizamuddin, Delhi. I knew personally that they are well-wishers of the League.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

564

M. Ishaq Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/364

PILI KOTHI, OUTSIDE DELHI GATE,
AJMER,
16 July 1944

Sir,

The orphanage is the oldest orphanage of Ajmer and most reliable due to the patronage of Seth Allarakha, proprietor [of] Messrs A. H. Allarakha & Sons, Ajmer (President), Khan Sahib Mohamed Hussain Chisty (Vice-President), and Seth Mohamed Ishaq Ibrahim, proprietor [of] Ibrahim & Sons, Ajmer (Hony. Secretary) but due to the present hard times, I request your kind help and regular aid to maintain the expenses of forty four orphan boys and orphan girls and have sanguine hopes that you will kindly extend your charitable hand over these

orphans of the Dargah Khawaja Gharib Nawaz also.

Attached to the orphanage in the same orphanage building, there is a Muslim A[nglo] V[ernacular] School which is recognised by the Govt. up to VIII Standard and at present there are 350 students. There is urgent need of opening 9th and 10th Standards for which we are constructing two new rooms. Now we need Rs. 3,000 to keep in the fixed deposit as a security money to get our school recognised as high school, hence we request you to kindly help us in purchasing cash certificate of Rs. 3,000 for the school fund and for this generous help we shall pray for your prosperity and good health.

Yours faithfully,
M. ISHAQ IBRAHIM
Honorary Secretary,
Islamia Mo'inia Orphanage and Muslim School

565

Ghulam Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/365-6
[Original in Urdu]

LUND KHAUR,
MARDAN,
16 July 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have continued to be in the fold of the Congress, although I never supported the Congress on inter-communal issues. In consequence, I had to suffer a lot, financially and otherwise. Besides, there was no effective Muslim organisation, nor could I find any Muslim political party with a definite programme. The reorganisation of the Muslim League and the Lahore Resolution have attracted me to this party. Of all the demands made by the Muslims up to 1940, Lahore Resolution is the only proposal that has the potential to save the Muslim nation. The previous atmosphere in NWFP could not have induced me to join the Muslim League. When the Bombay session of the Congress passed the resolution recommending provincial autonomy, I tried to introduce an amendment to the effect that every province should have the right to become completely independent and secede from the centre and that two or more provinces might form a federation of their own if they

desired. But Maulana Azad disallowed me to introduce this amendment. Thereupon I decided to announce my resignation from the Congress but the Pathan courtesy prevented me from doing the same at that time. However, I did not participate in civil disobedience movement and have kept quiet ever since. I thought of joining the League as I liked it, but the way the local Muslim Leaguers behaved and exhibited general lethargy and lack of clarity on certain matters, I could not induce myself to join the League. In these circumstances I have decided to see you personally and then take any decision. I have learned that the Muslim League Working Committee and the All India Muslim League are going to hold their meetings at Lahore from the 30th July to 1st August. I would like to observe their proceedings for which I intend to reach Lahore on the 29th evening. If you have time and desire to meet me, you may inform me accordingly as to the time and place of the meeting. My coming to Lahore depends upon your positive response[1] which, I shall be awaiting.

Wassalaam

GHULAM MOHAMMAD
Ex-President,
Provincial Congress Committee, NWFP,
And Member, All India Congress Committee

[1]No. 568.

566

Pirzada Mohammad Tayyib Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/369

2ND BRIDGE,
SRINAGAR,
17 July 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

Some of our members are willing to see you within the period you stay in Srinagar. So I have the pleasure to ask your permission as to when and at what time should they present [themselves] before

your goodself.[1]

I have the greatest,
honour to say [*sic*],
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
PIRZADA MOH[AMMA]D TAYYIB SHAH
General Secretary,
Anjuman Darsul Islam

[1]"Thursday 20 [July] at 10.30 am" noted in the margin.

567

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/54
[*Original in Gujarati*]

DILKUSHA,
PANCHGANI,
17 July 1944

Brother Jinnah,

There was a day when I could induce you to speak in the mother tongue. To-day I take courage to write to you in the same language. I had invited you to meet me while I was in jail. I have not written to you since my release. But to-day my heart says that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose.[1] Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me.

I am enclosing herewith a translation of this letter in Urdu.[2]

Your brother,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]See No. 583.

[2]See F. 98/55, *QAP*. Not printed.

568

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohammad Khan

F. 1102 B/370

SRINAGAR,
18 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated July 16th,[1] and thank you for it. I shall be very glad to see you in Lahore during the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League, which begin on July 29th and thereafter, and if you will be good enough to see me or telephone me when you are in Lahore, I will then fix the exact time and date there, as it is not possible for me from here to give a definite time and date. I will see you without fail if you are in Lahore and have a talk with you, as desired by you.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Mohammad Khan, Esq.,
Ex-President,
Frontier Provincial Congress Committee and
Member, All India Congress Committee,
V. & P.O. Lund Khaur,
Dist. Mardan

[1]No. 565.

569

M. A. Jinnah to A. Hamid

SHC, P&P I/76

SRINAGAR,
18 July 1944

Dear Mr. Hamid,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 12th,[1] and thank you for it. I agree to give you my formal permit to publish the four speeches in one volume, referred to in your letter, on the royalty basis that you will give me 25%. The first edition will be of 1,000 copies

only. Any subsequent edition will be subject to my permission and on such terms as we may agree upon.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A. Hamid, Esq.,
Manager, the *Eastern Times* Book Depot,
Paisa Akhbar Street,
Lahore

[1]See *SHC*, P&P I/75. Not pritned.

570

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/55

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
19 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I placed your wire[1] to Mr. Sayed before the Council of the Provincial Muslim League at their meeting a few days back.

Your wire enjoined him not to proceed any further in the matter, as it was one for the Central Parliamentary Board. But still he wanted to proceed with the matter in the Council of the Provincial Muslim League.

Eventually, however, it was resolved that the matter should be referred to the Central Parliamentary Board.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH
Premier, Sind

[1]See No. 551.

571

Ziaul Haq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/371-2

GUJRANWALA,
19 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We are very glad to read in the newspapers that you are returning to Lahore on the 28th inst.

On your way to Kashmir you were kind enough to stay with us and address us for a few minutes. It is impossible for me to adequately express how deeply grateful we felt to you for the honour your visit bestowed on our city.

While departing from us you again conceded my request and promised to do us the same favour on your return journey to Lahore. I am conscious of the very fatiguing journey after which you will reach here, but still I hope that again for a few minutes you will gratify our dearly cherished wishes and honour our city.

Kindly let me know by wire about what time you are reaching Gujranwala, so that I may have enough time for advertising.

With best respects,

Yours faithfully,
ZIAUL HAQ
President,
City Muslim League

572

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan

Telegram, F. 1102 B/373

19 July 1944

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Mustafa Castle Meerut

Your letter seventh July.[1] Also had interview with Rizwanullah here. Regret I have no power deal with matters referred in your letter. Power now vested in Council Provincial League and Committee of Action.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 535.

573

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/2

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
19 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your letter of 12th instant.[1] I am very sorry to say that we have not been able to do anything with regard to the new property because soon after you left for Srinagar, poor Lala Lajya Ram's son fell ill and eventually died. This was perhaps too much for Lala Lajya Ram. He felt the loss so much that he is himself lying sick and the doctors do not allow him to move. He himself was so keen about it that only a week ago he sent his man to enquire about the details of the property which I gave him at once. It seems he was not able to trace the exact spot because he came yesterday and asked for the plan. I have asked Khwaja Sahib to get the plan from the other broker and send it to Lala Lajya Ram.

I am very glad to learn from you and also from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan that your visit to Srinagar has been really good to you and to Miss Jinnah.

The Lahore City League people have been trying to hold a conference but somehow they had to postpone it twice. Now, as the All India Council meeting is to be held in Lahore and most of the leaders will be present here, I have advised them to hold the conference during those dates. Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan has fixed 29th and 30th July for the conference. Nawabzada Sahib will preside [at] it. Rashid Ali Khan has asked me to request you, on his behalf, to inaugurate it. I think it will be a success and I do request you to kindly allow us to announce that you will inaugurate the conference. There is very little time; therefore, kindly let me know by telegram so that we may announce to the public both in Lahore and outside.

We are having very great success in our public meetings. You must have read about two big meetings, one at Warburton (Sheikhupura District) and the other at Montgomery [now Sahiwal]. I am now leaving for Multan where we are having another big meeting tonight. I attach more importance to the Montgomery meeting because it was exactly ten days after an official meeting which was attended by Khizar and

Chhotu Ram. The attendance in their meeting was 492 while in spite of all official resistance the gathering in our meeting was decidedly more than ten thousand. Not only that; the Montgomery people gave us a purse of Rs. 10,000 for the provincial fund. I consider the value of this purse million times more than the purse of Rs. 50,000 presented to the Ministers because that money was extorted by the local officials while ours was voluntary contribution. Even the big zamindars have discarded the fear and have started attending the meetings freely.

Kindly give my *salaams* to Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

[1]No. 550.

574

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/50

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
19 July 1944

Sir,

As authorized by the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council, the meeting of which was held on the 17th July 1944, I am forwarding herewith the Resolution of the Working Committee, as passed at its meeting held on the 7th July 1944.[1] In view of your instructions given in your telegram dated the 11th July 1944,[2] we have refrained from taking any direct action and hope you would be so good as to place the Resolution before the All India Working Committee and the Council in their forthcoming meetings.

Yours obediently,
G. M. SAYED
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

[1]See No. 540.
[2]See No. 551

575

Jagannath Misra to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 1102 B/374-5

ORIYA BHANDARI STREET,
P.O. PARLAKIMEDI,
GANJAM DIST.,
ORISSA,
20 July 1944

Sir,

India cannot be Balkanised; peace is impossible without Indianising the Balkans [*sic*]. My actions are never meant to compel anybody or any organization. What I say is that the gravity of the situation demands immediate political independence for India. I am not particular about the way in which it may be achieved, provided it is just and generous and agreed upon amicably by all the parties. But the time before us is so short that we cannot waste it in rehandling the proposals already rejected. I welcome Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's scheme. God willing, the British will make things easier.

I have full confidence in the correctness of my proposal. I am open to conviction when the contrary is proved. But until then I hold fast to my proposal. I wish success to the attempt now made for independence on the proposal of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. But let it be given the possible speed so that freedom will be won for India within 20th August in an honourable and peaceful way. Because of the present attempt of the leaders I have decided to postpone my fast to 20th August. With respect to the fulfilment of our aim—independence—better late than never. But delay after 20th August will be as worse as never. Dangerous clouds in the war sky will accumulate in the middle of September at the latest. Seeds have already been sown in June-July as already expected.

My fast will be conducted in ways quite different from those followed so far. My fast is for independence of India and the end of the exploitation of her starving millions. As I do not want to use fasts as weapons of threat I want to make them as secret as possible. Fearing the break of secrecy I withheld at the last moment from [*sic*] sending the copies of my proposal of last month to the Secretaries of the All India Students' Federations. It will be kept secret even to my parents. None but you can come to know of my fast. But even you

cannot trace out the place of my fast when conducted [*sic*].

I am,
Sir,
Yours truly,
JAGANNATH

576

General Secretary, Sind PML, to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/53

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
21 July 1944

Sir,

I am directed by the President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, to forward herewith a copy of proceedings of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council, held on the 17th July 1944, for information.

Yours obediently,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
General Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 576

SHC, Sind I/54

A meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council was held on the 17th July 1944, at 10 a.m. in the Khalikdina Hall, Karachi, under the presidentship of Mr. G.M. Sayed, when the following members were present:

[*Names of 67 members omitted*]

1. The President moved the following condolence resolution on the sad demise of Moulvi Bahadur Khan (Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung) which was passed unanimously while standing, and prayers offered.

RESOLUTION

The sudden and sad demise of Moulvi Bahadur Khan (Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung) of Hyderabad, Deccan, has come as a shock to us and has plunged us in deep gloom. The late Bahadur Khan was one of the greatest orators which the Muslim world has produced. His services

as President of the States Muslim League can never be forgotten. It was he who united the State Muslims and brought them on [to] a common platform and consolidated their position under the banner of the Muslim League. He was a scholar of a very high order of the Urdu, Persian and Arabic languages.

He was a great exponent of Islamic culture and his great belief in the Muslim League organization as the only channel of renaissance of Muslim India, entitles him to a prominent and permanent position in the history of India. His courage of conviction was great enough to ignore worldly pomp and possessions, his love of freedom of the Muslim India and the Muslim States can only be excelled by that of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. M. A. Jinnah. The loss which India in general and Muslims in particular have sustained can never be repaired. This Council sympathise with the family of the deceased in their sad bereavement and pray that God Almighty would give them fortitude to bear the loss.

2. The vote of no-confidence of Moulvi Hakani, which reads as follows, was then read out by the President along with his application for withdrawal:

RESOLUTION

This Council of Sind Provincial Muslim League deplores the varied subversive activities of Mr. G.M. Sayed, President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, and strongly condemns the reprehensible attitude adopted by him for installing his majority and [*sic*] whereby ascending a dictator's position, he did an unpardonable disservice to the League and Islam and under such circumstances demand of him to tender resignation from the office of the presidentship of the Sind Provicnial Muslim League.

WITHDRAWAL OF APPLICATION

I, Moulvi Hakani, Member, Sind Provincial Muslim League Council, in view of Muslim interests and unity in the ranks of Muslims, withdraw my no-confidence motion against Mr. G.M. Sayed, President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, which was to come up before this Council today, the 17th July 1944.

Whereupon the President asked the Council whether they were prepared to allow the withdrawal. Eleven members voted for withdrawal and twenty-nine voted that the withdrawal should not be allowed, but the resolution should be rejected. Thereafter, the following resolution, moved by Kazi Mahomed Akbar and seconded by Khan Mahomed Nizamani, was passed unanimously:

RESOLUTION

The Sind Provincial Muslim League Council, in view of the past and present services of Mr. G. M. Sayed, President, Sind Provincial Muslim

League, and owing to his services rendered in the cause of the Muslim League and the Muslim community, expresses its complete confidence in him.

3. The President read out the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League on the 7th July 1944 at 5 p.m. at the President's bungalow, which runs as follows.[1]

4. The President read out the telegram sent by him to the Quaid-i-Azam which reads as follows.[2]

The undermentioned telegram of the Quaid-i-Azam in reply to the telegram of the President was also read out as under.[3]

It was pointed out by the President to the Council that in view of the telegram of the Quaid-i-Azam, we were debarred from asking the Ministry to tender resignation or, in the event of their refusal, [from] break[ing] the Ministry. The President also explained that as regards discussing and passing this resolution in the Council, there were two points of view. One view was that we were even debarred from discussing the matter in the Council and the other that, after the instructions of the Quaid-i-Azam, the resolution was only of a recommendatory nature. That being so, there was no objection if the Council expressed its opinion on it and submitted the same to the Quaid-i-Azam for being placed before the Working Committee, the Council and the Parliamentary Board. Thereupon, several members expressed their opinion and the following resolution proposed by Ghulam Nabi Pathan and seconded by G. Allana was brought before the Council.

RESOLUTION

In view of the telegram of the Quaid-i-Azam to the President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, and in view of the talks between the Ministers and the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, the President is authorized to forward the resolution of the Working Committee to the Quaid-i-Azam .

The following amendment was moved by Mahmood Haroon and seconded by Anwar Hidayatullah:

In view of the telegram of the Quaid-i-Azam, this Council resolves that the resolution passed by the Working Committee be forwarded to the Quaid-i-Azam, and this Council abstains from expressing its view on the above resolution.

After full discussion, the amendment was withdrawn and the proposal was passed by only one member voting against it.

5. The rules of elections, as drafted by the Sub-Committee of the Working Committee, were then placed before the meeting and the President explained the same to the Council. Sardar Jaffar Khan Buledi then proposed, and Mr. Ghulam Nabi seconded, that the rules be

submitted to the Sub-Committee of the following persons for consideration, and that the Sub-Committee be requested to submit its report within two months, after which the same should be placed before the next meeting of the Council for confirmation.

Members of Sub-Committee

G.M. Sayed (President)
Ghulam Nabi Pathan
Sayed Ghulam Hyder Shah
Sardar Jaffar Khan
Kazi Fazulullah

This proposal was unanimously passed.

6. It was proposed by Hassanbux Shah and seconded by Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan that the following members be appointed on the Tribunal which should be set up to decide disputes arising out of elections of Primary and District Muslim Leagues, and that the report of the Tribunal should be submitted to the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League for approval, and in case of acceptance, for execution.

Members of the Tribunal

Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar (Chairman)
Mr. M.A. Hafiz
Kazi Fazulullah

This proposal was unanimously carried.

7. It was proposed by Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan and seconded by Hassanbux Shah that in view of Section 11(c) of the constitution and rules of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, the following gentlemen, who were the members of the District Muslim Leagues, may be appointed as members of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council:

Members of Sind Provincial Muslim League Council

1. K.S. Jatoi (Nawabshah)
2. Moulvi M[ohamma]d Ismail (Larkana)
3. Haji M[ohamma]d Usman Mari (Tharparkar)
4. Mr. Sadikally (Karachi Dist.)
5. Hatim Alavi (Karachi Dist.)
6. Mr. M[ohamma]d Hassan, Chairman, Dadu School Board (Dadu)
7. Pir Bakadar Shah (Hyderabad Dist.)
8. Agha M[ohamma]d Sidik Khan (Sukkur)
9. Mian Ali Mahomed Samun
10. Moulvi Ubedullah Soomro (Jacobabad)

This resolution was unanimously passed.

8. The following resolution, moved by Sayed Pir Muhammad Shah and seconded by Mr. M.A. Hafiz, was unanimously passed:

RESOLUTION

This Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, in view of the fact that the question of land assessment of the Karachi District is under the consideration of the Sind Government, recommends that keeping in view the backward and poverty-stricken condition of the district, the land assessment should not be enhanced this year and be fixed as in the past.

The meeting terminated at 1 p.m. with a vote of thanks to the chair.

[1]See No. 540.
[2]Ibid.
[3]See No. 551

577

Ahmad Saeed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/5

BEHIND JAMI'A MOSQUE,
DELHI,
21 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I refer to your letter dated 15th May 44[1] in which you had written, "I would be very glad to meet you, if you and your friends would care to do so, when I get back to the plains some time in July". In view of the appeal you have made to us for joining the Muslim League, I wonder whether it would be of any use to give you the trouble of meeting us, if your reply is likely to be, "First join League and then we shall talk to you." As you very well know the Jami'at has its own history and traditions and sacrifices. How is it possible for it to lose or forget all of them?

The Jami'at considers, along with other thinkers and statesmen of India, that the problem of India's freedom cannot be solved without Hindu-Muslim agreement. The longer this solution is delayed, the less become the chances of India's independence. Moreover, this is the best time for an agreement.

As the national, religious and homeland rights of Musalmans must be safeguarded in the agreement, it is essential that Muslim demand be formulated in consultation with far-sighted and considerate Musalmans and a unanimous draft be presented for settlement. I do not want to raise this question at present, that how far is it proper and

in accordance with the democratic principles, to force all the Muslim organisations and thinkers to agree, without any discussion, to a slogan the details of which are not known even to many of its sponsors?

I, therefore, earnestly appeal to you to formulate Muslim demand after exchanging views with All India Muslim organisations, having sincere and tried Muslims as their members in addition to those belonging to the Muslim League.

I shall be waiting anxiously for your reply and promise to you that if you agree to my proposal, I shall make arrangements for the gathering of representatives of various organisations who are invited by our mutual consent.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAEED
President,
Jami'at al-'Ulama, Delhi Province

No. 341.

578

Abulakhyar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/220-3

MACDONNELL HOUSE,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
22 July 1944

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Let me first of all apologise to you when I request you to honour this letter with a personal, sympathetic and careful reading on your part, and a reply also.

To begin with, Quaid-i-Azam, now-a-days our University is passing through a critical stage. Everything is undergoing a horrible change, for the last few months. The change is still not complete and nobody knows when it will be. Yet the shape of things to come can easily be fore-judged by the course along which this institution is running at present. In the following lines I will try to tell you something that they are doing here:

1. The prestige of the University and its students is going lower and lower.
2. Very little interest is shown by the authorities in the academic

and social welfare of the students.

3. There is no law,or, every [*sic*] of his lieutenants is a law-maker.
4. Provincial spirit is reaching the zenith.
5. They have adopted an indifferent attitude towards our political activities.Rather they try to bring them to a lull. I am sure you fully know as to what happened in connection with the Gwalior Day, and their obstructive policy towards the Pakistan number of the magazine.

To sum up, Quaid-i-Azam, everything, however dear, cherished is being sacrificed at the altar of war effort. They are leaving no stone unturned to lower the standard of life, to demoralise the students and to crush their spirits.

The one great characteristic and blessing of Aligarh life which we still enjoyed, in spite of all this degeneration, that is the atmosphere it provided for building a national character, is being ruthlessly spoiled.

That is the actual state of affairs over here. You can investigate openly or secretly if you don't believe me. I think you know who are they and he. For the proof of the above observations I can bring a thousand facts, but cannot put them on paper.

There is only one remedy we can apply—we must have a paper (a weekly) through which we may be able to check them on the one hand and the students on the other. Now 250 copies of a four-paged weekly to be distributed free may cost 80 rupees per month—I alone cannot bear that burden and a partner may at any time quarrel upon [*sic*]—the programme and policy of the paper. Moreover, they can send us down [*sic*] whenever they like, even to jail. Therefore, I run to you for help. This much I want from you that you should permit me to publish an anonymous letter every week in the *Dawn*. I am also ready to send that letter through you so that you may be able to see if there is anything injurious to your interests; that will secure my purpose best.

I know you fully realize the importance of Aligarh and so I hope you would honour me with a favourable reply conveying your own thoughts and rest assured Quaid-i-Azam, they will be kept a secret if you desire.

Your most devoted follower,
ABULAKHYAR

579

M. A. Jinnah to Hari Singh

F. 701/63

SRINAGAR,
23 July 1944

Your Highness,

I am glad at your Highness's return home safely. I would like to call on you before I leave Srinagar. There is not much time left, as I am leaving on Tuesday morning, early. Either today or tomorrow are, therefore, the only days left, and I thought I would not like to leave Srinagar without calling on you. Hence this letter. Please do not put yourself to any inconvenience, much as I would like to see you.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir,
The Palace, Srinagar

580

Hari Singh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Kashmir/9

SRINAGAR,
23 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter which I have just received.[1] I greatly appreciate your good wishes and your courteous desire to see me before your departure. Unfortunately, owing to my long absence from the State, I have a very crowded programme the next few days and it will be as much as I can do to fulfil my existing engagements. I am sure you will, therefore understand my inability to find time for any new engagements just now.

I hope that you have had a pleasant holiday here during the last two months and that you will have a comfortable return

journey in spite of the trying weather.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
HARI SINGH
Maharaja of Kashmir

No. 579.

581

M. A. Jinnah to B.N. Rau

F. 187/4

SRINAGAR,
24 July 1944

Dear Sir B.N. Rau,

After keeping me under the impression all these days that I would be getting the required quantity of petrol for my journey back to Lahore, the Rationing Authority has suddenly informed me this afternoon that they cannot give me any supplementary coupons beyond Rawalpindi, and I have received coupons for only fourteen units for the journey up to Rawalpindi. In your reply to me you were good enough to inform me that arrangements would be made to supply me with petrol for my return journey to Lahore, and I relied upon that promise, and I was all these days given to understand that coupons for thirty units would be issued, but suddenly I receive a letter this afternoon forwarding me only fourteen units. I wonder whether it is possible for you at this eleventh hour to look into this matter and let me have coupons for the remaining units. As you know, I am starting early tomorrow morning.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter I have received from the Rationing authority[1] along with the coupons for fourteen units.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir B.N. Rau,
Prime Minister,
Srinagar

[1]Not traceable

582

Teja Singh & Sohan Singh Josh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/30

114 MCLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
24 July 1944

My Quaid-i-Azam,

The Formula proposed by Mr. Rajagopalachariar and accepted by Mahatma Gandhi has caused a stir among the Sikhs of the Punjab. You will be reading in the Hindu Mahasabha press accounts of the opposition which certain Sikh elements are taking [*sic*] to the Formula on the ground that it concedes Pakistan and the Muslim right of self-determination.

We hasten to write and assure you that all patriotic Sikhs inside all the patriotic organisations, such as the Congress, the Akali Dal and the Communist Party, would welcome more than anything else a settlement between you and Gandhiji. Such a settlement will break the present deadlock and lead to the formation of a provisional composite national government, which alone can ensure food and freedom for our peoples. We believe that Gandhiji's acceptance of the Rajaji Formula is a giant stride towards the acceptance of the right of self-determination for all nationalities—especially for the Muslim and the Sikh nationalities.

We do not believe for a moment that British suzerainty can ever protect the rights of the minorities. Our brave but small nation, the Sikhs, knows that it will win its right of self-determination from its own brothers in the Congress and the Muslim League, and not from the alien rulers.

We urge you, on behalf of the Communist Sikhs, who stand pledged to support the Muslim League and its patriotic demand for Pakistan, to take steps at the coming session of the League Council to put forward constructive counter-proposals to the Rajaji Formula for the solution of the deadlock, and to include in those proposals the acceptance of the Sikhs' right to self-determination.

Such counter-proposals as the League Council makes, taken together with the Rajaji Formula, will form the basis for negotiations between you and Gandhiji. Such negotiations must be begun immediately if we—the Muslims and the Sikhs—are to win our cherished goals—and

all the Indian peoples are to march to freedom.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
TEJA SINGH
MLA
SOHAN SINGH JOSH
MLA

583

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/58

SRINAGAR,
24 July 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I received your letter dated 17th of July[1] here on the 22nd of July, and I thank you for it.

I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which will probably be about the middle of August. By that time I hope that you will have recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothing more till we meet.

I am very pleased to read in the press that you are making very good progress, and I hope that you will soon be all right.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Dilkusha,
Panchgani

No. 567.

584

Ahmad Mohiuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/383
[Original in Urdu]

MULTANIPURA, BEGUM BAZAR,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
24 July 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Regards. May God grant you a long, long life. *Quaid-i-Millat* Mohammad Bahadur Khan [Bahadur Yar Jung] who strongly desired sovereignty for the Muslims of India has since departed leaving us to mourn his death. You might be disturbed to know that the people of Hyderabad smell foul play due to suspicious circumstances of his sudden death. Moulvi Abul Hasan Syed Ali, Advocate, expressing the feelings of the deceased's wife, has termed the death as unnatural, and has demanded an inquiry by the Government. This demand has been published by the daily *Mizan*. We would request you kindly to guide Begum Sahiba and the Muslims in the matter. His death, whether natural or otherwise, has caused an irreparable loss to the Muslims and has left a void which would be difficult to fill. May God bless us with an equally great leader.

[Paras 2 & 3 omitted]

Your servant,
AHMAD MOHIUDDIN
Organiser,
Bahadur Khan Physical Association

585

K. S. A. Sheik Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/384-5

EMANESWARAM, RAMNAD,
MADRAS,
25 July 1944

I beg to bring the following few lines to the notice of your honour for kind consideration and favourable orders:

Many of the Muslims of Emaneswaram were eking out their livelihood in Burma and Malaya and were regularly sending money to their families. The war broke out and consequently the financial help that was regularly forthcoming from them to their dependants, has stopped. The grief-stricken and forlorn families here have yet to know about the existence of their family heads. In these circumstances, the Madras Govt. have kindly come forward to pay Rs. 10 p.m. but the sanctioned amount is not sufficent to maintain the families.

To find out some means to help these poor families, we have started the Burma and Malaya Evacuees Association at Emaneswaram, and the Association has decided to provide some source of additional income to these poor families by starting some cottage industry like weaving which needs Rs. 10,000. The Association has realised in the shape of subscription about Rs. 200. This said amount is not sufficient for the purpose and therefore we have decided to approach your honour for a benevolent contribution. Therefore, we most humbly beg your honour to consider our appeal sympathetically and help us.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient,

K.S.A. SHEIK MOHAMED

Rangoon-Penang Evacuees Association

586

Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/55-6

[*Original in Urdu*]

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,

25 July 1944

Highly respected, pride of the nation, *Mujahid-i-Azam,* lion of Islam, dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May this letter find you in the best of health. Your esteemed letter[1] has aroused a wave of ecstasy in me and it will ever remain fresh in my memory. I write letters to you in Urdu due to the fact that Urdu is our mother-tongue and its promotion is our duty....

After the passing away of *Quaid-i-Millat,* Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, a delegation of States Muslim League came here for offering condolences. I asked its Secretary, Mahmood-ul-Hasan, as to what will

happen to the Hyderabad State Muslim League and why Quaid-i-Azam stays aloof from it. He replied that Quaid-i-Azam is closely watching the State Muslim League and that, in spite of his being at a distance, he is more informed about it than us. From that I realised that our Quaid-i-Azam is fully acquainted with the affairs of the States as well as with the British India. It is substantiated by the fact that when a restriction was imposed on the speeches of Nawab Bahadur Khan, you intervened in the matter and sent a telegram to His Exalted Highness whereupon the late *Quaid-i-Millat* was permitted to address the League session. After the sudden demise of the great leader, there is mismangement in the State affairs. Everyone considers himself to be a leader....

Your most obedient servant,
BAHAUDDIN MHAMOOD SALEEM SIDDIQI
Secretary, Quaid-i-Millat Library

[1]No. 547.

587

Syed Ali Zaheer to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (94)

CONFIDENTIAL

23 OUTRAM ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
25 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In view of your letter[1] addressed to S. Sakhi Hasan of Amroha published in the press, and your reference to the Shia community in your speech[2] at Sialkot, I was required by the last meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Shia Political Conference to approach you and to request you to elucidate and define the status of the Shias in the scheme of Pakistan, as proposed by the Muslim League. The necessity for this step has been felt because of the following among other circumstances:

a. Several attempts have been made to propose from the Muslim League platform that the government in Pakistan should be modelled on the lines of the Govt. that prevailed in Arabia just after the Prophet's [PBUH] death, during the regime of the first three caliphs of Islam, i.e. *Hukumat-i-Illahiya*. Although it is realised that it is not possible to

put the clock back by so many years, yet it is feared that this may be an attempt to curtail the freedom of religious rights and observances which has been enjoyed by the Shias heretofore.

b. During elections for Muslim seats, it is a very common experience of a Shia candidate, whenever he is pitched against a Sunni candidate, to find that appeal is made to the religious fanaticism of the majority of voters, and a Shia is defeated merely because he is a Shia. It is a common practice on such occasions to allege that a Shia, because of certain peculiarities of his articles of faith, is not a Muslim at all, and as such not entitled to their vote.

c. The bitter experience which the Shias had, during the regime of the Congress in U.P., of the two Congress Muslim Ministers makes them unwilling to trust themselves [*sic*] in future, or similar type of Muslim Ministers. They are afraid that although in Pakistan provinces there will be no Congress Ministries, yet the men who will form the cabinet may be of the same class and type.

d. The Shia Political Conference give considerable importance to its creed of complete independence for India and desires to carry on the struggle for it side by side with other political bodies in the country which have the same creed. The Shias are convinced that with the freedom of the country Pakistan will also be automatically achieved if majority of the Musalmans so desire.

Although I have no final authority on behalf of the Shias generally, but I feel that if the Muslim League gives them the following assurances they will feel perfectly satisfied:

i. that there will be no encroachment on their religious freedom and observances in Pakistan and no innovations which will hurt their religious susceptibilities will be inflicted upon them.

ii. that during elections there should be no propaganda directly against the religious beliefs or practices of a Shia, and if there is any such propaganda, then irrespective of the proof whether it has affected the result of the election or not, the election will be set aside, at the instance of the Shia candidate. It may be necessary to give a guarantee that the election rules will be amended to give effect to this assurance.

iii. that the Shias should be guaranteed sufficient number of seats in the Ministries, Legislatures, and all elected bodies, as well as to all judicial and executive posts which should be a definite proportion of the Muslims who are appointed to these places. The proportion must necessarily vary in different provinces, and will have to be fixed in consultation with the representatives of the

Shias in these provinces.

iv. that the Muslim League, while fighting for Pakistan, will at least simultaneously carry on its struggle for the independence of the country as a whole, and should be willing to settle its differences with other political parties, in order that the movement for the freedom of the country may not be jeopardised. It should be realised that insistence on the attainment of Pakistan first, is likely to delay considerably both Pakistan and the independence.

I may mention in the end that according to me these are the most important points which have so far kept the Shia Political Conference and the majority of the Shias outside the Muslim League. I hope that as soon as a satisfactory understanding is arrived at on these questions there will probably be no difficulty left in two bodies working in harmony with each other.

Yours sincerely,
SYED ALI ZAHEER
President,
All India Shia Political Conference

[1]See *SHC* (14), 26 January 1944 in reply to Sakhi Hasan's letter at *SHC* (6), 18 December 1943.
Not printed.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 490-3.

588

A. M. Khwaja to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/7

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM MAJLIS,
CENTRAL OFFICE,
DELHI GATE,
DELHI,
25 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Azad Muslim Majlis at its meeting held at Delhi on the 19th instant. The resolution would explain itself. I need not emphasise the importance of the proposed conference. In view of the urgency of the matter, I have ventured to fix the 17th and 18th August 1944 for the conference at Aligarh, as the month of *Ramazan* begins on the 20th August. I earnestly hope that you and the members

of your Working Committee will make it a point to attend this conference.

I am making arrangements to accommodate the members of the various Working Committees in such a way that they may hold private consultations, if they so desire. Kindly ask your members to intimate to me individually the date and time of their arrival at Aligarh so that proper arrangements may be made for meeting them at the station.

If in your opinion the place or the date are not suitable, I shall be grateful if you would kindly let me know by telegram. My only reason for fixing the date is the urgency of the matter.

Yours sincerely,
A. M. KHWAJA

Enclosure to No. 588

SHC, APMO/8

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM MAJLIS,
CENTRAL OFFICE,
DELHI GATE,
DELHI,

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee of the All-India Azad Muslim Majlis, having considered the telegram of the President of the Jami'at-i-Ahrar Hind, resolves that with a view to secure an agreed decision of the Muslims of India regarding the Formula for Hindu-Muslim settlement which Mr. Rajagopalachariar has, with the consent of Mahatma Gandhi, placed before the country, the President of the Majlis be asked to arrange at the earliest possible date a joint meeting of the Working Committees of the All India Muslim League, Jami'at al-'Ulama Hind, All India Momin Conference, Majlis-i-Ahrar Hind, Krishak Proja Party, Shia Political Conference, Khudai Khidmatgars, Anjuman-i-Watan, and the Independent Muslim Party of Bihar, through their respective Presidents.

The President is further authorised to issue special invitations to prominent Muslim leaders who may belong to no party, or who cannot otherwise attend the conference.

589

S. Mosheer & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/387-8

DARUL AMIR,
MOHALLA MIRDAD,
BIHAR SHARIF,
DIST. PATNA, (BIHAR),
25 July 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We beg to place the following before you for the kind consideration of your goodself as well as for the consideration of the Muslim League Council members.

That Bihar Sharif is the most important subdivision in Patna District, having a fairly good number of Musalmans.

That this subdivision had been a centre of Muslim culture and Islamic learnings from the time of Moghal emperors. Mukhdum Sharfuddin, a Muslim saint of great reputation, lived here and is buried in the town of Bihar Sharif. Rajgir, a place in this subdivision, is the place of Mukhdum Saheb's worship, and is considered to be the most sanctuary [*sic*] place for the Muslims in this Province.

That for the last eighteen years, this subdivision is having Hindu S.D.Os and quite a permanent Hindu raj is prevailing. That more than once Musalmans of this subdivision approached the local Govt., and requested the Govt. to post some Muslim S.D.O. but up till now their this voice has not been heard by the local Govt.

That through the unbearable posting of Hindu S.D.Os the Muslims of this subdivision have suffered a great loss and the obvious proof of one of their sufferings is the communal riots of 1942.

There is no denying the fact that the Hindus of this subdivision were encouraged by the Hindu officials in the last communal riots, and by the result of trial of these communal riot cases in which almost all the Hindu culprits were acquitted, the Hindus of this subdivision are very much emboldened, and the Musalmans of this subdivision are always in great danger.

[*Next para omitted*]

That Bihar Provincial Muslim League is of no use for the Musalmans. There are many instances in which Muslims suffered most humiliatingly, within the knowledge of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League. In

Hazaribagh District in Bihar, Muslims were forced to drink pig's urine by the tyrant Hindus. What Provincial Muslim League did in this matter? That having no faith in the Provincial Muslim League, we the Musalmans of Bihar Sharif subdivision are approaching yourself with a full hope that you will take drastic steps against subdivisional Muslim League Bihar Sharif and would relieve us from the Hindu S.D.O. *raj* in this subdivision.

[*Next para omitted*]

In conclusion, we hope that your goodself will place this position before the All India Muslim League Council for their due consideration also.

We are,
Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Your m[ost] o[bedient] servants,
S. MOSHEER
M[OHAMMA]D MOHSIN
M[OHAMMA]D QASIM
AND OTHERS

590

M. Hanif to M. A. Jinnah
F. 1102/395-400

JALGAON, C.P.,
26 July 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I dare take the opportunity to write you for the first time at this critical and momentous hour. I beg pardon for that.

I read in the press the proposal offered from Gandhi through C. R. [Rajagopalachari] to you. I read and reread it. I studied it [in] very great detail. I analysed it and scrutinised it legally. I discussed it with co-Leaguers and Muslims of the town in the district.

The public hails up [*sic*] your attitude of neutrality that is perfectly legal and democratic.

The mind or reaction of the Muslims and Leaguers is that though the offer is very sincerely forwarded through Rajaji, it ought to actually [have] come from Gandhi because he is the only representative and leader of the Congress out of jail. If Gandhi sincerely sends you the offer and requests you to put it before the forthcoming Working

Committee and Council meeting then we should not have and cannot have any justified excuse to reject it. Everyone from Amery[1] to Gandhi says we must break the deadlock. We must sincerely admit that Gandhi has at best showed his desire to break the deadlock and forge national unity through Congress-League unity. This is high time we have a national government, provisional though it be, to defend the country and solve the food crisis. We ought to very boldly admit it is a very vital part of Pakistan (Eastern Bengal and Assam) which is the first target of foreign aggression, famine and epidemics. In the name of Pakistan, in the holy name of Islam and the *Qur'an,* in the very holy name of the Prophet [PBUH] and God, we must gird up our loins, take [up] arms and defend our fatherland. Hence Rajaji's offer is welcome to all of us, specially the Muslims.... I beg you to consider the proposal and send a suitable letter to Gandhi through the Council and show to the world that we the Muslims are and were ever willing and ready to solve the deadlock to get India independence and achieve our Pakistan (the holy land), and once again establish the glorious days of Prophet [PBUH] and the first four *Khalifas*. Nothing more; I once again beg pardon for taking your precious time and thereby giving you a big trouble. Thanking,

I beg to remain,
My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most sincere follower,
ever ready to offer all
sacrifices to achieve Pakistan,
M. HANIF
LL.B.

Leopold Amery, Secretary of State for India in Churchill's War Cabinet, 1940-5

591

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/111

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
26 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to acknowledge with thanks your letter of the 5th instant.[1] I was out of the headquarters for some time and I, therefore, regret I

couldn't reply to it earlier.

I expect, by now, you must have heard from Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung that he has obtained the sanction of His Exalted Highness and is ready to start work any time that you want him. I had a talk with him the other day and he is awaiting your instructions. I presume on your return to Lahore, you will make your final decision and communicate to him the date when he can go over and start work.

As regards the Al-Meezan Industrial and Commercial Corporation Limited, we had put up the application to Sir Allan Lloyd, Examiner of Capital Issues, and have not received his sanction as yet. I had occasion to speak to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan also on the subject and he promised to help us. I also saw Sir Allan Lloyd and explained to him the whole position and am sending replies to his queries. I do hope that the permission will be coming forth shortly.

I am sorry to inform you that Col. Slaughter has finally expressed his inability to join us. In fact, he intends leaving India as soon as conditions permit, owing to health reasons. We are, therefore, more or less left at the same point in this regard as we were some months ago. I cannot think of any one else at the moment and, of late, I have made up my mind that I should take up the work myself for two or three months and make a definite start and, in the meantime, be on the look-out for a suitable man. It is likely that once the scheme takes a more concrete shape, it will become more appealing and several candidates will come forward and offer their services. Most reluctantly, I have come to this conclusion, as I could see no other alternative. If you approve, I will consult the other colleagues and make a start.

I had been to Delhi to attend a conference, convened by the Government of India, to discuss the programme of the proposed visit to Europe and America. No date has yet been fixed but I have a feeling that it will yet to [*sic*] be some time before the delegation leaves India.

I sincerely hope that I will have an opportunity of meeting you in the near future.

With kind regards,

I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
MIR LAIK ALI

[1]See *SHC*, Hyderabad II/110. Not printed.

592

A. Farooq Rahmatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/403-4

YASRAB MANZIL, BAZAR KALAN,
SIALKOT CITY,
26 July 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We have formed a central organization, Servants of Pakistan, at Sialkot. Its object is to promote welfare of our *millat* which lags behind several other nations [*sic*] of India in constructive work. It would be un-wise refusing to admit that so far little constructive programme has been prepared for the all-round uplift of the *millat*. So far the attention of our leaders has been focussed on matters mainly political. Our past history shows that we have been wanting a single *milli* platform that you have been able to establish by the grace of *Allah*.

We have rid ourselves, thank God, of many of the professional and easy-chair politicians. The *millat* is sick of catchphrases, emotional slogans and speechification. It demands constructive measures and refuses to be drugged by appeals to her emotional aspect. It asks for ideas. People have got the rallying cry and now they want their dream of Pakistan to materialise. A sick and ignorant army can never hold a day in battle. Our *millat* cannot win its object unless [it is] fit to grasp it and this can never be possible unless we are to think and act in terms of Islam, pure and unalloyed. The *millat* does not understand what Islam is. We have to teach them to realise their own worth and place in the sun.

This newly founded association has started a free dispensary and a reading room and a library under its management. Such like institutions, it is presumed, beneficial in nature, make an irresistible appeal which no amount of hostile propaganda can wash off the hearts of the people. This we believe to be a subtle way of reaching the hearts of the masses, introducing the Muslim League to them and acquainting them with its programme.

This organization we have started at a place where the Muslim League commands a thin following and is the stronghold of the Majlis-i-Ahrar. Your visit to our city has made a deep impression and we need quick and intensive propaganda to make the effect of your visit lasting. The real struggle to win the masses in the Punjab has started now, when

the Muslim League has finally freed itself from the prison-bars of the Unionist Party. We have to dislodge the selfish landed gentry, whose creed is loyalty to the Crown even at the expense of Islam, from the positions of leadership they hold now.

Both the institutions, that is the free dispensary and the reading room and library, have been named after you, our dear Quaid-i-Azam. We hope you will help this nascent organization with books bearing your autographs and donations of all sorts.

We request you to appoint a sub-committee of the All India Muslim League to control the organization and help in establishing its branches elsewhere as well.

We have made this modest attempt with faith in *Allah* and pray to Him to accept our humble service and fructify our efforts. We pray to Him to bless this organization to help in curing the ills in the body politic of Islam.

In the end, we request you to accept the patronship of this organisation. With these words we take your leave, our dear, dear Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours sincerely,
A. FAROOQ RAHMATULLAH
Secretary, Servants of Pakistan Central Organization

593

Mohammad Yusuf Gazi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/414-5

TRIMBAK ROAD, NASIK,
27 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter addressed to me by Mr. H. B. Mashhadi, Headmaster, Government Anglo-Urdu High School, Nasik.[1] Our movement requires direct contact with the public in general. So we cannot abstain from coming in contact with them. His allegation regarding our contact with teachers in his school is absolutely baseless and false. On the contrary, Mr. Mashhadi himself is in contact with my group and he has been extending every help to this group in its different social activities.

There is a small number of guards studying in his school but there is no truth whatsoever in the allegation that we are carrying on work

secretly. Our work is going on openly and every Muslim desirous of becoming a national guard is welcomed. It may be mentioned here that Mr. Mashhadi is not only ill-treating the guards studying in his school but giving them corporal punishment for the only fault of their burning desire to serve the Muslim nation. His allegation regarding taking part in political movements may also be noted. From time to time we were invited to attend the school functions held under the auspices of the School Debating Society which arranges lectures of eminent speakers, and the Headmaster had been asking us to inform him if any outside speaker comes to Nasik so that his lecture could be arranged for his pupils.

On the 25th July, Mr. Hashim Ali Inamdar, *Salar-e-Suba,* Muslim National Guards, accompanied by Kazi Mohamed Ali paid his visit to Nasik. On his request a body [*sic*] was sent to inquire whether a lecture could be arranged.

The form and the tone of the letter is too rude. It is worth noting from the language he has used that he is giving threats to us in every sentence and he considers that our movement is based on foolish notions and is a secret one. This we consider a serious and grave allegation that he has levelled against our all-India movement.

In spite of levelling some grave charges and passing caustic remarks after giving us threats, he is demanding explanations from us. May be [*sic* for we] therefore request you to advise us in the matter.

We are awaiting an early reply.

Yours faithfully,
M. YUSUF
President, Muslim League

'In his letter, the Headmaster had complained that Muslim League workers were urging the students to take part in politics. See F. 1102/416,*QAP*. Not printed.

594

Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/231-2

BURHANPUR, C.P.,
27 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

How I wish I could have attended this very important meeting of the League Council to be held at Lahore. But my difficulty is that I am

defending some Muslims who are accused in a communal riot case and it is already fixed for evidence on the 29th and the following days. Muslims in this case are victims of the Mahasabha activities. A large number of Hindus are also prosecuted for rioting, etc., who were, in fact, the aggressors in the quarrel. I hope and pray that you will please pardon me for my unavoidable absence.

The death of that veteran Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung is a very great loss to the Muslim League in particular. His very close association with you and all of us had made him a strong and forceful supporter and advocate of the Muslim League and he was carrying on its propaganda with great zeal and sincerity of purpose. His death at this juncture is an irreparable loss to the Muslim nation in India.

The object of serving the parent body of the All India Muslim League is, to me, above all other considerations. And in spite of many odds in my way I have been rendering service to the cause of the Muslim League, which is so dear and near to me, as best as I could.

But I do feel the immediate necessity of establishing a very strong and effective propaganda department for the All India Muslim League with its branches all over India. The matter is really so important, as I hope you also realise, that I thought I would be able to seek an opportunity to discuss with you the whole scheme while at Lahore. Since it was not possible for me to come there, I thought I must place my own views before you in this letter.

I quite realise that you will be very busy this time and ordinarily I should not have intruded upon your very valuable and precious time, but I thought I should not lose sight of the fact that most of the responsible members of the Working Committee and the League Council will be by your side and you can get their opinion also in the matter.

The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha have got very important and influential propaganda machineries to carry on their work, both in and out of India, and our case has very often been allowed to suffer by default. It is on this account that I have been seriously thinking of requesting you to do the needful in the matter and establish a central propaganda office.

Needless it is for me to say that I beg to offer my services in the matter, if so required.

I shall be very thankful if you are pleased to enlighten me with your esteemed views on the subject when it is convenient to you.

Although it is not the occasion for me to remind you, once again, to

pay a kind visit to Burhanpur and I am afraid it may not cause any annoyance to you, but I take the liberty to invite you to my place in the end of the year. My object in so inviting you is that you will please enjoy your birthday celebrations at Burhanpur. On that happy occasion it will be possible for us, of course with your approval, to arrange a Muslim League conference which will be inaugurated by your goodself.

I would implore you to grant my request this time and not cause me and the Musalmans of Burhanpur, Khandwa, Indore, Bhopal, Berar, Khandesh, Malwa and the adjoining districts disappointment by postponing the long-awaited visit.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!
Muslim League Zindabad!
Pakistan Zindabad!

Yours very sincerely,
MOHAMMED ASGHAR

595

A. M. Khwaja to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/9

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM MAJLIS,
CENTRAL OFFICE,
DELHI,
27 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I trust you have already received my letter[1] enclosing a copy of the resolution of the All-India Muslim Majlis and requesting you to kindly join the joint conference of all the Muslim political organizations to be held on the 17th and 18th August. The majority of the members seem to approve Delhi.

Sheikh Hassamuddin Sahib, President of the Majlis-i-Ahrar, is here, and he and I have just sent you a joint telegram which I hereby confirm.

Most of the Muslim organizations seem to approve Ahrar's suggestion whereupon Muslim Majlis has issued invitations to all Muslim organizations to meet in joint conference 17th 18th August Delhi. Earnestly request you and your Working Committee postpone

pronouncement Rajaji's Formula till joint conference and to participate therein thus bring about complete unity and harmony among Muslims at this critical juncture.

As you are holding the meeting of your Working Committee, it will be easy to convey the invitations to the members and I trust that the date and place would suit them.

Yours sincerely,
A. M. KHWAJA

[1]No. 588.

596

Masud Beg Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/421

LAHORE,
28 July 1944

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim
Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'ala Rasulihil Karim

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

I beg to enclose herewith a short circular[1] written by Maulana Muhammad Ali of Lahore. I hope this will receive your fullest consideration as it pertains to the very important issues of Islamic solidarity and the good of the Muslim League.

With respectful regards,

Yours fraternally,
MASUD BEG MIRZA
Secretary,
Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam

[1]The circular opposed a resolution, due to come up before the All India Muslim League Working Committee, declaring Qadianis to be outside the pale of Islam, on the ground that it was likely to create a split among Muslims. See F. 1102/422-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

597

S. L. Shourie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 188/60

SHOURIE BUILDINGS,
QILLA GUJJAR SINGH,
LAHORE,
28 July 1944

Dear Sir,

As Quaid-i-Azam, you are a great authority in India now. Could I take the liberty of presenting to you the enclosed pamphlet, *Brotherhood Through Common Prayers,* and asking you the favour of an expression of your opinion on the subject-matter dealt with therein. On receipt of your reply I am now going to take up the matter seriously.

In 1935, when I approached you in connection with the Shahidgunj[1] solution [*sic*] that you took up, I [had] hoped that you would bring a solution which would lay down the foundations of "common prayers" for all people together and dispose of, once for all, the disease of communalism and bigotry in religion which has been so irksome and disgusting to you and others. I was not favoured with a reply then. Perhaps, it was not needed. But I hope you will not disappoint me this time.

Politics in India, excuse me if I say, now consists of stunts and counter-stunts, with but a ray of truth bursting out at times. It may be that by the delay, which is making every one sick, you are marking time and one fine morning you may turn [*sic* for spring] quite a surprise on the world, proving that instead of a stumbling block in the way you are in reality the greatest politician of the age who not only can get distressed India freedom now but can unite India and Britain together into a lasting firm friendship.

To every human being, you will agree, Sir, his birthplace is the holiest of all. To the inhabitants of this unfortunate land, who have within its natural boundaries lived interdependently since time immemorial, this cannot therefore be an exception to the rule. And if under an influence, howsoever great, a fraction of the inhabitants of a part of this ancient land were now told that the rule of the land obtaining would be changed and the area purified (as if it was not so already!) with a new name, Pakistan, would they not feel insulted at the very start? I am simply laying before you, dear Quaid-i-Azam, a bare truth and a simple interpretation put on your proposal. To renaming

"Panchanada" as Punjab there could not be much objection because of the complete retention of the substance and no insult. But how can the Punjabis, who have loved their Punjab so dearly and for so long, now forget it, whatever their politics might be?

Believe me, Sir, I am a sincere friend of both Muslims and Britain. Communalism is a dangerous poison of which we have experienced the bitterest taste and we should throw it away now.

Yours sincerely,
S. L. SHOURIE

[1]The Shaheed Gunj Mosque, Lahore, sequestrated during Sikh rule in the Punjab, had been a bone of contention between the Muslims and Sikhs. Two abortive lawsuits had been instituted in 1852 and 1882 for its restoration In 1935, an attempt by the Sikhs to demolish it led to demonstrations by the Muslims. The situation took an ugly turn when a civil disobedience movement, during which 13 persons were killed, was launched by the Muslims At that stage Jinnah arrived in Lahore on a mission of communal reconciliation, peace and harmony. He prevailed on the Muslims to call off the movement and opt for a constitutional approach. The Governor was also persuaded by him to release all the detainees He then had local leaders of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs form an inter-communal committee to resolve the dispute, See Zahid Husain Anjum, *Encyclopedia Quaid-i-Azam*, Lahore, 1991, 407-9.

598

Report by Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana on Punjab ML for June & July 1944

SHC, Punjab I/6

LAHORE,
28 July 1944

I. STRENGTHENING THE ORGANISATION

In June, we began with the position that most District Leagues had existence only on paper. Consequently, the urgent primary task was to set up the preliminary scaffolding of organisation in the districts. For this, extensive tours were undertaken.

II. TOURS

Considerable success was achieved by the tours of the President, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, and other office-holders and functionaries of the League, including the Organising Secretaries of the Rawalpindi, Lahore and Jullundur Divisions. Through these tours, we laid the basis of the organisation in the districts.

Another tour was made to contact MLAs and to bring them towards the League, particularly in the Multan Division. Here some success

was achieved but in the majority of cases a genuine sympathy for the League was pathetically overcome by fear and greed operated by the bureaucracy.

III. AGITATIONAL TOURS

By July, the organisational scaffolding in the districts was sufficient for us to organise agitational tours. An extensive tour was made by Sardar Shaukat Hyat in the Ambala Division. He held meetings in almost every important centre in the Ambala Division and also in Jullundur and Amritsar. Side by side with this, he tightened up the organisation of the District Leagues. Mian Mumtaz Daultana toured the Multan District, organised Primary Leagues and held meetings at Vehari, Mailsi and Burewala. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Syed Mustafa Shah Gilani held meetings in Rawalpindi and Sargodha. Our work is most hopeful in Sargodha—home of the Tiwanas. The Rawalpindi Students Conference (June 17th-18th) was successfully used as a platform for League propaganda.

Nawab Mamdot, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and others toured Sheikhupura, where a most enthusiastic gathering of 8,000 people came to our meeting in a small rural place. Subsequently, the Provincial leadership toured Montgomery [now Sahiwal], where the meeting of the Provincial Working Committee was held (18th July) and where we held the most successful public meeting with 10,000 present. In Multan, we had perhaps our most successful meeting with an attendance of 15,000. Recently, Nawab Mamdot and Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan toured Gurdaspur, Batala and Pathankot where most successful meetings were held. Mian Mumtaz toured Jhang where the most critical, if also encouraging, situation has arisen.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's dismissal is the biggest agitational capital of the League which has carried our message and slogans to the furthest corners of the Punjab.

IV. LOCAL ACTIVITIES

In addition to centrally directed tours, the District Leagues have also been holding meetings on their own initiative. Montgomery, Lyallpur [now Faisalabad], Sheikhupura, Sargodha, Jhang, Sialkot and Rawalpindi Districts may be especially mentioned. Two organisers, Nasir Ahmad Malli (Sialkot) and Syed Mustafa Shah Gilani (Rawalpinid) may be singled out for their energetic work.

V. PRESENT LEVEL OF ORGANISATION

The expulsion of Khizar and Co. has united us as never before and purged our ranks of hypocrites and traitors. The Nawab of Mamdot's

leadership is unquestionable throughout the province among League ranks. With this background, our organisation is improving, although it is still weak. There is great enthusiasm among our ranks but we are yet raw levies not drilled into a disciplined army. In many districts and cities, the offices are still in lukewarm and even hostile hands. This state of affairs will be remedied in the next elections after *Ramazan*.

We have postponed League elections until after *Ramazan* in order to permit the preparation of the organisational groundwork.

Membership drive is just beginning. We were much delayed by difficulties in getting our forms printed. There has been a great demand for enrolment forms from all districts. We have printed five lakh which we hope would exhaust within a few months.

VI. CENTRAL OFFICE

Our staff is now almost complete.

We are reorganising our Publicity Department and have adequately equipped ourselves with cyclo-machine, two typewriters and adequate stock of paper.

Our premises remain inadequate. There is a possibility of our finding better premises soon on The Mall.

Our main enemy has been the Paper Restriction Ordinance. We have bought a press but have not yet overcome the technicalities in the way of opening it.

We would welcome your suggestions for improving our publicity, especially in other provinces.

VII. OUR AGITATION AND PUBLIC RESPONSE

The public response has been much more than we could expect or deserve. Big demonstrations, huge meetings and boundless enthusiasm have greeted us everywhere.

Our weaknesses have been so far our inability to effectively plan our agitation. This is mainly because we have not so far elaborated our concrete programme.

Thus, we have tended towards being too vaguely sentimental or else too legal and technical (i.e. regarding Sikander-Jinnah Pact).

The cure for this would be better planning of our agitation. Also, we desire from the Centre guidance, particularly in framing a concrete programme which will appeal to the masses. It is now becoming clear that in view of the determined Government opposition, our basic strength must come not from the landlords or the *zaildar-lumberdar* class but from the broad masses of the Muslim people.

VIII. FINANCES

We have enough in hand for four months. We are delaying making

a drive for funds before we have something to show to the people. We shall drive for funds in October.

IX. PRESS

Among dailies, the *Zamindar* and the *Nawa-i-Waqt* support us. The *Ehsan* publishes our reports but not our statements and is non-committal in comment.

But sympathetic papers are no substitute for a paper of our own, for which the paper quota has not so far been sanctioned. We earnestly request the special attention of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali [Khan] in this matter.

X. MSF

The MSF have carried out the preliminary organisation of its own branches and have made excellent progress. They have started the excellent venture of a training school which will be in session from July 23rd to the 4th of August. Intensive agitational training is being given to some 60 members taking the course who will form a cadre of excellent workers for the League.

On August 4th, the MSF will place at our disposal 35 trained workers for a period of one and a half months.

XI. ACTIVITIES OF OTHER PARTIES

The bureaucracy is the most powerful party in the province committed to fight[ing] ruthlessly against us if it is to survive in its present naked and autocratic form. The entire machinery of Government repression has been launched against the League and every State official is being impressed as an agent of the Unionist Party.

Due to lack of confidence in their hastily improvised ideology, the platform of the National War Front is being used as the platform of the Zamindara League which is being organised as the extra-parliamentary manifestation of the Unionist Party. Public indignation has killed the Jat Mahasabha and the Rajput Conference which are now being substituted by the Zamindara League. Huge funds are being extorted from the people by the most violent coercion, a start having most naturally been made in the most backward south-west districts. The people pay in helplessness or as the price of Government favour—the largest contributors being *zaildars* and also the large hoarders.

The Unionists are making no attempt so far at ideological propaganda and stand clearly exposed before the people. In many places, there has been unexpected resistance to this coercion. Many zamindars, notably the entire District of Jhang, have hotly refused to have anything to do with the Zamindara League. The public clearly sees Khizar as the tool and the cloak of the bureaucracy.

XII. THE CONGRESS

A large section, led by Gopichand, were ardently wooed by the Unionists and Gopichand was sent to Gandhi; but it seems his mission was unsuccessful. Some of Gopichand's followers, e.g. Krishan Gopal Dutt, MLA, have since taken up a more cautious attitude.

Another section led by [Mian] Iftikhar-ud-Din (in jail) is strongly anti-Unionist and stands for Congress-League settlement. Diwan Chamanlal, MLA, belongs to this group.

XIII. THE SIKHS

The Communist section which is rapidly gaining ground at the expense of the Akalis and is reliably reported to command a majority of the Sikh votes is, in common with the rest of the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha, resolutely anti-Unionist and pro-League. Five of their MLAs are ready to support the League Party in the Legislature. They accept Pakistan but demand from us the right of Sikhs [to] self-determination.

XIV. AKALIS

Akalis, under Baldev Singh, [are] lined up behind the Unionists. But there is tremendous disruption amongst them and a section under Giani Kartar Singh is prepared for unity with the League for Pakistan on the basis of most exaggerated and quite fabulous Sikh claims.

XV. THE HINDUS

The Mahasabha section and the Chhotu Ram group are now two manifestations of the same party and nothing has exposed Chhotu Ram more effectively before the Muslims. There are, however, considerable personal jealousies and ambitions amongst Hindu leaders which must prove a fruitful cause of disruption when the League is strong enough to threaten the Ministry.

The Hindu press is rabidly communal and totally blacks out a section of progressive Hindus who are prepared to make common cause with the League against the bureaucracy.

XVI. OTHER MUSLIM GROUPS

Ahrars have been bought up by the Unionists. They plan to link up the Union with the Shyamaprasad-Huq group of Bengal into an all India anti-League conspiracy. Ahrars seek to run down the League by venomous personal attacks on League leaders. Ahrar ranks, which are bitterly anti-British and anti-Unionist, are deserting the leadership and swinging towards the League.

Khaksar leader has also made a pact with the Unionists but for this very reason their ranks, like the Ahrars, are coming over to us.

XVII. FUTURE PROSPECTS

There is no doubt about the deep sympathy of the people. But to shake off the deep-rooted fear of the bureaucracy, to combat the firm hold of nepotism over Punjabi public life, will need tireless and prolonged agitation. Apart from the appeal of Pakistan, the League must formulate a more concrete and immediate programme which is suited to the local needs of the province and is democratic and anti-bureaucratic. Something in the nature of a legislative manifesto from the Punjab League Party is indicated which would distinguish the League from Khizar's Party of the 'Friends of the Governor' as a People's Party.

Work in the rural areas, which is already gathering momentum, will in time mobilise the Muslim masses firmly behind the League. Already, the attempts of the Unionists to interpret the League-Unionist conflict as a matter of personal rivalry or as a question of the legal interpretation of a document, have proved abortive. The issues are clearly grasped by the politically conscious public who have been aided in this by a series of widely distributed pamphlets written by Mian Bashir Ahmad and published by the Provincial League.

The general level of political integrity amongst the Muslim MLAs is low but we hope to count on the support of 30 MLAs in the next session.

MUMTAZ DAULTANA
General Secretary

599

Teja Singh Swatantra and Sohan Singh Josh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 189/33

114 MCLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
29 July 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

We are anxious to meet you on behalf of the communist Sikhs of the Punjab to discuss with you the question of Pakistan and the Sikh right to self-determination. You will have received our letter on this question already.[1]

We feel it is important that we should meet, if possible, before you come to a final decision in the Working Committee—and shall be grateful

for an interview as soon as possible. May we expect a reply by return.[2]

Yours sincerely,
TEJA SINGH SWATANTRA
MLA
SOHAN SINGH JOSH
MLA
Punjab Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India

[1]See No. 582.
[2]The interview was fixed for 1 August 1944, as noted on the document.

600

Sajjad Zaheer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1029/8

114, MCLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
29 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall be obliged if you would kindly give me some time when I could see you for a short while. I have come here from Bombay and have been specially commissioned by the Central Office of the Communist Party of India to seek an interview[1] with you so that I could place their views on the question of Congress-League settlement for your consideration.

With respectful regards,

Yours truly,
SAJJAD ZAHEER
Member, Central Committee,
Communist Party of India

[1]The interview was fixed for 1 August 1944, as noted on the document.

601

P. C. Ghosh & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 175/2

CALCUTTA,
29 July 1944

The undermentioned statement has been issued by fifty one Barristers-at-Law of Calcutta. Copies have been forwarded to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. M. A. Jinnah:

STATEMENT

The continuation of the political deadlock in India is harmful to the interest of Hindus and Muslims alike. We are of the opinion that a settlement between the Congress and the League is essential for a solution of the deadlock.

The Formula for Congress-League settlement, as suggested by Mr. Rajagopalachariar and supported by Gandhiji, is a welcome move towards settlement. There may be objections to some details in the Formula but we are sure that it can serve as a basis for negotiations between the Congress and the League to examine those details and to hammer out a commonly-agreed settlement.

Such negotiations and settlement can thrive only in an atmosphere of Hindu-Muslim cordiality. We would, therefore, appeal to all, Hindus and Muslims alike, to desist from mutual recriminations or imputing motives to Gandhiji or Mr. Jinnah and to discuss the Formula in the most friendly manner. That will be the best way to help our leaders to come to an agreement.

P. C. GHOSH AND OTHERS[1]

[1]Many similar letters from Hindu individuals and organisations urging the acceptance of the C.R. Formula were sent to Jinnah. Not all of them have been printed, however.

602

Ghazi Abdul Karim Ajmeri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878B/236-9
[Original in Urdu]

WAZIRPURA,
AGRA, U.P.,
30 July 1944

Muslim League Zindabad!

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In this temporal world, nobody lives for ever. Even our Prophet [PBUH] had to leave this world. The tragic death of *Quaid-i-Millat* Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung is an irreparable loss to the Muslim community. He spent the whole of his life in the service of the Muslim League and the Muslim community. It is now our duty to follow in his footsteps to safeguard the rights of the Muslim nation.

I do not know in what capacity the followers of Mahatmaji are supporting the Formula[1] which is the brainchild of some Mahasabhai workers, flatterers, toadies and communists. It is offered to be an alternative to the Lahore Resolution. In other words, they accepted the demand for Pakistan. However it is hypocritical behaviour of Hindus to deceive the Muslims.

Hindus claim that they are real representatives of India. In fact, they want to make us slaves under their majority rule. Muslims want peace with all, but it does not mean that they would accept *swaraj* or Congress rule. We will struggle for Pakistan. I know that no power in the world can deny our legitimate right to independence. With our struggle and by the grace of God, we will attain our objective—Pakistan.

Now, I would like to suggest to our leaders that they take part in constructive work. Turkey is the best example before us. We should develop good relations with the Islamic world and make Pakistan an industrial country. In order to learn from Turkey's experience, more and more students should be sent to Turkey and Turkish experts be invited to Pakistan.

Delegations may be sent to Islamic and other countries to create a better understanding of the viewpoint of Indian Muslims. It will also

help in countering the Congress propaganda.

District committees should also be formed for the social uplift of Muslims.

Wassalaam

GHAZI ABDUL KARIM AJMERI

[1]C. Rajagopalachari Formula. See Enclosure to No. 251.

603

A. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/53

786 NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
30 July 1944

Dear Sir,

The real League organization in the City of Karachi [has] at last been established against heavy odds with your blessings. I have got the fruit of my labour against the opposition of all the Ministers and their subordinates. Now, I am the President of the City League with 25,000 people on the roll. Just as I succeeded in sowing the seed in very good soil, I am sure my words should weigh with you in conveying to you the view of the citizens of Karachi. You will remember that I brought to your notice on three occasions, about [*sic*] the corrupt practice of [M. H.] Gazdar in front of the Municipal Councillors, but your goodself's reply was, "Come in and turn them out". Now we, with the lead of Provincial Working Committee, are out to fight for the good name of Muslim League and its Quaid-i-Azam. You have saved the corrupt Ministers by wiring not to proceed any further. The people did not like this, as the local people who are suffering under the present Ministers should be given support from the Centre rather than the shielding of such contemptible Ministry. Your time is precious and I must be short. The enclosed cuttings[1] will speak to you for your guidance.... I ask you earnestly to do away with this Ministry and honest men should be looked for and if this Ministry is allowed to continue, then the League is bound to lose its patronage and complete death [*sic*] will follow.

By the way, I might inform you now that I belong to Frontier and my uncle is an M.L.A. There, the Ministers are equally corrupt of

which, I am sure, the Committee of which G. M. Sayed was a member and who toured N.W.F.P., must have apprised you. The Chief Minister is the talk of the day in Frontier public. The time is not far when you will have to whitewash the N.W.F.P. Ministry like the Sind one. If it is nipped now, then the Muslims might be saved from second disgrace. Please excuse intrusion on your valuable time and pray to Almighty that better sense may prevail in the Parliamentary Board. May Almighty liberate the people of Sind from further victimization and oppression. *Aameen.*

Yours sincerely,
A. A. KHAN
President,
Muslim Municipal League

Enclosures 1 & 2

Enclosure 1 to No. 603

F. 829/54

MAJORITY OF MINISTERS DONE DISSERVICE[1]

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the City Muslim League yesterday, Dr. A. A. Khan presiding, the following resolutions were passed:

The Working Committee of the Karachi City Muslim League condemn the attitude adopted by the Premier and his Government in dealing with the question of allocation of seats to different communities in the Karachi Municipal Corporation, whereby he has completely ignored the League, which justifiably claims to be the sole representative body of the Muslims of Karachi, and invited such persons who enjoy no confidence of the Muslim public. The Working Committee appoints a sub-committee to meet the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and acquaint him with the situation and request him to withdraw the League support to the proposed bill in this matter.

The Working Committee of the Karachi City Muslim League is of the opinion that a majority of the Ministers in the present Ministry have done disservice to the cause of the League and the Muslim nation, and in view of the lawlessness and corruption, as exposed by the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, request the Quaid-i-Azam and the Committee of Action to withdraw their support from such corrupt Ministers.

[1]The *Daily Gazette*, 25 July 1944.

Enclosure 2 to No. 603

F. 829/55

TO MR. JINNAH[1]

The foremost League politicians of Sind (including Muslim Ministers) will be in Lahore by the weekend to represent their case to the high command when the resolution of the Sind Muslim League Working Committee comes to be considered. This resolution charges the Ghulam Hussain Ministry, among other things, with bribery, corruption and nepotism, with doing practically nothing for the uplift of the Muslim masses, and with creating, in short, an atmosphere in the administration from top to bottom in which every man can demand and take his price without the least fear of being called to account. A whole brood [*sic*] of parasites, hangers-on and go-betweens has come into being as a result of the existence of this Ministry which, like locusts, is sucking the honey of this province. Corruption and bribery are the causes, among other things, for the revolt of the younger section of the Muslim League organisation of this province led by Mr. G. M. Sayed, against the present Ministry, who passed a vote of no-confidence in it a few weeks ago. There is a wide gulf prevailing between the ministerial section and the Sayed section in the League. The latter are in a majority and stand for the purity and uprightness of the administration and for quicker and far-reaching social and economic development of this province, though they are full of communal hatred and are no friends of the Hindus. They love dictatorship and their chief proclaims himself to be a socialist standing for the nationalisation of land.

The Muslim Ministers, with the exception of probably one, are weathercocks, desperately anxious to be in office—yesterday Allah Buxites, today Leaguers, tomorrow Independents, and day after tomorrow heaven knows what! One or two may even declare themselves to be Hindu Mahasabhaites if that enables them to be in office. In fact, they have no principle and no party. They are there in the League as soldiers of fortune, and when it ceases to attract them they will transfer their allegiance to some other party. It is all opportunism of the worst type. Power and pelf are the main attractions, not the good, the progress and the happiness of this province. At this very moment, some of these Ministers are in active negotiation with certain members of the Opposition and are also promising office to some of the men sitting on the Government benches in the event of the decision of the League at its Lahore meeting going against them. If, for instance, the League calls upon its Ministers to resign, they will do

nothing of the sort. They will immediately form a new party to keep themselves in office. They have no loyalty to the League. The League is only a facade to cover their questionable acts.

The Muslim League organisation is bitterly opposed to its so-called representatives in the Ministry and wants to get rid of them for the sake of a purer administration. As things are, it is not going to support the present Ministry whole-heartedly. There have been many scuffles between the two. Feuds will increase, and bad blood will flow. That is the prospect before the League. Mr. G. M. Sayed has drawn his sword against the Premier and the Revenue Minister and, if they are supported by the League High Command, it is said, he goes out of the League show.

Although the attitude of the man in the street is "a plague upon both your houses," we are afraid we are steadily drifting in this province towards a position when the application of Section 93 will become necessary. Some high places are already working in that direction and they are very much pleased indeed at these dog-fights and communal legislation which has torn the communities asunder.

[*Next para omitted*]

A house divided against itself cannot stand. This house of Mr. Jinnah in Karachi is tottering to its very foundations. Muslim Minister is against Muslim Minister, Hindu Ministers are against Muslim Ministers, and all are making an unedifying exhibition of themselves in the public. Muslim members of the Assembly are kept in hand by bribes and concessions and kept up together by war on the Hindus. The representatives of the Muslim masses are not satisfied with the domination of *Jagirdars* and *Zamindars* in the Assembly to keep them under their servitude. All the signs of a rapidly disintegrating ministry, which can continue in office only to the greatest detriment of the province, are present.

The Muslim League high command has to take a decision at Lahore. It cannot be postponed on some pretext or other. The house that Jinnah has built in Sind is crumbling. There must be a clean sweep and then reconstruction. If not, Section 93 is the only way out.

Editorial, the *Sind Observer*, 27 July 1944.

604

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/19

IDARA-I-'ALIYYAH,
P.O. ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
30 July 1944

My dear Jinnah,

After anxious and patient moments of the last few weeks when I finally wrote to you, I have my most sincere appreciation that you have come forward to alter the destiny of India to something better, however little, and I assure you again that I along with every Khaksar that is in the land will work with you in the full spirit of loyalty and friendship, for the achievement of Pakistan and consequently the independence of India.

I deliberately ask my pardon for the harsh words spoken both in public and in my letters to you, as I feel intensely delighted over the words you uttered in Rawalpindi a day back that you were working for the freedom not only of ten crore Muslims but of the thirty crore non-Muslims as well. I can only say that this utterance will stand out as a pledge of your sincerity to India in the grave talks that are coming.

Mahatma Gandhi is to be congratulated no less for the bold and frank letter that he has written, and I am sending a telegram of profound thankfulness to him to-day. I am also writing to him, but these moves have already cleared the tense atmosphere that existed and I assure you that Hindus and Muslims are more ready for an understanding to-day than they were ever before.

I have purposely refrained from saying anything concerning the Formula put forward by the ex-Premier of Madras, chiefly because you were silent, but also because, as I told you, I was determined to bring the matter of your meeting with the Mahatma to tangible conclusion. You are shrewd enough to see through it yourself, but as far as the Khaksars are concerned no stone will be left unturned in order to bring your conversations with Mr. Gandhi to the successful conclusion that every soul in India demands. May God help you and the Mahatma as well.

On this serious occasion in the history of India, I am proposing to order a batch of Khaksars to reach Bombay and shall, if possible, reach Bombay myself for the purpose of begging you and Mr. Gandhi with

folded hands to reach a suitable settlement, satisfactory to both parties. I have no doubt that a settlement is bound to be reached with these good beginnings on both sides and that you as well as the Mahatma will appreciate the reaching of this mixed batch of Hindus as well as Muslim Khaksars at the time of your conversations. I am writing to the Mahatma also to the same effect.

With best wishes and sincere congratulations, I am,

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

605

S. Vedaratnam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/31

2/11 MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
30 July 1944

Dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in sending you a copy of the re-publications of a collection of leading articles which appeared in the *Liberator* from time to time. On many occasions the *Liberator* has espoused the cause of the Muslim League. As you yourself have taken an interest in the non-Brahmin problem, I feel you may be interested in perusing the articles. I know you are extremely busy but if you could possibly spare some time to peruse these, the members of the *Liberator* staff will feel very thankful.[1]

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. VEDARATNAM
Editor

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the collection of leading articles from the *Liberator*. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/32. Not printed.

606

Mohammad Aziz Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/28

S.S. EAST,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
31 July 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The All India Muslim Students' Federation, at the request of the Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation, has decided to hold its annual session at Aligarh. The Reception Committee is fully conscious of the fact that you have taken a personal interest in the welfare of the Federation since its inception. The Aligarh Federation has directed me to request you to inaugurate the conference, and for that kindly fix some date in the winter season in accordance with your convenience. Members of the Federation wish to wait upon you in deputation in this connection. The Committee further hopes that you would kindly accept their humble invitation.[1]

Obediently yours,
MOHAMMAD AZIZ AHMAD
M. A., LL.B., Ph. D.
Chairman, Reception Committee

[1]Jinnah replied that for the time being he could make no commitment but suggested that he might be sounded out in November. See *SHC*, Students I/29. Not printed

607

Ramphal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/386

BHADRA, AHMEDABAD,
31 July 1944

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I met you in 1941.

As an old acquaintance of Tilak's and Besant's days, I pray to be heard by you.

You are receiving the Mahatma [Gandhi].

What role can you play in the destiny of India for a century? Will you be our Mustapha Kamal—our unifier and deliverer, our consolidator and our regenerator?

Pakistan with Hindustan, without any integrating idealism for the masses, without a living faith and hope for our people's energies will be more a *Khun-i-stan* than a *Behesht* or *Swarga* of *Swaraj*.

I hope to be in Bombay during these fateful talks.

May wisdom, patriotism and far-sighted vision for all India—our fatherland—be your guide.

With esteems,

Yours sincerely,
RAMPHAL

608

D. R. Prem to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/72

39 WELFORD ROAD,
NEW OSCOTT,
BIRMINGHAM,
31 July 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On behalf of the Indian community in Birmingham, I offer you and the Muslim League our warmest thanks and congratulations for your decision to see Mahatma Gandhi. We earnestly hope and pray that you two, the greatest leaders of India, come to a settlement for the independence and future prosperity of our dear country. As a prospective parliamentary candidate for the next general election here, I am in daily touch with politicians here and a settlement of Hindu-Muslim problem will strengthen my hands in the campaign I am carrying on for India. I have written to Gandhiji also.

With greetings and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
D. R. PREM
Honorary Secretary,
Indian Association and India Relief Committee

609

Z. A. Suleri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 459/6

131 ROUSE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
31 July 1944

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Immediately on the publication of C.R.'s Formula[1] and Gandhi's declaration that he was willing to join a war-time national government, B.B.C. (London) asked for Muslim reactions. Here I was asked to do the job of recording them. Since you had not said anything about the Formula, etc., need for caution was great. And, therefore, I touched only the obvious points. Now, in the light of what you said in your speech[2] at the Council's session, I feel happy in the thought that I was not far wrong in my views. I enclose what I wrote for your information.[3]

Excuse my sentimentality, but I can't help saying, beloved Quaid-i-Azam, that today you hold the destiny of hundred million Musalmans. There is not the least doubt that God has appointed you to save Musalmans in our times. But for you we should have been nowhere. Our only prayer to *Allah* is that you live long.

Yours obediently,
Z. A. SULERI

PS. Perhaps you know that I am indirectly connected with the B.B.C.

[1]Enclosure to No. 251.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 537-47.
[3]Not traceable.

610

Note by Hasanally P. Ibrahim

F. 918/50-3

BOMBAY,
31 July 1944

LEVY OF REGISTRATION FEE ON PILGRIMS

The object which prompted the Haj Inquiry Committee to

recommend the levy of Rs. five for the issue of pilgrim passes at the port of embarkation to pilgrims, not residents of that Port, was not to derive revenues for the Haj Committees but to encourage the pilgrims obtaining their pilgrim passes in their districts and thus shortening their stay at the ports of embarkation. The proceeds of this fee being [*sic*] handed over to the Committee for use by them in connection with the general improvement of facilities for the pilgrims. The experiences never show that the levy of this fee, which was later fixed at Rs. three, has not in any way encouraged the pilgrims to get their pilgrim passes from their districts....

Thus, as will be seen from the figures, the object which the Haj Inquiry Committee had in view has not been fulfilled and as such there appears to be no cause for the continuance of this pilgrim pass fee of Rs. three. If the pilgrim pass fee of Rs. three is to be condemned as a capitation levy, then there is no justification for imposing a registration fee of Re. one on every pilgrim because it will be a capitation levy in another form. It may here be mentioned that similar pilgrim passes are granted by the India authorities to the pilgrims proceeding to Iraq and Iran free of charge and hence there is no justification for charging any registration fee from the *Haj* pilgrims. The latter pilgrimage is a religious obligation on Muslims whereas the former is merely a *Sunnat* pilgrimage. This step-motherly treatment is therefore surprising that a pilgrimage which is not obligatory is tax-free whereas an obligatory pilgrimage is subject to taxation. Government of India spend huge sums on Ecclesiastical Department on a community which numbers one crore as against ten crores of Muslim population, and the amount they will have to spend on various Haj Committees will be microscopic compared to that expenditure. Is this not injustice?....

It will be still better if Muslim public were to demand that the Government should wash their hands of the pilgrim matters as by the Government handling the *Haj* matters in this manner, which only serve their purpose of making a world propaganda to show that they are helping Muslims, it serves no real and useful purpose for pilgrims because Government do not really protect pilgrims when they are taxed by other powers like the Hejaz and Iraq for the simple reason that it does not suit them to displease these powers, but when it suited them in the past they would protest strongly on any pretext, giving it a colour that they were doing so for the sake of pilgrims, as can be seen from the facts stated below:

It suits the Government to sit silent without moving their finger to protect the rights of pilgrims and therefore no efforts whatsoever to

abolish the Iraqi visa fee of Rs. five are made.

Unless Government become really sympathetic towards the pilgrims and protect them in its proper sense, there is no use their meddling [in] their religious functions. [They might] leave them alone and they (Muslims) will then fight for their rights through their own organisations.[1] It is hoped that Government will not take most unwise step of taxing the pilgrims by levying the registration fees.

[1]For the resolution adopted by the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, see Annex.

Annex to No. 610

F. 918/60

Resolution by Bombay Provincial Muslim League Working Committee

[Undated] 1944

That this meeting of the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League has learnt with great concern that the Government of India propose to introduce Registration Fee on all pilgrims proceeding to the Hejaz. The Committee draws the attention of the Central Haj Committee to the fact that the registration of pilgrims, together with their names and addresses of the heirs and nominees, is already maintained by the Port Haj Committee and it is not necessary to impose this registration fee for the purpose of maintaining such a register. The Committee is of opinion that the introduction of a registration fee of one rupee is the thin end of the wedge, which may develop into introduction of a tax on the pilgrims, and the Committee disapproves of this proposal. The Committee, therefore, requests the Central Haj Committee to reconsider the matter and recommend to the Government not to impose this tax.

A copy of the resolution may be sent to the Hon'ble Member in charge of Department of Commonwealth Relations, Government of India, New Delhi.[1]

[1]Dr. N. B. Khare.

611

Report[1] *by Mehtabuddin Hakim*

F. 829/35-8
[Original in Urdu]
[Undated] July 1944

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

(Para 1 omitted)

2. The Muslim League and National Guards were established at Thatta Isa long time back, but their activities were not given due publicity. A few mischief-mongers among the Khaksars had propagated against the League causing dissension among the workers. However, the situation was rectified and the village was cleared of the Khaksars.

3. In Warburton Town, the League was set up in 1944, but Khaksars neutralized its influence. However, the situation is now under control and a Muslim League meeting is being held for which Sardar Shaukat Hyat is being invited.

4. The Muslim League is facing an uphill task in Nankana Sahib because of strong opposition from Congress, Akali Dal, Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharam Sabha. Now, Ahrars and Congress have been completely routed but Khaksars are still raising their head. Remedial steps are being taken.

5. The enrolment of new members has increased compared to the past six years.

6. In May, elections for the office-bearers were held.

7. It was decided to accept monthly donations to strengthen financial position of the League.

[Paras 8 & 9 omitted]

10. Weekly meetings of League have proved very beneficial in removing doubts of workers.

11. Literature on League has been distributed on a large scale.

12. Delegates and Councillors from here participated in the Sialkot session of the Muslim League.

13. A resolution condemning the Hollywood film on the Holy Prophet (PBUH) was passed in a meeting. It was also demanded of the Government to facilitate the despatch of foodgrains to Hejaz.

[Paras 14 & 15 omitted]

16. The number of Muslim National Guards has increased to 20 while

the number of Khaksars has declined to 10 only. Fifteen volunteers were sent to the Muslim League Sialkot session.

[*Paras 17 & 18 omitted*]

19. Razakar Mohammad Ali was threatened of [*sic* for with] dire consequences in case he did not join Khaksars but he refused. He was provided [with] relief and security.

[*Paras 20 & 21 omitted*]

22. Fire broke out in the factory of a Hindu, Mangat Ram, on 3 March. Razakars were rushed to help in extinguishing it.

23. Razakars were sent to Warburton on 30 June on a propaganda mission.

24. National Guards informed the Muslim shopkeepers of the sudden demise of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. They closed their business for a day as a mark of respect to the departed leader.

[*Para 25 omitted*]

26. a. Rift between the Hindus and Sikhs had widened since March because some mischievous Hindus caught hold of a Sikh boy and shaved off his head. Besides, both want to promote their respective religions. Fire-spitting Hindu speakers urged their co-religionists to go to temples rather than *gurdwaras* for worship. Hindus took out a procession on the occasion of *Ram Nawmi* on 2 April and paraded with great spirit through the main bazaars. Infuriated by this demonstration, the Sikhs gave a thorough beating to a few Hindus whereupon both the groups grappled with each other. Ultimately, the Hindus gave in and fled from the scene. Later, they went on a strike in protest. The Muslim shopkeepers were asked to join them but they preferred to stay neutral as per the Muslim League policy.

b. A Hindu went on a fast and stabbed himself but was saved. Cases were registered against members of both the groups. Congress, Sanatan Dharam Sabha and Mahabeer Dal were already active among the Hindus; now Hindu Mahasabha has also been formed.

c. Now, Hindus are also collecting donations for the Hindus cause.

d. Arya Samajists are distributing copies of *Satyarath Prakash* among Hindus. They also read out extracts of this objectionable book in presence of the Muslims. Even the Sikhs held a large protest meeting in their *gurdwara* and demanded immediate forfeiture of this book. As Deputy Commissioner of the District happens to be a Hindu, warrants have been issued against three Sikhs under Defence of India Rules.

e. Akalis hold meetings in which they speak against Pakistan but with less venom.

f. Propagation of the Muslim League cause has been started all over Sheikhupura District in right earnest.

g. Khaksars are still indulging in anti-League propaganda.

Efforts are continuing for a rapprochement between Hindus and Sikhs.

MEHTABUDDIN HAKIM
Secretary,
Nankana Sahib District Muslim League

[1]For the period from 1 April to 30 June 1944.

612

Progress Report by the Education Committee

SHC (27)

[Undated] July 1944

The Education Committee was appointed by the Committee of Action in its meeting held on the 5th of March 1944. The terms of reference and the personnel [*sic*] of the Committee are as follows:

> To examine the system of education in vogue in India, taking into consideration the existing conditions and problems as well as those which are likely to arise after the War; to make such recommendations as are necessary for the preservation, fostering and promotion of Islamic traditions, culture and ideals; and general well-being of the Muslims; and to suggest ways and means for implementing the recommendations in various parts of India. The recommendations are to cover education in all stages and aspects, namely primary, secondary, and higher education as well as general and vocational training.

The Committee is required to complete their task and submit the report by the end of the year and is empowered to co-opt new members and set up sub-committees.

Chairman	Nawab Moh[ame]d Ismail Khan
Convener	Dr. Moh[amme]d Afzal Husain Qadri
Members	Prof. Dr. S. Zafarul Hasan
	Dr. Zaki Uddin
	Dr. Razi Uddin Siddiqi
	K.B.Ale Ali Naqvi
	Dr. M. Aziz Ahmad
	K.B. Ghulam Nabi Qazi (retired D.P.I.Sind)
	Prof. A.B.A. Haleem

The Committee is particularly desired to form a sub-committee consisting of women with reference to female education. The Committee should

prepare at the first meeting an estimate of expenses it may have to incur in the collection of material.

Among the members of the Committee Dr. Zaki Uddin expired after a short and sudden illness. In place of late Dr. Zaki Uddin, Dr. M. M. Ahmad was co-opted by the Committee. Among the rest of the members, Prof. Dr. Razi Uddin Siddiqi of Osmania University, was prevented to serve on the Committee by the Hyderabad Govt. His informal help has all along been of great value to the Education Committee. The first formal meeting of the Committee was held on the 7th June 1944 and the following days. In this meeting, the following Advisory Committee with terms of reference and the personnel were appointed.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

The following are the terms of reference the Education Committee has prepared for the Advisory Committee of Experts with regard to Primary and Secondary Education:

Firstly, to examine the system of Primary and Secondary Education in vogue in various parts of India from the Muslim point of view; secondly, to make proposals for the education of Muslim boys and girls of urban as well as rural areas between the age of 15 to 17 with special reference to its aims and objects; media and methods of instruction, subject matters of study [in] educational organisations and institutions, physical culture, social activity, moral discipline, religious instruction and examinations in consonance with the spirit and ideals of Islam and the aspirations of the Musalmans of India; and thirdly, to suggest suitable differentiation of curricula and correlation between general, technical, vocational and commercial education at various stages.

The following are the members of the Advisory Committee:

K. B. Syed Ale Ali Naqvi, retired Inspector of Muslim Schools, U.P.
Mr. Muhammad Ishrat Husain, Lecturer, Training College and Headmaster, Muslim University High School, Aligarh
K. B. Mahmud Husain, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University
K. B. Ghulam Nabi Qazi, retired D.P.I., Sindh
K. B. A. Rahman, Assistant D.P.I., Bengal
Dr. G. M. Sufi, retired Inspector of Schools, C.P.
K. B. Shah Alam Khan, D.P.I. Frontier
Aftab Husain, Inspector of Schools, Hyderabad, Deccan
Dr. M. Aziz Ahmad (Convener) History Department, Muslim University, Aligarh

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

The following are the terms of reference for the Women's Education

Committee:

Firstly, to examine the system of women's education in vogue in various parts of India; secondly, to make proposals for examination and improvement in the education of Muslim girls at different stages in consonance with the spirit and teachings of Islam, the real position and function of woman in Muslim society, and aspirations of the Musalmans of India; and thirdly, to suggest ways and means for implementing their proposals in various parts of the country, including rural and urban areas.

This Sub-Committee of Women's Education was set up as desired by the Committee of Action with the following personnel:

Begum Moh[amma]d Ali, (President)
Miss Zohra Syed, Professor, Women College, Hyderabad
Mrs. Amina Pope
Begum Aizaz Rasul, Lucknow
Mrs. M. J. Hyder, Principal, Women's College, Aligarh
Miss Qamar Jahan, Muslim University, Aligarh
Dr. Miss Khadeja Ferozuddin (Convener), Principal, Women College, Amritsar

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The following are the terms of reference for the recruitment and training of teachers:

Firstly, to draw up a short term and a long term course of more effective training in general and social subjects for the teachers with a view to making the teacher an example of the Muslim personality and help to realise Islamic ideals in the education of coming generations and secondly, to make proposals for improving the conditions of service of Muslim teachers so that men of better qualifications are attracted to the profession, and their status is concerned [*sic*].

The Teachers' Committee consists of:

Nawab Mir Ahmad Ali Khan, Professor, Training College, Hyderabad
K.B.Ale Ali Naqvi
Mr. Wahidul Haq Siddiqi, Principal, Training College
Dr. Moh[amma]d Aziz Ahmad, History Department, Aligarh
Mr. Ch. Abdul Ghafoor, Training College, Aligarh
Dr. Moh[amme]d Afzal Husain Qadri (Convener), Aligarh

HIGHER EDUCATION

The following are the terms of reference for the Higher Education Committee:

To examine the system of higher education prevalent in (a) India today from the Muslim point of view, and (b) to ascertain whether it is

calculated to produce healthy and harmoniously developed personalities.
To devise a system of higher education which should provide for our youth the best (a) intellectual (b) emotional and (c) physical training and produce young men of sound character, moral behaviour and a real Islamic outlook on life. The system of education should aim at eliciting and developing the best in them with the help of our social and cultural heritage and at training them in higher ideals of citizenship and leadership in various branches of national life.
To make suggestions regarding syllabuses, modes of teaching, medium of instruction, duration of various courses, organisation of corporate life, etc.
To suggest methods for the promotion of advanced studies and research in various branches of learning.
Prof. Dr. S. Zafarul Hasan, Professor of Philosophy, Aligarh
Dr. Daudpota, D.P.I., Sindh
Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani, Osmania University, Hyderabad
Mr. Sheikh Abdur Rashid, History Department, Aligarh
Dr. Syed Moinul Haq, History Department, Aligarh
Dr. Razi Uddin Siddiqi, Osmania University, Hyderabad
Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, Professor, Delhi University
A.B.A. Haleem (Convener), Professor of Aligarh University
Dr. A.S. Siddiqi (Allahabad University)

SCIENCE EDUCATION

The following are the terms of reference for scientific education and technical training:

To examine the existing (a) scientific and (b) technical education of the Muslims of India, including the facilities offered by the State-aided scientific and technical institutes;

to investigate the causes of their backwardness in the field of science and technology as well as the means for removing them;

to make recommendations for making physical and natural sciences and technology an integral part of their education at all stages with a view to bringing about an all-round intellectual awakening in consonance with their heritage and ideology, and to improve their economic conditions;

to suggest ways and means for establishing an all-India institute of science and technical research (a) at a central place along with a network of institutes, colleges and (b) polytechnics in various parts of India, and also for getting a substantially large number of Musalmans trained as experts in all the important branches of service and technology.

Personnel of Scientific and Technical Education Committee:

Dr. Moh[amma]d Omar Hayat Malik, Principal, Islamia College, Lahore
Dr. Moh[amma]d Babar Mirza, Professor, Aligarh University
Dr. Wali Moh[amma]d, Professor, Lucknow University
Dr. M. Ishaq, Professor, Aligarh
Dr. Razi Uddin Siddiqi (Convener), Professor, Osmania University

ISLAMIC COMMITTEE

Terms of reference are separately given. The following are members of the Islamic Committee:

Dr. M. M. Ahmad, Philosophy Department, Aligarh
Dr. S. M. Yusuf, Arabic Department, Aligarh
Hafiz Fazlur Rahman, Philosophy Department, Aligarh
Dr. Burhan Ahmad, Professor, Islamia College, Jullundhur
Maulana Abdul Alim Siddiqi, Meerut
Maulana Syed Ibn-i-Hasan (Lucknow)
Dr. S. Zafarul Hasan (Convener) Professor, Aligarh

N.B. Education Committees of Hyderabad and Punjab could not obtain the permission of their Govts. to serve on our Advisory Committees.

A statement containing a brief outline of objectives and methods of Muslim Education was issued by the Convener of the Committee in order to elicit public opinion on the subject. Later on, a detailed questionnaire was prepared and was sent to a large number of educationists and educational institutions in all parts of India. Meanwhile, the Central and Provincial Departments of Education were approached to supply facts and figures of Muslim education. A collection of Provincial and Central reports on education along with other literature dealing with various systems of education in vogue in India was raised. The Committee has received a large number of memoranda from the educationists of various parts of India on different aspects of education. The final report of Education Committee will be published after the various Advisory Committees have completed their work. This statement will, therefore, contain a report of the work done by the various committees.

The Advisory Committee of Primary and Secondary Education have held several meetings. A survey of Muslim primary schools in various parts of India has been made. The Committee has outlined a number of proposals in order to bring about improvement in an increased utility of the Muslim schools. A series of charts dealing with the percentage of the people in primary and secondary stages and the extent of wastage which occurs during the primary stage due to the lack of compulsory education has been prepared. Latest available statistics of Muslim education in primary and secondary stages

in different provinces of British India have been collected and arranged in the form of tables.

A basic draft of a new scheme of education was prepared by Dr. Aziz Ahmad, Convener of this Committee. The Advisory Committee considered this draft along with other proposals and an outline of a new scheme of education for the primary and secondary stages has been prepared. The Committee has now only to write a detailed report containing a review of current systems, new proposals for Muslim education and practical suggestions, with regard to implementing the new scheme in various parts of India.

The Islamic Committee has also met several times. A questionnaire was prepared by the Committee and sent to all the well-known Muslim educationists and thinkers. The Committee has arrived at conclusions dealing with the fundamentals of the scheme of giving Islamic colour to the training and education of Muslim students. Syllabuses and plans of education in Islamics have been received from experts of both the oriental and western systems of education.

The Committee is, at present, preparing type syllabuses of education in Islamics. A draft dealing with the principles of Muslim education has been prepared by Dr. Burhan Ahmad Faruqi and is receiving careful consideration of its Convener Prof. S.Z. Hasan and the remaining members of the Committee.

The Scientific and Technical Education Committee has collected statistics of scientific and technical education in various provinces of India. Prof. Dr. Razi Uddin Siddiqi has prepared, after consultation with the other members of the Committee, a scheme of scientific, technical and vocational education at all stages. Plans of Muslim polytechnic schools have been prepared. A scheme for higher training and research in science and technology is under preparation. Prof. Dr. M.B. Mirza, Dean of Science in Muslim University, has also submitted a scheme of scientific education. It is unfortunate that Dr. Razi Uddin, the Convener of the Committee, was not allowed to serve on it by the Hyderabad Govt. He has, however, done a good deal of spade work and a Convener will have to be formed out [*sic*] to submit the report of the Committee in a formal manner.

The Teachers Training Committee has met several times. A basic scheme for the training and recruitment of teachers was prepared by the Convener, Dr. M. A. H. Qadri. It has been discussed by the professors and principals of several training colleges of India, especially by the Chairman and the Staff of the Muslim University Training College.

Important memoranda and a detailed scheme of the training of Muslim teachers have been received from well-known and experienced Muslim educationists. The report of the Teachers Training Advisory Committee will be prepared in a month or two.

The Higher Education Committee has held several meetings. A basic draft of all the important aspects of higher education has been prepared and placed before the Committee by its Convener, Prof. A.B.A. Haleem. It is being expanded continuously in order to include a comprehensive study of university education and of the problems connected with advanced studies and research in special institutes and colleges. Facts and statistics of general and vocational education in higher stage have been collected. The report of this Committee will take several months for its preparation because it shall have to consider the reports of the rest of the Advisory Committees on different aspects of education.

The Women Education Sub-Committee has met under the presidentship of Begum Sahiba Maulana Moh[amma]d Ali. It was especially assisted by the staff of the Women College, Aligarh. Dr. Miss Ferozuddin, Principal, Statford College for Women at Amritsar, who was selected as the Convener of the Committee, was disallowed by the Punjab Govt. to serve on this Committee. In her absence, Begum Sahiba Aizaz Rasool was appointed the Convener of the Committee. A questionnaire on women education was prepared by the Committee. A draft scheme of women education was submitted by Mrs. N. Siddiqui of Women College, Aligarh, and discussed by the Committee. The report of this Committee has been prepared by Miss Qamar Jahan Jaffar Ali, Headmistress, Muslim University Preparatory School and will be circulated among the members before it is finally submitted.

The future programme of the Education Committee after the preparation of the reports of the above-mentioned Advisory Committees will be as follows:

1. It will make a review of the existing system and condition of Muslim education.
2. It will formulate proposals for the post-war education of Muslims in various parts of India in consonance with the aims and ideals of Islam and in the light of its terms of reference.
3. It will offer suggestions for implementing the new scheme in various provinces of India and for making a nationwide drive for educational uplift of the Muslims.

APPENDIX I

BENGAL FAMINE RELIEF FUND 1943

Japan's entry into the Second World War on 7 December 1941 when it attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbour in Hawaii, the rapid advance of its armed forces towards India through South-East Asia and the Pacific, its domination of the Indian Ocean in the wake of the fall of Singapore (15 February 1942) and Rangoon (8 March 1942), and its occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (23 March 1942) dramatically changed the situation in South Asia, which had until then not been directly affected by the war. The lightning advance of Japanese forces had made India virtually a direct target, with air raids on Vizagapatam and Cocanada (6 April 1942) and Chittagong (7-8 May 1942), and naval attack on Colombo (5 April 1942) and Trincomalee naval base in Ceylon (9 April 1942).

Meanwhile, the Axis Powers had been winning battles in Europe and North Africa with the capture of Tobruk (20 June 1942), Sevastopol (1 July 1942) and Rostov (23 July 1942). Rommel had advanced up to Alamein (1 July 1942). The supply lines to India from both the west and the east were badly affected, as a sequel; the nearest source of rice in Burma dried up due to complete withdrawal of the British forces from there by May 1942.

The war had, naturally, caused great scarcity of consumer goods and price hikes. Nature, too played a part in creating scarcity of food in many provinces of India. Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, bewailed in December 1942 that food crisis had "overshadowed all other events", there being "wheat for a few days only in Bombay," "in Poona all bakeries were likely to close down" and "Bijapur has an almost complete famine."[1] Governor-General Linlithgow reported to the Secretary of State for India on 3 December 1942 about crop failure in Bombay due to lack of rain in October, and the worsening of food situation in Orissa and Bengal owing to cyclone.[2]

The food crisis deepened after the Japanese air raids on Bengal in December 1942. "Chittagong is receiving daily attention from enemy airmen", reported M.A.H. Ispahani to Jinnah on 17 December 1942. He continued, "the food position in the province of Bengal is growing more and more serious each day. In some areas, it is most acute. Generally, conditions are far from satisfactory. The cyclone in Midnapur and 24 Parganas has wrought untold havoc in the area. Tens of thousands have died and millions have been rendered homeless and are starving. The disaster is really terrible...."[3] The situation became alarming after the heavy Japanese bombing of Calcutta. Ispahani reported

on 26 December 1942 that "the Japs have been over-loving of late. They have visited us four times.... Half of Calcutta is on the run. The stations are packed and every road or pathway leading out of Calcutta bears lacs of humanity on the march. Even the country boats are packed to capacity by people leaving Calcutta...."[4]

Early next year, the Japanese started their offensive in Arakan (March 1943), forcing the British to evacuate Buthidaung and Maungdow in May 1943. This put a terrible strain on the means of transportation of food for civilian consumption in Bengal, being contiguous to the theatre of war, priority naturally being given to the army movement and transportation. The situation kept deteriorating, with the rice-growing provinces failing to send supplies to consuming provinces. John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, reported on 21 July 1943, "starvation in the districts is on the increase. One trouble is that mass of beggars are boarding trains without ticket in search of places where food may be available...."[5] It is quite likely that the poor starving people were bracketed with beggars. Food Department of the Government of India admitted in a note to Amery on 15 July 1943... "things have now taken a decided turn for the worse and we are faced with the situation of utmost gravity".[6] In his Memorandum dated 31 July 1943 to the War Cabinet, Amery feared that "famine conditions which have indeed already begun to appear may well spread to.... considerable areas...."[7] Government of India's note submitted on 2 September 1943 referred to the very large beggar population in Calcutta to which was "added a large number of destitute people from the surrounding districts, specially those rendered homeless and without resources by the cyclone". To cope with the "problem of destitutes," Bengal Government had opened "centres mostly on the outskirts of Calcutta and elsewhere throughout the Province" to supply gruel to these destitutes.[8]

Thomas Rutherford, the new Governor of Bengal, reported on 19 September 1943 that "scenes are pretty ghastly..... I envisage a large death toll throughout the Province from starvation... though famine is not officially declared, the conditions are those of famine...."[9] That deaths had been occurring due to starvation was admitted by Rutherford on 23 September, who gave the figure of death as "Present rate in Calcutta fifty a day mostly among the immigrants from outside. No reliable information as to deaths in districts...."[10]

When asked on 15 September 1943 by Linlithgow to send a "full and frank review of Bengal situation..." for transmission to War Cabinet, Rutherford, *inter alia*, reported on 2nd October 1943:

That total number at such relief centres is stated to be 1,18,000 in Calcutta and 8,40,000 in the mofussil....
The Famine Code has not been applied as we simply have not the food to give the prescribed ration....
Deaths from debility and starvation average at least 1,000 a week.[11]

It was in this background that a relief fund for ameliorating the appalling plight of famine-stricken Muslims was set up under the name of Muslim Chamber Relief Fund by Bengal Muslim League leaders with G.A. Dossani, President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta and M.A.H. Ispahani as President and Vice President of the Fund, respectively. In view of the widespread starvation deaths of Muslims in Bengal, Jinnah issued an appeal to the Muslims of India to donate to the Muslim Chamber Relief Fund. Many people sent donations to him direct and Jinnah remitted them to Muslim Chamber Relief Fund in Calcutta.

As the Fund was operated by Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce with local office-bearers, records of the Fund are scarce, scanty and scattered in *QAP*. Documents available in the *QAP* mainly relate to the donations sent to Jinnah direct, his acknowledgment to the donors, and his forwarding of the donations to Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, etc. In forwarding the donations to the Fund at Calcutta, Jinnah had the confidence that the money so collected for the Bengal Muslims would be properly utilized. He wrote to Ispahani, "as the Muslim Chamber of Commerce had undertaken this humanitarian work and as you are one of the permanent workers in this cause, I have no doubt that this money will be properly used. [12]

Donations had poured in not only from all over India but also from outside India, namely Pretoria, Mafeking, Johannesburg, Lydenburg, Caroline, Transvaal, Durban and Capetown, all in South Africa; Colombo and Jerusalem.[13] King Ibne Saud of Saudi Arabia also sent a cash donation of rupees ten thousand.[14] Mrs. Sarojini Naidu made a donation of Rs. 2,000 for Muslim destitutes of Bengal.[15] The Fund was utilized for giving rice (raw) to the affectees or for feeding them from gruel kitchen; for supply of milk to babies and nursing mothers; for supply of clothes to men, women and children and to orphans.

The Fund was closed on 31 December 1943. Total donations received up to that date were:

Donations in cash	5, 12, 169-7-1
Donations in kind	1, 65, 500-0-0
Total	6, 77, 662-7-1 [some mistake in aggregate]

Donations were received even after the closure of the Fund. Thus, on 4 January 1944, the total collection stood at 6, 92, 910-3-7.[16]

Roger Lumley to Linlithgow, 30 December 1942, No. 302, *TP*, III, 436-7
[2]Linlithgow to L.S. Amery, 3 December 1942, No. 242, ibid., 333-4.
M A.H Ispahani to Jinnah, 17 December 1942, Z.H Zaidi, ed., *M A Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence, 1936-1944*, Karachi, 1976, No. 170, 312-3.
[4]Ibid., 26 December 1942, ibid., No. 71, 313-4.
[5]John Herbert to Linlithgow, 21 July 1943, No. 56, *TP*, IV, 112.
[6]Government of India, Food Department, to Secretary of State, 15 July 1943, No. 38, ibid., 76.
Memorandum by the Secretary of State for India, 31 July 1943, No. 67, ibid., 140.
[8]Note by Department of Food, Government of India, 2 September 1943, Enclosure to No 95, ibid., 207.
[9]Linlithgow to L.S. Amery, 20 September 1943, No. 125, ibid., 284-5.
Linlithgow to L.S. Amery, 24 September 1943, No. 138, ibid , 316
[11]Thomas Rutherford to Linlithgow, 2 October, 1943, No. 158, ibid., 363-4.
Jinnah to M A.H. Ispahani, 27 August 1943, Zaidi, *Jinnah Ispahani*, No. 215, 366-7.
[13]Files No. 583 and 584, *QAP*.
[14]Jinnah to President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, 25 October, 1943 and G.A. Dossani to Ebrahim Yusuf Zainul Ali Raza, 30 October, 1943, F. 584/131 & F 584, 139, *QAP*, respectively
Press note of Muslim Chamber of Commerce, 17 November 1943, F. 583/168, *QAP*.
[16]Ibid., 5 January 1944, F. 583/6, *QAP*.

I.1

Appeal[1] *by M. A. Jinnah for Contributions to the Famine Fund*

BOMBAY,
31 August 1943

I am greatly pained to hear of the condition of the people of Bengal and the distress that prevails in that province due to shortage of food. I have been informed that the Bengal Ministry is doing its best to grapple with the difficult situation that has arisen, but they require the help and the co-operation of individuals and organisations in giving succour to the starving people.

I, therefore, appeal to the Muslims all over India and especially in Bengal to come to the rescue of the people of Bengal by contributing their mite to the Relief Fund opened by the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce to which I am sending my personal contribution of Rs. 1,000 addressed to Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund through the President of the Chamber.

I sincerely hope that the Musalmans will not fail to make their contribution for the purpose of removing the hardships and the sufferings of the people of Bengal and go to their rescue whole-heartedly.

[1]K.A K Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Lahore, 1946, Vol. III, 1762-3.

I.2

Statement[1] *by M.A. Jinnah on Bengal Famine Situation*

BOMBAY,
31 October 1943

Interviewed on the Bengal famine situation, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, said:

At this grave moment of terrible plight and suffering in Bengal and the appalling death roll that is daily issued, I would not like to say anything as to who is really responsible for allowing this tragic situation to develop. But the present Ministry working under the present constitution with its limitations cannot be saddled with the responsibility, and further they only came into power after the terrible crisis had overwhelmed Bengal. I am assured that they are doing their very best.

But the fact remains that thousands are dying, and I earnestly appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, to leave no stone unturned and give immediate help and relief to the people of Bengal with all the resources that the Government of India can command. Similarly, I appeal to Mr. Churchill in the coming debate in the House of Commons to make the position of His Majesty's Government clear and give a solemn assurance to the people of India and Bengal that His Majesty's Government will take immediate active steps to relieve the starving people of Bengal and secure in the future against its recurrence in Bengal or any other part of India. This muddle, whoever is responsible for it, is the greatest blot on the British administration in this country, and it must be wiped off without delay.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, Vol. III, 1770.

APPENDIX II

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE PLANNING COMMITTEE

On 25 December 1943, Zahirul Hasan Lari a delegate to the 31st session of the AIML held in Karachi, moved a resolution[1] authorizing the League President to appoint a Committee to formulate, inter alia, a 5-year plan for socio-economic development and industrialization in the Pakistan zones. The mover urged the need to abolish feudalism and protect the rights of the peasantry. An animated discussion ensued, at the end of which Jinnah commended the proposal and asked those Leaguers to come forward who were prepared to perform a specially arduous task—men who were capable and committed to the mission to be assigned to them.[2] The resolution was adopted nem. con.

The selection of members of the Planning Committee took longer than expected. It was not until first week of August 1944 that Jinnah was able to finalize the appointment of a 23-member Committee[3] with Ali Nawaz Jung as Chairman and A.B.A. Haleem as Secretary. Thus, an interim report expected within six months could not be prepared by the Committee.

The Committee, at its first meeting, appointed fifteen sub-committees to tackle such diverse areas as agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, hydrology, communications and transport, rural industries, fuel and power, mining and metallurgy, chemical and industrial engineering, finance, public health, housing, and trade and commerce.[4]

Jinnah provided the wherewithal for the Committees's day-to-day expenses out of the party fund for which account was required to be rendered.[5] However, in order to minimize the expenditure, the committee resolved that no travelling expenses would be admissible to the members, including members of the sub-committees.

In his address[6] to the Committee on 5 November 1944, Jinnah desired that the potentialities of not only the Pakistan areas but of the Hindustan areas as well, where some thirty million Muslims lived, should also be identified. Irrespective of the problems the Committee might address, he cautioned, it must not aim to "make the rich richer and to accelerate the process of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few individuals". He said, "our ideal should not be capitalistic but Islamic, and the interests and welfare of the people as a whole should be kept constantly in mind."

The Committee decided to get on with its voluminous task in two phases;[7] firstly, to chart out "the general principles and broad lines of policy to be pursued from the point of view of Muslims who are spread all over the country" and, secondly, to "deal more fully and directly with

the problems of the Pakistan areas". The first part of the report prepared by Ali Nawaz Jung, enunciating principles and objectives, and discussing problems of employment and reconstruction; productive areas in agriculture and animal husbandry; communications and transport; social services and defence; and trade and commerce, was considered and approved in the fourth meeting held from 30 June 1945.[8] By early June 1946, Secretary Haleem had intended to discuss the draft of the second part of the report with Jinnah,[9] who was, however, preoccupied. He again requested[10] an interview with Jinnah who showed his inability to find the time for a serious discussion of the issue for the reason that he was too busy deliberating the Cabinet Mission's proposals.[11] However, Jinnah did find the time to discuss the planning Committee's affairs with Ali Nawaz Jung on 10 June. Even subsequently, Jinnah remained seized of the seminal political developments that followed— formation of the interim government, outbreak of communal violence, discussions in London on the Cabinet Mission scheme etc. Haleem could meet Jinnah in May 1947. He had, in the meantime, been appointed Vice Chancellor of the Sind University. After the independence Jinnah appointed Archibald Rowlands, who had been Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council up to 1946, to advise him on the fiscal and economic prospects of Pakistan. Rowlands submitted his report[12] in November 1947. A Development Board and a Planning Advisory Board were set up in January 1948.[13] By the following month, Jinnah was able to announce that "the blue-print of a scheme for rapid industrialization of both Western and Eastern Pakistan" had been drawn up.[14] However, Pakistan's first five-year development plan was not formulated until 1956. It was formally announced in May 1956 by Prime Minister Chaudhri Muhamed Ali.[15]

[1] Appendix II. 1.
[2] See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed , *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 468-70.
[3] Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.
[4] Enclosure to Appendix II. 51.
[5] See Appendix II. 49.
[6] Appendix II. 53.
[7] Appendix II. 55, para 8.
[8] See Appendix II.54
[9] Appendix II.57.
[10] Appendix II.58.
[11] Appendix II.59.
[12] See Appendix IV, Vol. VI, 750-72.
[13] The *Pakistan Times*, 8 January 1948.
[14] Broadcast to the people of USA, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-48*, Islamabad, 1989, 155-6.
[15] Ministry of Information, *Pakistan Chronology 1947-97*, Islamabad, 1998, 107.

II. 1

Resolution No. 2 Passed at the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League

AFM 387/1

KARACHI,
25 December 1943

Whereas, as the first step towards consolidating the strength of the Muslims in Pakistan areas and preparing them for the heavy and onerous responsibilities inherent in the status of an independent sovereign state, the All India Muslim League has, with the support and co-operation of the Muslims, succeeded in establishing its Governments in all the Pakistan provinces, which has naturally opened up vast opportunities to the Muslim representatives in the Assemblies and Cabinets for service to their people in the provincial sphere of activities like education, agriculture, irrigation, providing with facilities for labour, economic holdings and fair rent for tenants, etc., and whereas it is acutely realized that neither the people nor the provincial states, which have for long been denied opportunities for a fair and natural development due to historical, political and, in some instances, communal considerations, will be able to ameliorate their lot to any appreciable degree or effectively function as a state without a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction and state industrialisation, this session of the All India Muslim League hereby authorises the President to appoint a Committee, with power to co-opt, to prepare a comprehensive scheme for five-year programme for the economic and social uplift, state industrialisation in Pakistan zones, introduction of free primary basic education, reform of land system, stabilisation of rent, security of tenure, improvement in the condition of labour and agriculture and control of money-lending. The Committee shall submit its report as early as possible and an interim report not later than June 1944, to the Working Committee, for necessary action thereon.

II. 2

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 208/11

KARACHI,
28 December 1943

Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to your appeal[1] for membership of the Planning Committee, I beg to offer you my wholehearted services. So far as I am concerned, the job will be well and truly done, depending, however on:

i. Who the Chairman and the Secretary are. At one time Shuaib Qureshi[2] might have been thought of. I don't know whether he would be suitable or available to-day. There is a Bohra gentleman by the name Mohsinali Sheikh Dawood who retired this year as Superintending Engineer, U.P., and is now with Bhopal as a post-war reconstruction officer. I wonder if the Nawab Sahib can lend us his services for six months, if you were to consider him for appointment as Secretary.

ii. The report to be effective will have to cover not what is ideally probable but what is practically possible. The Committee, therefore, will have to travel and contact our merchants and intending industrialists. It may, therefore, be that the report might have to be a confidential document meant only for the Working Committee and the Provincial Ministries.

iii. A minimum of paid staff will be necessary—a steno-typist, a clerk, a peon, etc. It would be better if the Chairman and the Secretary are drawn from the same place. If not, the staff will be attached to the Secretary.

iv. I shall be in Bombay on the 15th of January. If I am to be on the Committee and if it is otherwise suitable to others, the first meeting may be convened at Bombay at about this time to settle all preliminaries. The next fortnight should be devoted to getting together all available data, as for instance, all the papers in connection with Jawaharlal's National Planning Committee, etc.

v. The period of six months is so short that work will have to be done at high pressure. Five provincial committees might have to be set up under the aegis of the Central Committee which would prepare their own reports along the lines of

directions given.[3]

vi. If you approve, your Secretary may wire to each of our Muslim Chamber of Commerce asking them to suggest a panel of names to you who should be considered for appointment to this Committee.

vii. No non-Muslim should be a member of the Committee or be on its staff. Helpful co-operation from Hindus and Europeans can be sought and secured.

Yours for Pakistan,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]Refers to Jinnah's invitation to those League members who were prepared to devote their wholetime to the work of Planning Committee See Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed , *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi 1970, 470.

[2]Took active part in Indian politics, especially the Khilafat Movement; Minister, Bhopal State, 1932-48.

[3]Amongst those who responded to Jinnah's call for formation of the Planning Committee was G.M. Sayed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, who proposed that the Committee be set up on the lines of the Congress National Planning Committee. See Annex.

Annex to Appendix II. 2
G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/217-8

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

SIND PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
1 January 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you will be shortly appointing a Committee for the national planning, I wish to place before you certain information which I hope will be useful for the above purpose.

I understand, the objects of this Committee will be to investigate into the working of all the nation building subjects, to prepare a plan for the guidance of the present Governments, and offer suggestions for the Post-War-Reconstruction Plan in the Pakistan area. If what I have said is correct, I suppose the Committee will have to prepare a plan on the following subjects:

a. Land policy
b. Education

c. Rural finance
d. Banking
e. Animal husbandry
f. Agriculture
g. Medical and Public Health
h. Rehabilitation of villages
i. Industry (small scale)
j. Large scale industry
k. Cottage industry
l. Labour problem
m. Crime and Justice
n. Defence

These are some of the subjects which the Committee will have to investigate into and prepare a plan. As you are aware, Sir, the Congress had appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru, with Mr. K.T. Shah, as General Secretary. Mr. Hutheesing, brother-in-law of Jawaharlal Nehru, was paid Office Secretary of the said Committee. The main Committee consisted of some members appointed by the Congress and representatives of the Provincial Governments and public institutions. All Ministers of Education, Public Health and Industries were ex-officio members of the said Committee. The Directors of Public Instruction and Industry, Agriculture and Public Health also took part in the various Sub-Committees. The funds of the said Committee were provided by the Provincial Governments, industrial magnates and by the All-India Congress. The Bombay Government placed a suitable office at the disposal of the Committee with its library, telephone and other facilities.

For nearly three years, the Committee and the Sub-Committees, worked and prepared reports on almost all these subjects mentioned above. If you approve of my suggestions, Sir , I suppose our Committee also will have to work generally on these lines. The reports of the Congress National Planning Committee and various Sub-Committees appointed by the various Provincial and Central Governments can be made use of by the said Committee. I think, if the Government of the Punjab agrees to give a suitable office and some facilities, the headquarters of the Committee may be fixed at Lahore. The Committee should consist of five members. One of the members should be an educationist, second, a financier, third, an industrialist and the remaining two should be politicians, who should have broad outlook and thorough insight into the modern economic theories. The co-operation of the Governments and their heads of Departments on the lines of the Congress Committee will have to be sought for. Sir, you know that

various political and economic ideologies are now being advocated by different nationalities and we Muslims have got our own tradition, culture and basic principles of our own religion on which we will have to construct our future. I suppose, it requires thorough study of the subjects and a great labour on the part of those gentlemen, who would work for the above purpose.

It will greatly facilitate the work of the Committee if according to general practice, prevailing in Government, terms of reference are drawn up and powers and duties of the Committee are defined and incorporated in a resolution accordingly.

I hope, while appointing the aforesaid Committee, you will be good enough to keep the suggestions I have offered in view.

Yours sincerely,
G.M. SAYED
President

II. 3

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani

F. 310/31-2

KARACHI,
3 January 1944

My dear Ahmad,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of resolution No. 2 that was passed at the sessions of the All India Muslim League at Karachi in December 1943;[1] the resolution speaks for itself and will give you a fair idea as to what we have undertaken to do. I am very anxious that this Committee should be composed of really capable men, who will tackle this very important field of activities properly. I cannot emphasise sufficiently the importance of this move that we have made, and I am sure you will fully realise how vital it is for us immediately to undertake the planning in this direction. Personally, I would like very much if you can agree to serve on this Committee and also suggest some names, who will do justice to the problem that is confronting us in this matter. Please, therefore, let me know what you think about it, and I do hope that you will be good enough to serve on this Committee and to make the

necessary sacrifices of your time and trouble that you may be put to.[2]

Wishing you a happy and prosperous new year and with my best *salaams* to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]Appendix II. 1.
[2]Ahmad Ispahani agreed to serve on the Committee though he pleaded shortness of time at his disposal for the task. See F. 310/33, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 4

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 335/235-6

KARACHI,
3 January 1944

My dear Liaquat,

This is just to inform you that I am leaving for Bombay on the 6th instant. In the meantime, please put your heads together and let me have such names as were handed over to you at Karachi, and others that you may think of in consultation with our friends in Delhi. I am also consulting others and I am anxious to announce the personnel of the Planning Committee as soon as possible.

[*Para 2 omitted*]

Hoping that you are all well and with very kind regards to both of you and love to children,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
8B Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

II. 5

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/98-9

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
7 January 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I could not go to Karachi owing to a domestic bereavement and hence I could not hear your speech to which I had been looking forward. I, however, expected that *Dawn* would make some special arrangement to give a full, if not verbatim, report of your speech.[1] But all of us were much disappointed by the very scrappy reports appearing in *Dawn* of your speech as well as the other proceedings of the session. It would have been in the fitness of things if *Dawn*, as the paper devoted to the cause of the League, would have come out with a very full report of your speech. However, I hope that someone at Karachi must have taken complete notes of your speech and they must have been submitted to you. May I request you kindly to let me have a typed copy of the full version of your speech? There is another reason why I am keen to have it. I would have to include it in the next edition of the *Speeches*.

Karachi [session], as you remarked the other day, is really a turning point in the new phase of the League. We have great hopes of the Committee of Action and the Planning Committee whose personnel, I understand, is yet to be announced. May I venture to place my humble services, for whatever they are worth, at the disposal of these Committees? I can serve them in whatever capacity they consider proper for me during the period of our summer vacations with greater ease. I have all along been drawing your kind attention to the urgent need of pushing forward our publicity and propaganda work more vigorously, extensively and systematically. The Committee of Action,[2] I suggest, can constitute a sub-committee or board of publicity with a regular office of its own. If you allow me, I will submit a definite practicable scheme of publicity work. It is in this branch, I venture to think, that I can give of my best.

I have a few suggestions to offer about the Planning Committee also. This Committee, I should imagine, must include one or two scientists, one or two educationists with experience of the educational conditions and needs of Muslims, representatives of commerce, industry and agriculture and one or two politicians. I would suggest the following names:[3]

1. Elias Burny, Economist of Hyderabad, Deccan (He can be

approached through Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung)
2. Dr. Wali Mohammad, Professor of Physics, Lucknow University (He can be approached through Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan)
3. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad
4. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi
5. Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf (He can give time and he has got good experience as an ex-Minister and a landlord)
6. I.I. Chundrigar

With best wishes for the new year,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

Refers to Jinnah's presidential speech on 24 December 1943, at the 31st session of AIML at Karachi. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice*, Vol III, Karachi, 1997, 337-53
See *ibid.*, 357, for the personnel of the Committee.
Serial Nos. 1&2 were taken on the Committee See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.

II. 6

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 335/240

18 January 1944

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant[1] and thank you for it.

I am glad that you as the Convener[2] of the Committee of Action and Member[3] of the Parliamentary Board are moving and I am sure that you will all work and there is a lot to be done.

As regards the Central Office of the League, I am glad that you are likely to get the building for the offices about which you spoke to me at Karachi. Don't let it go if you are satisfied with it.

I note that you are calling the meeting of the Committee of Action on 2nd-3rd February 1944 at Lahore, and I see that the Parliamentary Board is also going to meet.

As regards the Planning Committee, you would remember, I saw the difficulties at the moment in choosing the personnel of this Committee and that was the reason why I made my position clear before the resolution was put to vote; it is not an easy job. However, I shall not do anything until I reach Delhi in the first week of February. At present I am only collecting the names.

With kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and me to both of you

and love to children,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A.,
8B Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

[1]Not traceable.
[2&3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 357-8.

II. 7

Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 197/77-80

ALMANZAR,
30 LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will remember that when I met you last at Karachi on New Year's Day, you told me that you wanted me to work on the Planning Committee, and you also asked me to suggest the name of a businessman from the Punjab whom you could appoint on the Committee.

Accordingly, soon after I arrived here, I approached various people and discussed the matter with them and asked them if they could let me have the name of a good Muslim businessman for the purpose. From the talks I have had in this connection, I have come to the conclusion that there is no really first-class businessman in the Punjab such as you would select. But as it is advisable to have some such man from the Punjab, therefore, in the absence of an ideal man, we have to make the selection out of the available people. Of these, I find that Khawaja Bashir Bukhsh, Chairman, Australasia Bank, Lahore, is the sort of gentleman who is likely to prove useful to us. The Australasia Bank was started in 1942 and is now, I understand, in a flourishing condition. Khawaja Bashir Bukhsh belongs to a respectable family of some substance, who are known here as Australiawalas and who still own large property in Australia. Kh. Bashir Bukhsh was educated in Australia. He went to England in 1933, where he received commercial training in a college at Edinburgh for two years; subsequently, he travelled over the continent inspecting factories. Besides running the above-mentioned bank, he does real estate business,

managing people's properties and is also the northern India representative of the *Statesman*. He is related to Mian Amin ud Din, ICS (brother of Mian Amir ud Din), Secretary to Punjab Govt. (Department of Industries), and also to Mr. Mohammad Said Hasan, Deputy Financial Adviser, Department of Supply, Govt. of India.

There are others like Sir Maratib Ali, Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, M.L.A. (of Amritsar), Mr. Rafi Butt,[1] etc. The first two may not be able to give much time or attention, while the latter's experience is of a limited character. So I would recommend Khawaja Bashir Bukhsh who, though himself not a very big or famous man, is likely to prove quite useful to us.

Regarding the personnel of the Planning Committee, may I make one or two more suggestions. K.B. Mian Afzal Hussain,[2] I.E.S., the present Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, is retiring towards the end of the current month, when he would go on leave preparatory to retirement. A mutual friend mentioned to him about our Planning Committee. He said if the League would want to have him and Government would permit him, he would be willing to serve his community. I rang him up, but I was told that he was away to Baroda and would not be back at Lahore till the 25th instant. He is both an educationist and a scientist whose range of knowledge and experience is wide. He is a very intelligent man and I have no doubt that he could be of great help to us. There is also K.B. Mian Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, at present Director, Technical Recruiting and Publicity, Government of India (at Simla). He too is very intelligent and has had much practical experience both in the Provincial and Central Govts. I do not know if he can be spared but we can, at least, have the benefit of his advice.

I have talked to some gentlemen here who would be willing to help us in our work, some publicly, others privately. As I told you, I called at my house the first meeting of a study group which we formed in November last, particularly to study the economic problems of the Musalmans. I am holding the third and fourth meeting in the last week of January here.

In connection with the Planning Committee, besides the advisability of having a paid Secretary, I think it would be a good plan for the Committee to select four specialists in each province and ask them to work, if necessary, on an honorarium, of say, Rs. 1,000 on the subjects of agriculture, industry, banking and primary education. Or the Committee may desire some other method of fact-finding.

Lastly, may I suggest that we should have on the Committee, besides some experienced businessman, an economist, a lawyer, an administrator, an educationist and, if possible, a scientist.

For myself, I may say that if you think I am fit to do the work and you appoint me to the Committee, I shall try to do my best.

May I know when you are likely to appoint the Committee and when it is likely to meet and where?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD

PS.] I sent you a telegram[3] today that I am submitting to you this letter about the Planning Committee.

[1&2]Taken on the Committee. See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.
[3]See F. 197/81, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 8

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

F. 199/100-1

BOMBAY,
18 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jamiluddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th instant[1] and [have] noted your suggestions with regard to the Planning Committee and shall bear them in mind before I finally announce the personnel of the Committee.

I quite realize the necessity of pushing forward our publicity and propaganda work more vigorously, but that is a matter now for the Committee of Action to take up and you better get in touch with them. You know Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan is the Convener of the Committee of Action.

As regards my speech[2] at Karachi session, full text has appeared in the *Dawn* of the 12th instant, but there are several mistakes. Please let me know when the next edition of my speeches is coming out. In the meantime, I shall have it corrected and probably have it printed and will send you a corrected copy.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,
4 A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh

[1]Appendix II. 5.
[2]See ibid., note 1.

II. 9

M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

F. 240/1-2

35A FEROZEPUR ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 January 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been constantly in touch with the proceedings of Muslim League session through the medium of papers. It was my bad luck that due to my unexpected and sudden engagements I could not attend the session personally.

I noted with interest the resolutions[1] passed on 26-12-43, and admire your enthusiastic efforts to elevate the Musalmans on [*sic*] a level beyond criticism. Your programme for the economic and social uplift and state industrialization of our community in the Pakistan zones in particular, deserves special approbation.

Punjab Province can be usefully made industrial and commercial minded, as we Punjabis luckily possess a great capacity for hard and laborious work, in addition to ready-for-any-venture spirit. In the midst of this war, it is the right time when you can awaken Punjabi Musalmans from their slumber and develop the industry at [*sic*] par with foreign nations.

With my little experience in the industrial and business lines, I shall consider myself privileged if I could be of any assistance to the Musalmans (of Punjab in particular) in this connection, under your guidance. I enclose another cheque of Rs. 500 as my humble contribution for this cause. I hope you will spare some time for me when you are in Lahore next.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. RAFI BUTT

[1] Three resolutions were passed on 25 December 1943, and another three on the 26th. See Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, 463-80.

II. 10

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/11

BEGUMPET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
26 January 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As desired by you on the 14th instant, I beg to suggest the name of Mr. Syed Arifuddin[1] on the Pakistan Economic Planning Committee, as proposed at the Karachi session.

Mr. Arifuddin is about 55 years of age. He received his honours degree in Engineering from Manchester University in 1911 and joined the Hyderabad P.W.D. He ultimately rose up [*sic*] to the position of Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government, Irrigation Branch, and retired as such recently after putting in 30 years service. He has done a great deal of research work on engineering and economic problems and has always been held in high esteem by both Government and the public on account of his technical ability, and economic research and integrity.

I persuaded him and he has finally agreed to serve on the Committee. I believe he will be a really useful member.

Another gentleman, Mr. Ahmed Mirza, also an engineer of similar qualifications, has retired a week ago after serving the State as Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government, Roads and Buildings Branch. I have also sounded him and have persuaded him to take up some work in the proposed commercial organisation. I have not had any definite reply from him yet, but I expect he will finally agree. He is likely to go to Delhi towards the middle of February and I have asked him to see you at Delhi. I will give him a note of introduction when he proceeds.

Mr. Arifuddin might be able to see you early in February at Bombay if you would like to interview him.

On receiving your instructions I will take further action accordingly.

With respectful regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. LAIK ALI

[1]Taken on the Committee. See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.

II. 11

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani

F. 310/34

26 January 1944

My dear Ispahani,

Many thanks for your letter of the 21st instant.[1] I am so glad that you are willing to serve on the Planning Committee; it is half the battle won. May I request you to come and see me at Delhi before I finally announce the personnel of the Planning Committee and also consider whom you would like to have as other members of this Committee, and then we can discuss the whole thing at Delhi before I make the announcement. I hope to be in Delhi about the 5th of February, and if you can reach Delhi about that time, I shall feel extremely obliged to you; besides there are many other matters that we may discuss.

Yes, Hassan[2] is in Bombay and he has seen me. I was very sorry indeed to find that he is not well but he is improving, and I do sincerely hope that he will soon be all right.

Hoping you are well and with best regards from Miss Jinnah and [my]self to all of you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Ispahani,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]See Appendix II. 3, note 2.
[2]M. A. Hassan Ispahani.

II. 12

M. A. Jinnah to M. Rafi Butt

F. 240/3

28 January 1944

Dear Mr. Butt,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd instant.[1]

Yes, I wish you could have managed to come to the [AIML] sessions and I quite understand that you were unable to do so owing to sudden

engagements, but I met your brother in Karachi and I was very pleased to make his acquaintance.

I have received the cheque for Rs. 500 enclosed with your letter as your second contribution for the League Fund and I thank you for it.

As regards the Planning Committee, I am glad that you approve of the League resolution and I shall certainly bear in mind your kind offer to help us in this connection. May I request you also to give me some information as to who are the others, who can be of help to us in this undertaking. It is very important and I am glad that you realise it. Please do let me know. I want the help of real practical businessmen, technicians and scientists.

Yes, when I am in Lahore next, I shall be very glad to see you and have a talk with you.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. Rafi Butt, Esq.,
35 A Ferozepur Road,
Lahore

[1]Appendix II. 9.

II. 13

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/35

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
1 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 26th ultimo[1] and I very much regret that I had to telegraph to Hassan Ispahani to inform you that I am not able to serve on the Planning Committee because my health does not permit this strain of work that I am going through. I assure you that I will render all possible assistance being outside the Committee if the same hold their deliberations in Calcutta.

This province needs a lot of work and the Government must be made to do things for the betterment of Muslims. The Hindu position

is so strong that it makes the position very difficult for the Government to do things on communal lines, especially when a section of the Muslims is still under the leadership of Fazlul Huq and Krishak Proja [Party].

I have requested Hassan that he should take it easy and prolong his holiday by going to Delhi and Lucknow, which change will, I am sure, do him a lot of good.

My family has returned to Calcutta. With best regards from my wife and myself to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

[1]Appendix II. 11.

II. 14

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

F. 219/13

BOMBAY,
2 February 1944

Dear Mr. Laik Ali,

Many thanks for your letter of the 26th of January 1944.[1] I shall certainly bear in mind the names of the gentlemen that you have mentioned and I shall be very glad to see Mr. Ahmed Mirza when he is in Delhi. I would have been very pleased to see Mr. Arifuddin in Bombay but I am now leaving for Delhi and there is no time to fix up an appointment with him but I am going to stay at Delhi for some little time and if it is convenient for him, I may have the pleasure of seeing him at Delhi.

With regard to the other matter which we discussed in Bombay, I shall let you know from Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali Sahib,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]Appendix II. 10.

II.15

K. M. Aslam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/1

ABDUL MAJID GHULAM MOHAMED,
STOCKISTS & COMMISSION AGENTS,[1]
AMRITSAR,
8 February 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your letter of 16th Jan[uary] ultimo[2] [*sic*] gave me much pleasure. I now venture to express my feelings further.

The resolution passed by the All India Muslim League[3] to set [up] a Committee of Action for the economic planning of Pakistan provinces has received great ovation in all Muslim quarters here, and I also do concur with the same. To my mind the governments of the concerned provinces should take an initiative for improving the economic condition of the Muslims, as they are rising to the occasion but very steadily [*sic*].

I propose to make a few suggestions in this connection:

i. The Ministries should levy Zakat Tax on Muslims of both rural and urban areas.
ii. Auqaf Act should be passed [for] controlling the income and charities of holy shrines and other such properties.

The yearly collection of the funds under these two heads should be utilised for starting the following industries (factories):

a. Engineering—machinery of all kinds and machine tools
b. Chemicals—heavy chemicals, fertilizers and dyes
c. Transport—railway engines, wagons, ships and aircraft
d. Cement
e. Paper
f. Sugar
g. Match
h. Electrical
i. Glass
j. Tobacco
k. Textiles—silk, cotton, wool and jute

This organisation should be controlled by both official and public representatives comprising commercialists [*sic*], industrialists, economists and engineers. During the accomplishment of the plan, profits derived from the working factories should be further utilised in capital

expenditure. If desirable, public capital may be invited for floating new limited concerns.

When this plan reaches its completion, its income should finance Muslim engineering, agricultural, commercial, medical colleges, and hospitals.

The plan will not only employ thousands of Muslims but will serve to infuse a commercial spirit among them.

Hoping my proposals will receive due attention at your hands, and with best compliments,

Yours truly,
K. M. ASLAM
B. Com.

[1]This firm dealt in hides, skins, furs, wool and goat hair.
[2]Not traceable.
[1]Appendix II. 1.

II. 16

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani

F. 310/36

NEW DELHI,
13 February 1944

Dear Mr. Ahmad,

I have received your letter of the 1st instant[1] and I have thought over the matter very carefully and I regret very much for this sudden change in your decision not to join the Planning Committee. Hassan Ispahani had a talk with me about it when he received your telegram.[2] Personally I think it will do lot of good if you get away occasionally from that Calcutta atmosphere. I know that you are overworked. Hassan will explain to you as the matter was fully discussed between him and me and how important it is that you should join this Planning Committee. I would, therefore, request you to reconsider your decision and do come down to Delhi for a few days so that we can discuss the matter

personally. Please send me a wire[3] and let me know.

With very kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]Appendix II. 13.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Ahmad Ispahani sent a wire regretting to join the Planning Committee. See F. 310/37, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 17

M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

F. 240/4-7

35 A FEROZEPUR ROAD,
LAHORE,
17 February 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very grateful to you for your kind letter of the 28th January 1944[1] and am sorry for the delay in replying to it.

I shall be glad to submit for the consideration of the Planning Committee of the League a detailed memorandum setting out the lines on which industrial development can benefit our community and shall also offer all help and assistance on the basis of my experience as an industrialist, and Chairman of the Central Exchange Bank Ltd. (the only Muslim bank in northern India).

It is most painful to find that we are very far behind in the industrial and commercial field; and here in the Punjab we have only a few who can do something in this direction, the outstanding personality being that of Sir Maratib Ali of Lahore. I give below the names of a few other gentlemen that in my opinion can prove very useful in this scheme.

1. Sheikh Sadiq Hassan of Amritsar (textiles)
2. Mian Naseer Ahmed of Lyallpur (ginning and flour mills)
3. Khawaja Mo[hamma]d Siddique of Bhera (hides, skins and leather industry)
4. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan of A. H. Khan and Sons, Engineers and

Manufacturers (metal-craft)

It is also deplorable that we have produced very few scientists so far. I would, however, like to bring to your notice the name of K. B. Mian Afzal Husain, who recently vacated the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. He is a well-known scientist and was Principal of the Punjab College of Agriculture before taking [over] Vice-Chancellorship. He is now away to Cairo to attend the Middle East Agriculture Conference on behalf of the Govt. of India. I may also mention Dr. Nazir Ahmed, Director of the Cotton Technological Laboratory, Matunga (Bombay). Dr. Ahmed belongs to Lahore and was head of the Science Department of the Lahore Islamia College before going to Bombay. I suggest that scientific talent may be explored in Aligarh and other centres of Muslim education and, in addition to practical businessmen, the Planning Committee should enlist the services of some eminent economists.

In surveying the commercial and scientific talent I have purposely confined myself to the Punjab as I do not wish to transgress the rights of the other provinces. You will be interested to know that quite recently I have employed a foreign expert, a German Jew, in connection with my new enterprise of establishing a big enamel factory which will be the first Muslim concern of its kind in India. The factory will be completed very soon and I shall feel honoured if you could see your way to perform the opening ceremony of this factory on your next visit to Lahore.

I cannot conclude this letter without requesting you to dine with me during your visit to Lahore. I trust you will be able to spare some time for me.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. RAFI BUTT

Appendix II. 12.

II. 18

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani

F. 310/38-9

23 February 1944

My dear Ahmad,

I am still awaiting your reply. I hope you have discussed this matter

further with Hassan, who will tell you everything as to what conversation we had in Bombay while he was there. I may inform you that I am now in a position to tell you that I have a list of men for the Planning Committee composed of Musalmans of reputation and service behind [*sic*] in all departments of life such as economists, educationists, technicians, and scientists. It will be our misfortune if you refuse to come in because your coming in will just give a finishing touch and you will be rendering a very great service to the Musalmans of India. It will do your health also some good to get away occasionally from Calcutta. I, therefore, strongly advise you to reconsider the matter and come in and don't be upset by temporary difficulties that are created in your way by your opponents. I am confident that they will come to their senses and they are already realising the folly of their malicious activities. At critical moments we should not be stampeded or diverted from our determined purpose or leave our courage behind. We know that ours is an honest cause. However, I could explain to you any further details if I get an opportunity of discussing the matter personally with you. So, please, don't delay but come down to Delhi if you can for a couple of days. I have written to Hassan[2] also but to you I have given fuller details because I had already discussed at great length with Hassan.

Hoping you are well, with kind regards and best of wishes to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]Appendix II. 19.

II. 19

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 308/284

23 February 1944

My dear Hassan,

I hope you are well. I am anxiously waiting to hear from you with regard to the press and also the decision of Ahmad Ispahani with regard to his

joining the Planning Committee. I have now got a list of names which will make really a very excellent Planning Committee. I have secured economists, educationists and businessmen of standing and reputation. It will be our misfortune if Ahmad does not come in because his presence will just give a finishing touch. So do discuss the matter with him and let me know without any further delay. I have already written to Ahmad[1] to reconsider his decision but I have not received any reply from him.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]Appendix II. 18.

II. 20

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 364/31-2

LUCKNOW,
25 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On my return I found a letter from Ghulam Mohammed informing me that he will be reaching Delhi on the 28th evening and, after finishing his work in Delhi, will come to Lucknow for a day. As it is necessary that I should have a talk with him while he is in Delhi, I have arranged accommodation for me on the 28th and shall reach Delhi on the 29th morning. As soon as I have established contact with Ghulam Mohammed, I shall phone to fix up some time for our visit.

I suggest the following names with full addresses for U.P.

1. S.M. Bashir,[1] Saroop Nagar, Cawnpore
2. Hafiz Mohammad Siddique, Bisat Khana, Cawnpore
3. Mohammad Sami, Municipal Commissioner, Patkapur
4. K. B. [H.M.] Ghazanfarullah, Chairman, I[mprovement] T[rust], Allahabad
5. K. B. Nisarullah, M.L.C., Gorakhpur

6. Mohammad Farooq, M.L.A., Gorakhpur

If all of them cannot be taken in, one from Gorakhpur may be dropped.

As regards Punjab, I would suggest the inclusion of Amjad Ali, Parliamentary Secretary, and Malik Umar Hayat Khan [Tiwana] whose full addresses I shall give you when I come to Delhi on the 29th February 1944.

With best regards to [your]self and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQ-UZ-ZAMAN

[1]Taken on the Committee. See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.

II. 21

A.B.A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

F. 272/1-2

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
25 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to our conversation, I venture to suggest the following names [for the Planning Committee] for your consideration:

1. Laik Ali[1] — An industrialist of Hyderabad
2. Mohsin Ali[2] — An engineer who has recently retired from U.P. and is now serving as Development Officer in Bhopal. His record in Government service, I understand, has been a commendable one.
3. Ali Nawaz Jung[3] — An engineer in Hyderabad service

I am personally acquainted with Mr. Mohsin Ali and hold a high opinion of his capacity. The other two gentlemen I have never met, but my friends spoke well of them.

4. Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan — Principal of the Jam'ia Millia. As an economist he is sure to prove himself a useful member of the Planning Committee. Moreover, his appointment on the Committee may help to bring him closer to us.

May I also suggest that the Secretary should be a member of the

Committee, so that he may be able to take part in its deliberations.

Experts like Dr. Nazir Ahmad Malik of Bombay and Mr. A.G. Khan can render valuable help to the Committee if their services can be borrowed from the Government for a stated period.

I do not know whether you would like to take up the question of educational planning at this stage. If so, I can place the names of some Muslim educationists before you for consideration.

As for your visit to Aligarh, I feel that the dates suggested by you, namely the 6th, 7th, 8th or 9th of March, would be more suitable than any dates towards the tail end of March. The only annual examinations which come off in the first and second week of March are those of B.Sc. Engineering, and Diploma in Engineering, with which a comparatively small number of students are concerned.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A.B.A. HALEEM

[PS.] The M.A., B.A., and Intermediate examinations commence on the 25th of March.

A.B.A.H.

[1]Taken on the Committee See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.

II. 22

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/39

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 February 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for two of your letters.[1]

I regret the delay in replying to the first letter, because I wanted to see Hassan [Ispahani] and find out whether he had sufficiently recovered from his illness to take over a portion of the burden of the responsibilities that I am shouldering at present. As I find him still far from well enough and as his doctor insists upon his having rest and quiet for another three months, I will have to keep the flag flying alone. Believe me, at the moment our commitments require all my attention on the

spot. I am so buried with [*sic*] work and responsibility that it is not possible for me to do justice to any additional work that I take up.

I am very pleased to learn that you have secured the services of eminent Muslims for your Committee. I wish you success in the undertaking. Of course, if I can be of any service from here without my being attached to the Committee, I promise I shall gladly, as I have always done, do my bit.

I shall telegraph you today[2] expressing regret and sincerely trust you will appreciate the reason for my inability to accept your very kind invitation. It is truly humanly impossible to add, for the moment, even a straw to the load that I am carrying.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD

[1]Appendices II. 16 & 18.
[2]F. 310/37, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 23

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/22

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
10 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On my return to Hyderabad I had a talk with Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur. I requested him to consider the matter carefully and let me have his views after three or four days. Yesterday he told me that he would be very glad to accept the chairmanship of the Muslim League Planning Committee. He is, however, at present acting as Consulting Engineer to the Government of Hyderabad and has to resign his post before taking over the new work. He has decided to resign but it will probably take a fortnight or so before he can actually submit his resignation and perhaps another month before it is accepted by the Government. It will, therefore, take in all six to eight weeks before he can actually commence his work. In the meantime he

will no doubt be looking to the broader aspects of the proposition.

[*Last para omitted*]

With kind regards,

I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
MIR LAIK ALI

II. 24

L. K. Hyder to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/3

ALIGARH,
16 March 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to our conversation at Aligarh, I write this to say that I shall serve with pleasure on an Economic Planning Committee if your choice should happen to fall on me.

2. My services will be honorary. If the Vice-Chancellor were willing, the University could grant me [words illegible].

3. The Committee should consist of either 5 or 7 or 9 or 11 members. There should be no politician on it. It should be an active team, not merely figureheads, of earnest workers representing commercial, financial, industrial and perhaps agricultural interests—I had a good deal to do with agriculture under Lord Linlithgow.

4. Might I suggest I would like to see terms of reference before they are released for publication. Perhaps I might help in drafting them. You may be pleased to consult me.

5. The touring should be done either in the rainy or winter months. But it would be necessary for the Committee to meet as a body at three or four preliminary meetings for probing of ideas, drafting of questionnaire and to know each other at Bombay [words illegible] under the general direction and guidance from you.

6. On territorial basis a member or two from Hyderabad might be necessary. Other members should be chosen on grounds of experience, ability and knowledge of affairs.

7. I could come over for a night to Delhi if you should want me.
With high esteem and warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
L. K. HYDER
Chairman, Dept. of Economics,
Muslim University

II. 25

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Bhopal

F. 238/7

NEW DELHI,
16 March 1944

Dear Nawab Sahib,

You know that I am engaged in finding capable and suitable men for the Planning Committee that the All India Muslim League has decided to appoint. I have got a fairly good list, but I shall feel obliged if you can spare one or two capable men that are in Bhopal for the purpose. I am trying to secure economists, technicians, scientific workers, and practical industrialists among the Musalmans to compose this Committee. I have been informed that Mr. Mohsin Ali Shaikh,[1] now with the Bhopal Government, and Hyder, or any other person that you may think of, might be able to make a great contribution, having regard to the objects of this Committee. I shall therefore feel extremely obliged if you will consider this matter and help me.

I am going to Lahore tomorrow night, and I shall probably be in Punjab for about a fortnight. My address will be: care of Nawab of Mamdot, Davis Road, Lahore. I hope to return to Delhi in the first week of April.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal,
Bhopal

[1]Taken on the Committee. See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.

II. 26

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 308/288

NEW DELHI,
17 March 1944

My dear Hassan,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

Khwaja Shahabuddin was here and I have had a long talk with him about the Planning Committee, and I regret very much to notice that you people are not taking the matter seriously. Bengal will be sorry for it. In the course of our discussion, I told him that this is a very important thing indeed, and that Ahmad Ispahani, he, and one or two other important men from Bengal should take a hand in it. He promised to let me know definitely, but I have not yet heard from him. Of course, I can't wait now indefinitely. I shall have to go on, but I do once more impress upon you and Ahmad to consider the matter more carefully and seriously.

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

II. 27

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

F. 219/24

17 March 1944

Dear Mr. Laik Ali,

Many thanks for your letter of 10th March 1944.[1] Before I received your letter, I had posted a letter yesterday[2] to you, and I am very glad indeed to hear that Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur is willing to accept the chairmanship of the Muslim League Planning Committee. We will discuss this matter further when we meet in Delhi. I am reserving 7th and 8th April for the meeting. I hope to return a day or two before that to Delhi. I would like very much indeed if Nawab Ali Nawaz

Jung Bahadur can expedite his taking up the Planning Committee. Please try and get me some definite dates, if possible, because I am very anxious to announce the personnel of the Committee. I have already written to Ghulam Mohammed and I hope that he will also let me have his reply with regard to the matter that we discussed with him as soon as possible.

Thanking you, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali Sahib,
Begumpet,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]Appendix II. 23.
[2]See F. 219/23, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 28

Khwaja Shahabuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 437/2-5

52 SYED AMEER ALI AVENUE,
CALCUTTA,
23 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter.[1] I am sorry I could not communicate to you the result of my conversation with Mr. Ahmad Ispahani earlier on account of the fact that immediately on return from Delhi, for the first two or three days I could not make [*sic*] time and then Mr. Ispahani's daughter was very seriously ill and he wanted a few days' time before he could discuss any important matter. Anyhow, I managed to make [*sic*] time and both my brother, Sir Nazimuddin and I went and talked to Mr. Ispahani last evening. He is extremely busy and also worried a great deal over many things and therefore very reluctant to assume more responsibility. However, I think we have been able to persuade him to agree to it, but he has asked me to write and tell you that he will be coming over to Delhi by the 7th or 8th of April in connection with the meeting in which you are also going to be present. He would meet you then in Delhi and discuss and settle this question.

As far as I am concerned, I have explained to you my difficulties, but however busy I am, and whatever may be the claims on my time, I cannot refuse your command.[2]

May I again emphasize the necessity of having another man from Bengal and that person to be [*sic*] Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M.L.A., representative of the Dacca University in the Assembly and at present Chief Government Whip. In my interview with you I got the impression that you very kindly agreed to include him and I hope you will do so. In this connection, if I may suggest, it is necessary to have a very well [*sic*] and efficient Secretariat; because, however, capable the Committee you set up, it will not be possible to do any work unless there is an able Secretary assisted by an efficient staff and necessary equipment.

Please convey my compliments to Miss Jinnah.

With kind regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
K. SHAHABUDDIN

[1]See F. 437/1, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Taken on the Committee. See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.

II. 29

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/285

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 March 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 17th instant[1] from Delhi and your telegram of the 21st idem[2] from Lahore.

The contents of your telegram have been given wide publicity and leaflets are being printed and distributed all over Calcutta.

With regard to Ghulam Mohammed, I have written to him to reply to your letter regarding machinery as soon as possible. I do not know why so much time is wanted to decide so simple a matter.

My brother and our family have passed through most anxious times during the last sixteen days. My niece, Ahmad's second daughter, who is 17 years old, suddenly fell ill and her condition grew so serious

that I forgot my illness and my brother forgot office and work. Our whole family was like a batch of lunatics. It was only since the last two or three days that the child has shown signs of improvement and she has been declared to be out of danger.

With work, worry and illness each of which separately is a burden unbearable, I must say that the concluding lines of your letter have caused me much grief. You know that at no time have we brothers taken your words or advice lightly. We have obeyed every order of yours with pleasure. We have not hesitated to render the little service that we were called upon to do at any time when such a demand was made. I am pained to find that you feel that we are not considering the matter of planning more carefully and seriously. Please dispel such an idea from your mind.

My illness coupled with our own worries and work have, my brother says, made it impossible for him to accept the nomination to the proposed Committee. He has, however, assured you of his most loyal and sincere cooperation from without. I request you not to misunderstand.

Nazimuddin and Shahabuddin had a very long talk with my brother two nights ago. I was not in the house at the time, but I am told that my brother will be going to Delhi in the first week of next month and will be seeing you when he gets there. By then you will have returned from your tour of the Punjab.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Appendix II. 26.
[2]No. 218.

II. 30

Ahmed Alladin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 838/4

ALLADIN BUILDINGS,
SECUNDERABAD, DECCAN,
27 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, our Finance Member, mentioned to me of your recent decision to organise a Planning Committee

for the industrial and economic development of the Muslim India. I take it that it is a divine inspiration to you, in the midst of your all-pervading activities for Muslim uplift, that the idea should have come to you just at a time when there is an all-round urge [*sic*] amongst businessmen, and I am sure that your decision would greatly enhance the commercial and industrial awakening which has just begun amongst our community, and I fervently pray to the Almighty that the Committee would be able to draw up a scheme for steady progress of our community in the industrial field. I wish the Planning Committee all success, and as a humble token of my practical sympathies, I enclose a cheque for Rs. 5,000 to be utilised in furtherance of the aims and objects set out for the Planning Committee. May it please *Allah* the Great to give us guidance, is my earnest prayer.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMED ALLADIN

II. 31

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/25

BEGUMPET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
30 March 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to refer to your letter dated 17th March 1944.[1]

Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur has already submitted his resignation to the Government of Hyderabad, and as soon as his resignation is accepted, he will be in a position to communicate to you his acceptance. I may be permitted the liberty to suggest that the Committee can be formed with Ali Nawaz Jung as Chairman, and as soon as his formal acceptance is received by you it may be announced.

I hope to arrive in Delhi on the morning of 7th April by Grand Trunk

and immediately on my arrival will get in touch with you. Mr. Basith is also coming with me.

[*Last para omitted*]

With kind regards,

I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. A. BASITH
for MIR LAIK ALI

PS. As Mir Laik Ali had to leave office to catch the train for Bombay, I am signing the letter on his behalf.

M. A. BASITH

[1]Appendix II. 27.

II. 32

Ahmad Shafi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878A/71-2

25 SANDA ROAD,
LAHORE,
1 April 1944

Dear Sir,

May I please make a suggestion. It is clear by this time that you will not secure voluntary members of the proposed Planning Committee in a hurry. The next best course is to obtain their services on payment and for this purpose two sources are indicated. The economists and scientists on the staff of the Islamia College should be easily available. They could be granted leave without pay from their institution and drafted into the Committee on adequate payment. Technical cadres of government services should also be tapped, but in this case the officers should have to obtain permission to take up private work within the period of their leave. Hundreds of officers are known to have helped the Congress Planning Committee clandestinely but we should get such help by means above board.

One word more. I have not written this letter to advance the interests of any of my friends.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SHAFI

II. 33

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 308/289-90

8 April 1944

My dear Hassan,

[*First four paras omitted*]

I am sorry Ahmad Ispahani was not able to come, but I hope that he might from Lucknow drop in here for a day, and I am really glad that he has agreed to serve on the Planning Committee. It will add to the prestige of the Committee and he will undoubtedly be one of the most valuable and helpful person in serving the objects that we have at heart.

[*Next para omitted*]

Hoping and praying that you are now all right and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

II. 34

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Afzal Hussain and Others[1]

SHC, AIML/11

NEW DELHI,
12 April 1944

Dear Sir,

In pursuance of the resolution No. 2[2] of the All India Muslim League passed at the Karachi session in December 1943, I am authorised to appoint a Planning Committee, whose main function would be to survey and examine the conditions of India and more particularly of the Pakistan areas with a view to preparing us to participate in the natural developments in the direction of commercial, agricultural and industrialization and be ready for gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction and in the post-war reconstruction. The Committee that I propose to appoint will be of economists, technicians, commercial scientists and practical businessmen and not exceeding fifteen members with powers to add in future with my approval. May

I know whether you would be willing to serve on this Committee. It is expected that the Committee will submit its report within six months which would be placed before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League for its consideration and to enable them to take such action as they may think proper. I propose to appoint Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung of Hyderabad as the Chairman and Prof. A.B.A. Haleem of Aligarh University as the Secretary of the proposed Committee.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

See Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *Quaid-i-Azam's Unrealised Dream*, Karachi, 1991,44-5, for names of 38 other addressees.
[2]Appendix II. 1.

II. 35

M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Chundrigar

SHC, AIML/13

NEW DELHI,
12 April 1944

Dear Mr. Chundrigar,

I shall feel obliged if you can ascertain whether Mr. Mohamed Habib of Habib Bank Limited, Bombay or Mr. Hasham Premji[1] would serve on the Planning Committee. Please see them personally and let me know. In the event of their refusing suggest some other name but it must be an outstanding name of a practical businessman. Please let me know without delay, if possible by wire.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

I. I. Chundrigar, Esq.,
Abid House,
Lamington Road,
Bombay

[1]Taken on the Committee. See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48.

II. 36

Ali Nawaz Jung to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/29

JUBILEE HILL,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
22 April 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Laik Ali has handed over to me your circular letter of 12th April 1944[1] in which you desire to be informed whether I would be willing to serve on the Planning Committee it is proposed to appoint. I should very much like to accept the invitation, but before I can do this, there are a few matters to be settled which I believe Mr. Laik Ali has already explained to you.

I am now working on part time commitment in Hyderabad; but about a month ago I wrote to Government asking to be retired. It is only when I am relieved of this duty that I shall be able to give sufficient time to your work and I am therefore reminding Nawab Sahib Chattari to expedite the question of the termination of my services. I have asked him to give a reply in a week or ten days time.

I hope to be able to let you know definitely in say about three weeks from now.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ALI NAWAZ JUNG

[1]Appendix II. 34.

II. 37

Mian Afzal Husain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/32

52 DALHOUSIE SQUARE (S),
CALCUTTA,
24 April 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 12th April 1944,[1] which

has been redirected to me form Lahore.

I handed over charge of my duties as Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Punjab on 3rd February 1944. I then went to Cairo to attend an agricultural conference of the Middle East countries. On my return I accepted the invitation of the Government of Bengal to advise them to reorganise their Department of Agriculture. I came here on the 15th March and it will take me six months or so to complete my work.

I have discussed the question of my working on your Planning Committee with Sir Nazimuddin and he has given me permission to accept your kind invitation.

I will, therefore, be very glad to render whatever service I can and I gladly accept your invitation to serve on the Planning Committee.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. AFZAL HUSAIN

[1]Appendix II. 34.

II. 38

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/39

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
26 April 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter dated April 12th.[1] I shall be glad to serve on the Planning Committee and to devote to the work of the Committee as much time as may be necessary. Kindly let me know[2] when and where I can come and see you for a preliminary talk for the purpose of chalking out our plans. It would be better if Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung is also present.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. B. A. HALEEM

[1]Appendix II. 34
[2]See Appendix II. 46.

II. 39

I.I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/40

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
SHAHRU CASTLE,
MOHAMED ALI ROAD, BOMBAY 3,
2 May 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your letter dated the 12th April 1944[1] was received by me after the recent terrific explosion and huge fires caused by them on the 14th ultimo. I had, therefore, a little time at my disposal to attend to your letter. However, I approached Mr. Mohamed Ali Habib twice and though he appears half inclined to accept a seat on the Planning Committee, he had not yet finally made up his mind. Mr. Mohamed Husain Hasham Premji is unwilling to accept a seat on the Committee. It is difficult to make another choice but if Mr. Mohamed Ali Habib ultimately declines, may I suggest to you any of the following persons:

1. A. A. Maskati
2. Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola, newly elected President of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bombay
3. Khan Bahadur Haji Hassanali P. Ebrahim

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

[1]Appendix II. 35.

II. 40

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/46

ABID HOUSE,
OPP. POLICE STATION,
LAMINGTON ROAD, BOMBAY 7,
29 May 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

My further attempts to persuade Mr. Mohamed Ali Habib to accept

a seat on the Planning Committee have not borne fruit. I then pressed Mr. Mohamed Husein Hasham Premji and he has agreed to serve on the Committee. The only snag is that he is not a member of the Muslim League and is unwilling to be a member. If you are prepared to nominate a non-member, he will be a good choice. If not, I think Mr. Abdul Kader Shaikh of Surat will be an excellent choice. Though he is not actually in business, he is a man of exceptional intelligence and wide experience. However, if you desire to select a man actually in business, I think Khan Bahadur Hassanali P. Ebrahim will be a good choice. He is an active League worker and has thorough knowledge of business and is actually doing business in several lines.

When are you likely to return to Bombay?

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

II. 41

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Husein Hasham Premji

SHC, AIML/42

SRINAGAR,
3 June 1944

Dear Mr. Hasham Premji,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 23rd[1] and I thank you for it. I have carefully considered your letter, and beg to say that there is no need for you to be a member of any Primary or District Muslim League as a necessary qualification for your serving on the proposed Planning Committee. I am glad that you are willing to serve on this Committee and I am considering the various names and hope to be able to announce it very soon.

I was very sorry to hear that in the recent accident in Bombay you were hurt and some damage was done to your property. I sincerely hope that you are now quite well and that no serious harm was done to your property.

Please accept very kind regards to you both from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See *SHC*, AIML/41. Not printed.

II. 42

M. A. Jinnah to Ali Nawaz Jung

SHC, AIML/49

SRINAGAR,
6 June 1944

My dear Nawaz Jung,

I received your letter of April 22nd,[1] and I was very pleased indeed to get it. I was very grateful to you for your having accepted the chairmanship of the proposed Planning Committee, but you had to be relieved from certain commitments of yours before you could finally reply to me, and I have been awaiting to hear from you. As you said that you would let me know by the end of May, I did not like to disturb you, but I am now very anxious to get your final yes, so please try and let me know as soon as possible.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung,
Jubilee Hill,
Hyderabad, D[ecca]n

[1]Appendix II. 36.

II. 43

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/108-09

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
13 June 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung had submitted his resignation some time back as I already informed you. So far H. E. H. the Nizam has not accepted his resignation, and it looks as if he will not be allowed to retire. In case his resignation is not accepted, Ali Nawaz Jung wishes to apply for special permission to serve on the Planning Committee and expects no difficulty in receiving the consent of H.E.H. However, he is unable to put up his application until the decision in regard to his resignation, one way or the other, is communicated to him. He had asked me to write to you to explain the position in detail and is very sorry that his formal communication to you had been delayed so long owing to circumstances beyond his control. Just for your information, I may add that unfortunately on some issues of local importance grave differences have set in between Mr. Ghulam Mohammed and Ali Nawaz Jung. However, I do hope the differences will not affect their relations in matters outside Hyderabad.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are enjoying good health and with kindest regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
MIR LAIK ALI

II. 44

Ali Nawaz Jung to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/55

JUBILEE HILLS,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
14 June 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of 6th June.[1]

I had asked Laik Ali to let you know the difficult situation in which I was placed, and apparently he forgot to inform you in time.

Nawab Sahib Chattari mishandled the question of my retirement, with the result that His Exalted Highness sent for me and asked me to stay on. At the same time another question arose in regard to who should represent the State at the Tungabhadra conference which has now started. All this does not mean that I am absolutely unable to undertake the work of your Planning Committee. But I cannot approach His Exalted Highness for permission to join the Planning Committee until the first Tungabhadra meeting takes place which will be by the end of this month. After that, I shall not be in the position to give you my full time as I had intended; I shall do the best I can, but that will only be coming over for say ten days in a month.

This is the situation, and if you still think that I can be of service, I shall apply for permission. It is now for you to decide whether this will meet your requirements. I assure you that there is no unwillingness on my part to take up this work, which is of national importance.

With kind regards and hoping you are keeping fit,

Yours sincerely,
ALI NAWAZ JUNG

[1]Appendix II. 42.

II. 45

M. A. Jinnah to Ali Nawaz Jung

SHC, AIML/59

SRINAGAR,
21 June 1944

My dear Ali Nawaz Jung,

Many thanks for your letter of June 14th.[1] I am somewhat disappointed, because I was waiting for your final reply to announce the names composing the Planning Committee, but I am very glad that you propose to apply for the permission of His Exalted Highness. I do wish you would do it, and I really don't think that your presence will be required for more than ten days in a month. I appreciate it very much and I have no doubt as to your willingness to take up this work, which is of national importance. I hope that you will be able to get over the difficulty, and I shall wait eagerly for your definite reply,[2] as I am very anxious to announce the Committee as soon as possible.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung,
Jubilee Hills,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]Appendix II. 44.
[2]Ali Nawaz Jung informed Jinnah of the permission given by the Nizam of Hyderabad See *SHC*, AIML/60. Not printed.

II. 46

M. A. Jinnah to A.B.A. Haleem

SHC, AIML/61

SRINAGAR,
12 July 1944

Dear Mr. Haleem,

I have now almost completed the personnel of the Planning

Committee, and I would like very much indeed to have a talk with you at Lahore. Please try and come there where we shall all meet, as the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League is fixed for the 30th and 31st of July.

More when we meet there. It is really important, and I do hope that you will be able to come.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Prof. A.B.A. Haleem,
Aligarh University,
Aligarh

II. 47

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/62

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
13 July 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In the month of April 1944, in response to your kind letter[1] I wrote to you[2] expressing my willingness to serve on the Planning Committee and requesting you to fix some date when I could have a preliminary talk with you about the work of the Committee. As soon after the despatch of my letter very important developments took place in the politics of the Punjab demanding your time and attention and as later on you proceeded to Kashmir for a hard-earned and well-deserved holiday, I did not think it proper to worry you with reminders. I gather from reports in the press that you will be coming to Lahore shortly and that the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League are going to meet on the 31st of July and the Ist of August 1944. I shall, therefore, feel obliged if you will kindly afford me an opportunity of meeting you and discussing with you the scope and method of work of the Planning Committee. It would facilitate matters if the President of the Committee is also present. I can come

up to Lahore on any date which may be convenient to you.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A.B.A. HALEEM

[1]Appendix II. 34.
[2]Appendix II. 38.

II. 48

M. A. Jinnah to A.B.A. Haleem

SHC, AIML/66

LAHORE,
3 August 1944

Dear Mr. Haleem,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the announcement regarding the Planning Committee, and you will observe that it is now for the Secretary to convene a meeting of the Committee and do all that is necessary in the matter. I hope that you will now proceed with the work of the Planning Committee as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Prof. A.B.A. Haleem,
Aligarh University,
Aligarh

Enclosure to Appendix II. 48
Announcement by M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/67

[LAHORE,
3 August 1944]

In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Karachi session of the All India Muslim League in December 1943,[1] I was authorised to

appoint a Planning Committee, whose main function *inter alia* was to be to survey and examine the conditions of India and more particularly of the Pakistan areas with a view to preparing the Muslims to participate in the natural developments in the direction of commercial and agricultural expansion and industrialization, and be ready for a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction, especially in post-war reconstruction.

I am now in a position to announce the Planning Committee, and I have appointed the following gentlemen, who constitute the Committee with power to add to their number. The Committee will submit their report as soon as possible, which will be placed before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to enable them to take such further action in the matter as they may think proper.

I appoint Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung as the Chairman of the Planning Committee, and Professor A.B.A. Haleem as the Secretary, Mr. A. S. [M. L.] Quraishi, of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, as Joint Secretary. It will be for the Secretary to convene the first meeting of the Committee as soon as it is possible for him to do so.

The names of the members are:

1. Khan Bahadur Mian Afzal Husain (late Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University)
2. Rafi Butt, Lahore
3. Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz, Allahabad
4. Professor A.B.A. Haleem, Aligarh
5. Professor L.K. Hyder, Aligarh
6. Wali Muhammad, Lucknow
7. Ahmad Ispahani, Calcutta
8. K. Shahabuddin, Calcutta
9. Malang Ahmad Badsha, Madras
10. Hatim Alavi, Karachi
11. A.R. Nishtar, Peshawar
12. Mohamed Husein Hasham Premji, Bombay
13. Syed Arifuddin, Hyderabad (Deccan)
14. Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, Hyderabad (Deccan)
15. Muhammad Elias Burny, Hyderabad (Deccan)
16. Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung, Hyderabad (Deccan)
17. Ahsan Yar Jung, Hyderabad (Deccan)
18. Mohsin Ali, Bhopal
19. B. Zaidi, Rampur
20. A.S. [M. L.] Qureshi, Delhi

21. Nawab Mir Laik Ali, Hyderabad (Deccan)
22. Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, Hyderabad (Sind)
23. S.M. Bashir, Cawnpore

[1]Appendix II. 1

II. 49

M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem

SHC, AIML/75

BOMBAY,
21 August 1944

My dear Haleem,

I am glad that the Planning Committee is going to meet very soon. I am sending you herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,000[1] for the preliminary expenses of the Committee, of which I have no doubt you will keep a proper account, and as and when you need more money you will please communicate with me.

I am enclosing herewith a letter[2] that I have received from Assam, and I have written to the gentlemen concerned that the Planning Committee have the power to add to their members, and now it is for the Committee to decide.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Prof. A. B. A. Haleem,
Aligarh University,
Aligarh, U.P.

[1]A further sum of Rs. 4000 was sent by Jinnah on 13 November 1944. See *SHC*, AIML/96 & 97 Not printed. Haleem made an additional demand of Rs. 5000 in January 1946. See F. 272/4, *QAP*. Not printed This amount was sent by Jinnah on 9 February 1946. See F. 272/6, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See *SHC*, AIML/76 & 77. Not printed.

II. 50

Address by Ali Nawaz Jung at the Inaugural Meeting of the All India Muslim League Economic Planning Committee

SHC, AIML/83 (1-2)

ANGLO-ARABIC COLLEGE,
DELHI,
3 September 1944

Gentlemen,

There has been, for some time, awakening in the country to problems of nation-building which must be faced in the near future and proposals are being formulated for economic development. The size of our population is so large, the standard of living is so distressingly low, and poverty is so appalling that this question of planning is of the most vital importance. A very small number of human beings may be said to be well off, but the teeming millions are living in destitution and misery. We have practically all the resources in material and manpower for building up a planned system; nevertheless we are not utilising them properly and the country is suffering from maladjustment of her resources to her needs. There is an ever-widening demand to adopt measures and policies which develop the resources of the country, with the view to meeting satisfactorily the fundamental needs of the people and to secure for them a reasonable standard of living.

2. The world is engaged in the work of destruction on a vast scale, and the rapid changes that are taking place in every domain of life, both in India and elsewhere, have made planning incumbent on us all. In order to remove the disabilities that prevail at present and to attain the advancement and greater well-being of the community, the All India Muslim League passed the Resolution authorizing the President to appoint a Planning Committee, whose main function *inter alia* is "to survey and examine the conditions of India and more particularly of the Pakistan areas with a view to preparing the Muslims to participate in the natural developments in the direction of commercial and agricultural expansion and industrialisation, and be ready for a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction, especially in post-war reconstruction".[1]

3. The objective of the plan is laid down in the terms of reference of the Committee and what I should like to emphasize here is that we must carry on with vigour and bring to a speedy conclusion the work

entrusted to us. There is no time to lose. It has to be borne in mind that we are not meeting under normal or stable conditions. Vast changes are taking place in the economic structure; the whole state of society is more or less molten; even our past heritage is in danger of being lost; and there is a great deal of uncertainty as regards the future. But this must we know that the future will be very different from the past or the present. We cannot remain onlookers and allow matters to drift. We must find a way out of the chaos and prepare for the future that we desire. Much that is idealistic may become real if only this opportunity for reconstruction is grasped.

4. Planning is a stupendous task pertaining, as it does, to every department of life. One great group of problems relates to the question of food and its greater production; another the placing of industry on a basis to meet the needs of the country; another, the transportation methods on land, sea, air; another the provision for health and education, and so on through the whole range of human interests. We cannot of course prepare a scheme complete in all its details. The data at our disposal is inadequate for the purpose, the statistics unsatisfactory and we cannot wait for the results of laborious and time consuming research. All we can do is to prepare the outlines and groundwork of a proper plan, leaving details to be filled in later by the Planning Commission or Authority that may be brought into existence for the complementary work of giving effect to it.

5. There are multitudinous problems to be dealt with but it is perhaps, desirable to lay stress on two of these, which require immediate and earnest attention. It is estimated that there is a deficit in food supply of about 15 per cent and the provision of a sufficiency of food is consequently a matter for serious thought and action. Another question is that of unemployment created by an educational system which is not sufficiently practical to prepare persons for the business of life. There is an enormous population waiting to be drilled and put to work to increase production. Technical education is a vital part of planning and must be dealt with adequately to ensure to industry its fair share of the talent of the country.

6. The necessity of arousing interest in manual work is of great importance and every attempt must be made to give dignity to work by hand and to recapture pride in it; otherwise, with mechanized manufacture we shall be in great danger of losing our craftsmanship. There is a great need for skilled craftsmen, and it is necessary to cater for their aptitudes, so as to give opportunity to all. The war has brought home to everybody the cardinal importance of the well-trained

craftsmen, and these men must get appropriate recognition in industry.

7. To clear the line of progress, it is a paramount need to have a systematic and vigorous study into things, to perceive relationships not thought of before, to discover other things previously unnoticed, and in general to provide a coherent description of natural phenomenon. The promotion of the material interests of a country depends to a great extent upon the furtherance of research, which should precede effective work in reconstruction. We must, therefore, have large and well-planned instrumentalities for research on a wide basis.

8. The work of reconstruction itself is in no sense impracticable and the difficulties in the way are not such as may be said to be insurmountable. We have seen that during the progress of the war extreme measures have been adopted and immediately put into practice on a scale and with a thoroughness hardly dreamed of by the most ardent advocates of reconstruction. This fact stands out prominently, and if we can turn our zeal and energy to planning which is for the specific purpose of destruction, why should we not do so when the call is for creative effort and economic administration. It is becoming increasingly evident that some form of state interference must be laid down in certain spheres of activity such as defence and key industries, services, mineral resources, etc., and also that we should avoid the establishment of vested interests which may run counter to the principles of planning.

9. Every project of reconstruction or, in fact, any undertaking is usually considered from the point of view of the cost, and it may appear a visionary proposition to rapidly develop the resources of the country when money is not forthcoming on a large scale. This is another of the lessons learnt from the war, and the answer given by the authors of the Bombay Plan[2] is "that money or finance is not the master of a country's economy but its servant and instrument". That however, as admitted, is only looking at the problem from one angle. The application of time and effort means, on the part of the community, spending money, and we should not aim for a standard of living higher than what environment and circumstances prevailing at the time admit of. We must fix the period for planning to say twelve or fifteen years. Progress in a matter like this, has to be continuously adjusted to the experience gained in the working and new settings will have to be given from time to time according to the conditions which may develop.

10. We shall probably find, when we come down to details, that

there will be differences of opinion in regard to the steps to be taken. Often the differences are those of emphasis on particular developments; and it is possible that many of them might be resolved by not allowing enthusiasm to outrun judgement. There may arise, for instance, a conflict between cottage industry and large scale industry. The need for heavy industries is urgent for the regeneration of the country. But to lay overemphasis on it in the initial stages, might mean hardship and suffering to the present generation, and this should be avoided.

11. I must apologize to members for the time I have taken up. But I felt that, to plan effectively and avoid waste of effort, an understanding as to the path we are to pursue was necessary. We shall now take up the agenda.

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix II. 48, para 1.

[2]A 15-year plan of Rs 100 billion for post-war economic development of India, published by a group of Bombay businessmen, which included J.R.D. Tata, G.D. Birla, Ardeshir Dalal, John Mathai and others. See No. 344, *TP*, IV, 672-3.

II. 51

Proceedings of the First Meeting of AIML Planning Committee

SHC, AIML/84

3 September 1944

The first meeting of the All India Muslim League Planning Committee was held in the library of the Anglo-Arabic College on Sunday, the 3rd September 1944 at 10. 30 a.m.

The meeting was adjourned at 1.30 p.m. and re-assembled in the afternoon. The second sitting of the Committee lasted from 4 p.m. till 7.30 p.m.

PRESENT

1. Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung (in the chair)
2. Rafi Butt
3. Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz
4. Prof. A.B.A. Haleem
5. Prof. L.K. Hyder
6. Malang Ahmad Badshah
7. A.R. Nishtar
8. Mohamed Husein Hasham Premji
9. Syed Arifuddin
10. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung

11. Mohsin Ali
12. B.H. Zaidi
13. A.S. [M. L.] Qureshi
14. Mir Ghulam Ali
15. S.M. Bashir

After considerable discussions it was decided to postpone the consideration of item... to begin with and the following Sub-Committees were appointed as per list attached herewith.

2. It was resolved:

(a) that each Sub-Committee should draw up a report and submit it to the Planning Committee within four months along with a memorandum dealing with the present state of affairs, lay down the objective to be realized within a period of fifteen years to be divided into three stages of five years each, and indicate the lines and methods by which the object is to be achieved as well as the approximate expenditure involved;
(b) that we should aim at providing an adequate standard of living for the entire population. This standard shall be substantially above the subsistence so as to provide sufficient leisure and opportunities for cultural development;
(c) that the proceedings of all the meetings of the Sub-Committees should be forwarded to the Honorary Secretary;
(d) that the Sub-Committees should meet in Delhi unless the members otherwise decide;
(e) that the consent of all the persons nominated on the various Sub-Committees in their absence, should be obtained before the personnel of the Sub-Committees is announced;
(f) that the personnel of the Sub-Committees may be enlarged by the Chairman concerned with the approval of the Chairman of the Planning Committee.

Enclosure to Appendix II. 51

SHC, AIML/85

The following Sub-Committees were appointed:

1. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, SOIL CONSERVATION AND AFFORESTATION

Dr. L. K. Hyder—Chairman
A. R. Nishtar
K. B. Mian Afzal Husain

S. Arifuddin
Sh. Ataullah
Dr. Baluch

2. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND DAIRYING

Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung Bahadur—Chairman
Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur
K. B. Mian Afzal Husain
K. B. Mohyuddin
Dr. Hassan
Malik

3. FISHERIES

Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung Bahadur—Chairman
Dr. Abdul Jabbar Farooqi
Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur
Dr. Salimullah

4. WATER USES AND RIVER REGULATION

Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung—Chairman
Sayed Arifuddin
Mohsin Ali
Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung
Mian Abdul Aziz
A. R. Nishtar

5. COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORT SERVICES INCLUDING SHIPPING

Mohsin Ali—Chairman
Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung
Hasham Premji

6. RURAL AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

B. H. Zaidi—Chairman
Ahmad Ispahani
S. Arifuddin
Mir Azizur Rehman

7. FUEL AND POWER

Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung—Chairman
Mir Azizur Rehman
K. Shahabuddin

8. MINING AND METALLURGY INCLUDING PROTECTION OF STEEL AND OTHER METALS

Rafi Butt—Chairman
Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung

M. L. Qureshi
Sayed Arifuddin
S. M. Bashir
Dr. Wali Mohammad

9. CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung—Chairman
Hasham Premji
Dr. K. A. Hamid
Lt. Col. M. Haider Khan

10. MANUFACTURING AND ENGINEERING INDUSTRIES

B. H. Zaidi—Chairman
Ahmad Ispahani
K. Shahabuddin
Mir Azizur Rehman
S. M. Bashir
A. R. Nishtar
Rafi Butt
Dr. Wali Mohammad

11. TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES

Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung—Chairman
Hasham Premji
Rafi Butt
Mir Azizur Rehman

12. FINANCE

Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung—Chairman
A. R. Nishtar
Dr. L. K. Hyder
Hatim Alavi
Hasham Premji
Elias Burny
Dr. Iqbal Qureshi
M. L. Qureshi
Ahmad Ispahani
Nawab Mir Laik Ali
Sir Adamji Haji Daood
Mohammad Ali Mubin
Rafi Butt
K. F. Haider

13. PUBLIC HEATH

K. B. Mian Abdul Aziz—Chairman

Col. Jalal M. Shah
Dr. K. A. Rehman
Col. Salamatullah
Col. Qureshi
Shuaib Qureshy
Col. A. Rehman

14. HOUSING

Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung
Mohsin Ali
M. Naqvi
K. B. Mian Abdul Aziz
Mohammad Imam Ahmad
Shuaib Qureshy

15. TRADE AND COMMERCE

Ahmad Ispahani—Chairman
Dr. Iqbal Quershi
M. L. Quershi
Shaikh Ataullah
Syed Majiduddin
S. M. Shafi
Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan
Rafi Butt
Mir Azizur Rehman
Hasham Premji
Malang Ahmad Badsha
K. F. Haider

16. The names of the following gentlemen were suggested for co-option by the Sub-Committee of experts on vocational and technical education appointed by the Education Committee of the All India Muslim League:

Mohsin Ali
Syed Arifuddin
Rafi Butt
I. A. Hamid

II. 52

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/90

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
21 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The next meeting of the Planning Committee is going to be held in the Library Hall of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, on the 5th of November 1944 at 10.30 a.m. A copy of the agenda along with the draft questionnaire is herewith enclosed[1] for your kind perusal.

The note[2] on industrial development prepared by Mr. M. A. Quadir, General Manager, Government Silk Factory, Mysore, which you kindly forwarded to me, will be considered by the Planning Committee in due course. I have also requested Mr. Quadir to prepare a detailed note regarding those industries of which he possesses first hand knowledge. The letter[3] from Assam recommending the co-option of a member from that province will be taken up by the Committee at its next meeting. The name of a Delhi businessman (Mir Azizur Rehman) was proposed for co-option at the last meeting but I had it postponed. I shall be obliged if you will please let me have your instructions in this connection.

The cheque for Rs. 1,000 received[4] from you has been deposited with the Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi. I keep my personal accounts with the Imperial Bank of India, Aligarh, and have, therefore, opened accounts in the name of A. B. A. Haleem, Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League Committee with the Delhi branch of the bank. Any sum which you may be pleased to sanction for the expenses of the Planning Committee may kindly be sent direct to the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi. Hope this will find you

in the best of health.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. B. A. HALEEM

PS. Thank you for your last letter.[5] I shall see you in Delhi before the 5th of November.

A. H.

[1&3]See *SHC*, AIML/91-2 & 76. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[4]See Appendix II. 49.
[5]See *SHC*, AIML/86. Not printed.

II. 53

Address by M. A. Jinnah to the AIML Planning Committee

SHC, AIML/95

ANGLO-ARABIC COLLEGE,
DELHI,
5 November 1944

I thank the Chairman and Members of the Planning Committee for the kind invitation which has been extended to me to attend this morning's sitting.

The Chairman has informed me that some of the Members would like to put me some questions. So you can now proceed fairly and frankly to cross-examine me and ask me whatever question you like. I am here at your service.

Speaking on behalf of the Muslim League, I should like first of all to explain to you how this Committee came to be appointed.

I have had occasion to visit quite a number of places in recent years and wherever I have been, I have found that the Musalmans are almost at the bottom in the economic life of India. Even in Bombay where about forty years back—I remember the time myself—the Musalmans held a very big position in the economic life of the city, they have gradually been ousted. In those days if people wanted funds for any good object in any part of India they made a bee-line for Bombay, because they thought that Bombay Muslims were all millionaires. In those days, the three communities that held the reins in Bombay's economic life were Muslims, Parsees and Britishers.

In the development that has taken place during the last forty years, the biggest sufferer has been the Musalman. Europeans have been able to hold their own because of certain facilities they enjoy. The Parsees have also suffered but not to the same extent as the Musalmans. Many cases may be cited to illustrate my remarks but I need not go into details.

The Muslim League is mainly a political body, but we cannot separate different departments of our national life into watertight compartments and keep things like education, social welfare, etc., outside our scope. So we had to take up the question of organizing the Musalmans in the economic sphere. I think we can safely claim that we have organized the Musalmans politically fairly well. There is a great deal to be done yet, but in the field of politics, the Muslim League organisation can stand on its own legs and is capable of carrying on its work. In the department of economic life, however, we were at the zero point. It is a matter which has been occupying our attention for some time, and wherever I went I suggested to the Musalmans who came to see me, that they should establish a Muslim Chamber of Commerce at the earliest possible opportunity.

As a result now in almost all important provinces we have got Muslim Chambers of Commerce and I am very glad that they have decided to combine in a Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce. The Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce has got an office in Delhi and a Secretary and the various Chambers of Commerce are affiliated to it. I understand that the Federation is going to hold its meeting here towards the end of November or the beginning of December. You will thus see, gentlemen, that we have got the Muslim businessmen on one platform where they can meet and exchange their views as to what is going on and as to what they should do. I can say that if to-day Birlas, Pershotam Das, Padampat or any other business magnate says that he has carefully considered a certain scheme whether an industrial venture or any other enterprise, and he wants to put it through, he will get the capital required without the slightest difficulty. He has only to say, "I have examined this thing and in order to start it, I want a capital of two crore", and the money is immediately forthcoming. He has not got to go begging. He has only to get into touch with some fellow-magnates and tell them how much they should put in. One man gives ten lakh, another contributes twenty lakh, and so from these people the major part of the capital is furnished. Naturally, they have also to get some money from the public, and a company is thus floated.

In nine out of ten companies you find the same Directors and more or less the same body of persons. It is impossible for you to compete with them, individually or singly, hence this Federation of Chambers of Commerce. We have suffered in the past and unless we wake up we shall suffer more.

While endeavouring to bring into existence the Muslim Chambers of Commerce we also felt it necessary to appoint a committee of experts to draw up a plan on economic development on a wide and comprehensive basis. The resolution passed by the All India Muslim League[1] authorising me to appoint the Committee is, I confess, not artistically drafted. I must, however, request you to remember that the resolution was drawn up by laymen under very heavy pressure of work. As you may be aware the Muslim League session lasts barely three days. We meet for two days and on the third day it is difficult to hold people together, and there are so many things that we have to discuss. We have to work, therefore, under very great pressure and have to sit up till two or three o'clock in the morning. It was under these circumstances that the resolution was drafted by a body of laymen and all that I claim for it is that it gives you the substance and an indication of the purport we had in view. It is for you now to go into the whole matter carefully.

Speaking as a layman, I feel that one of the results of your deliberations will be in the direction of awakening the commercial and industrial consciousness of the Muslims. Your resolutions and proceedings, when you meet, will go to the press and will help in rousing the attention of the Musalmans. I venture to say that the Committee that has been formed is composed of men who would do credit to any people or any country in the world. Every one of you holds a distinguished position in his own walk of life and I am very glad to have been able to get such a Committee together. It took me some months to hunt you out. Experts among the Musalmans are not many; some of them are in Government service. Among the Musalmans, there are hardly any large concerns controlling really solid and big industry, and in most walks of life the Musalman is nowhere near the forefront. I, therefore, consider myself fortunate in having been able to bring you together. The first object, as I have just indicated, is to focus the attention of the Musalmans on matters vitally affecting their economic life. The next thing is that there are many people who are now wide awake and are willing and anxious to strike somewhere. But we hear varying reports about possibilities and potentialities. I am talking particularly of the Pakistan areas. There is not enough literature on the subject and whatever there is has not

been put before the public with any authority. There are some people who say that the Pakistan areas are more or less devoid of mineral resources and that economically we shall not be able to exist. Thus the Hindu press keeps on telling us that the Muslims would be the biggest sufferers by the establishment of Pakistan. They would even go further and would like to persuade us that the Pakistan State would be bankrupt. That is not true. On the other hand, there are people who tell us that it is all nonsense and that we have very large deposit of petroleum, coal, iron ore and other minerals in the Pakistan areas. I do not accept one view or the other in its exaggerated form. All that I can say as a layman is that in my opinion Pakistan will not be bankrupt; it will be a powerful state—though it may not be as rich as Hindustan. It is, however, a matter which should be carefully gone into by a Committee of this type. After examining various aspects of the question you will arrive at your conclusion which will be authoritative. You will indicate the possible lines of development. You will indicate the potentialities of the Pakistan areas; and not merely of the Pakistan, but of the Hindustan areas as well, where thirty million of our co-religionists reside. A report with your seal on it will be something in the nature of a guide. Thirdly, in whatever problem you tackle there is one point which I must request you to keep in mind—and it is this. It is not our purpose to make the rich richer and to accelerate the process of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few individuals. We should aim at levelling up the general standard of living amongst the masses and I hope your Committee will pay due attention to this very important question. Our ideal should not be capitalistic but Islamic, and the interests and welfare of the people as a whole should be kept constantly in mind. Of course, the Muslim League is a political organization. It does not control the resources of the Government. If we were in charge of Government funds, the Muslim League would be the Muslim Government and would be in a position to implement your report wholly or in parts. The Muslim League can, however, do this. Wherever we have a Muslim League Ministry in power we shall try that your recommendations should be put through wherever possible. Your report will also help in knocking on the head the determined efforts which the present Government of India are making in the direction of centralizing things. They are moving in that direction which means that they are going to reduce the provinces to the position of mere municipalities. That is the danger we have to guard against.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Planning Committee, for the opportunity you have given me of meeting you and having an exchange of views.

[1]Appendix II. 1.

II. 54

Extract from Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of the All India Muslim League Planning Committee held from 30 June to 2 July 1945

F. 1104/337-41

[RESOLUTIONS]

Resolved that pending the preparation of a comprehensive report in the light of the reports of Sub-Committees and the data collected, the Chairman's memorandum with the modifications made by the Committee[1] be forwarded[2] to the Quaid-i-Azam.

2. Resolved that the following Sub-Committee be appointed to prepare a draft comprehensive report for submission to the Planning Committee after taking into consideration the reports of the various Sub-Committees and the statistical data collected for the Planning Committee:
   Chairman
   [Hatim] Alavi
   Dr. Zakir Husain
   Secretary
   Joint Secretary
3. Resolved further that the draft report should include:

a. An examination of the economic position of the Pakistan areas.
b. The distribution of assets and liabilities of the present Central Government between Pakistan and Hindustan.
c. A structural plan of economic development of Pakistan as a sovereign state.
d. Measures necessary for safeguarding the economic interests of Muslims residing in the Hindustan area, and for the promotion of their economic well-being.
e. Interim measures necessary for the promotion of the economic interests of Muslims all over India under the existing constitution (till the establishment of Pakistan) and for the creation of conditions which are pre-requisites for the successful execution of the economic plan.

4. Resolved that all papers in connection with the meetings of the

various Sub-Committees be sent to the members concerned at least a fortnight before meeting.

5. Resolved that the principles enunciated in the note on basic policies submitted jointly under the signature of Dr. L. K. Hyder and Sheikh Ataullah be approved.
   b. Resolved further that the Sub-Committee on Agricultural Production, Soil Conservations and Afforestation be directed to proceed further with its work on the lines indicated in the note.
6. Resolved that Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur, Chairman of the Planning Committee, be authorised to approach Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi or Mr. Elias Burny with a view to persuading one of them to accept the chairmanship of the Finance Sub-Committee. This resolution was passed at the request of Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur who wanted to be relieved of the chairmanship of the Finance Sub-Committee.
7. Resolved that the next meeting of the Planning Committee be held at Karachi.
8. Resolved that the following Economic Advisory Sub-Committee be appointed to study the various economic developments taking place in the country and to keep the Planning Committee, the All India Muslim League and the Muslim public informed of their implications and to offer advice as to what action is necessary.
   Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur (Chairman)
   Prof. A. B. A. Haleem (Hony. Secretary)
   M. L. Qureshi (Hony. Joint Secretary)
   Dr. Zakir Husain Khan
   Hatim Alavi
9. Resolved that the manner in which the Government's industrial policy recently enunciated is being pursued is detrimental to the interests of the Muslims in many ways.
10. Resolved further that the Hony. Secretary be authorised to bring this matter to the notice of the Muslim League and to take such further action as may be necessary.
11. Resolved that the original resolution of the Planning Committee passed at its first meeting held in Delhi according to which no travelling expenses are admissible to the Members of the Planning Committee and its various Sub-Committees should not be modified.

[1]Appendix II.55.
[2]See F. 1092/309, *QAP*, Not printed

II. 55

Memorandum by Chairman, Planning Committee, as Modified by the Planning Committee

SHC, AIML/115 (1-57)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The All India Muslim League passed the resolution authorising Mr. Jinnah, the President, to appoint a Planning Committee whose main function *inter alia* was laid down in the following terms:

> To survey and examine the conditions of India and more particularly of the Pakistan areas with a view to preparing the Muslims to participate in the natural developments in the direction of commercial and agricultural expansion and industrialisation and be ready for a gigantic drive in the field of economic reconstruction—especially in post-war reconstruction.

The first meeting of the Committee appointed for this purpose was held on the 3rd of September 1944.[1] Its various Sub-Committees are engaged in collecting data and drawing up detailed proposals. Meanwhile it may be useful to make a general approach to the problem of economic development as a tentative contribution.

2. For some years there has been profound consciousness that there is need for improving the general welfare of the people by planned effort to make full use of the human, physical and technological resources. It is felt that the poverty prevailing is an unnatural condition which should be relieved by finding employment for the masses. We are living in an age when the man-hour cost of most essentials is the lowest in the history of mankind, and there should be no difficulty in creating for everybody a high level of opportunity and good life conditions. Why then, it is asked, has society been so organised that the majority of the people in India are suffering from want and deprivation through enforced idleness and are unable to provide for themselves the essential physiological needs of adequate food, clothing and shelter?

3. The source of the malaise, we are witnessing, lies in the fact that while scientific progress and technical achievements have advanced in rapid strides, the efficiency of Government is far short of the requirements. In order to take advantage of the opportunities which modern science offers, there should be machinery for insisting on efficient production at minimum cost, and also for smoothly carrying the products to the consumer's door. Chaos prevails at the present time through an incessant conflict by which men are devoting their

energies, not towards increasing the collective resources, but towards competing with each other for the command of them. Concerted effort is needed, if we are not to remain backward and dependent.

4. The war has given a rude awakening and has been a great educator in this respect. It has shown that, properly planned and directed to a definite objective, the capacity of the country is enormous. The country is no doubt weak in technical skill and equipment. But that defect can be remedied, and better use made of our resources to furnish larger and more nearly equal opportunities for each individual. It is not poor; it is nature in the raw that is poor and it has to be shaped to meet the needs of man. The mess is due to the failure of man's intelligence, and to the existing institutions which have outlived their utility and must either be scrapped or substantially overhauled. There is danger in allowing matters to drift. We must give thought and energy to finding a way-out by utilising the idle resources, natural and human. Only by organising the latent powers of production can the frustration of idleness be removed.

5. Production in India is of a low order, and emphasis should be laid on making the fullest possible use of the resources of production so as to satisfy the basic needs of the people and satisfy those needs as the first consideration. What we are primarily concerned with is the practical problem of life, which is usually referred to under the term "standard of living" and comprises the provision of adequate food, clothing, shelter and the social services essential for modern civilized life. Such issues as cultural and spiritual factors, amenities of civilized life, etc., will be kept in mind; but it is not necessary to stress them here, as there is every chance for social equality under the genuine democracy of Islam. Our programme of development is for a period of twenty years, and even minimum to be done is so stupendous that we should be content to chalk out a scheme of immediate applicability to a people struggling not for competence, but for mere human existence.

6. For the framing of a plan it is necessary to be in possession of detailed information, to study problems concerning the economic life of each tract, to ascertain the important deficiencies and to suggest the necessary remedial measures. Planning is a comprehensive task, and one of the fundamental requisites is to assess the resources of every part of the country. Plans will have to be prepared for each Pakistan province in consideration of its requirements and resources in raw material, human energy, etc. They may even have to be by separate regions within a province, if the characteristics of the tracts differ and there are special local problems to be dealt with. Regionalisation is

inherent in planning, and every tract should, to the greatest extent possible, develop its own resources by its own labour, skill and management.

7. Government Departments alone can prepare such local plans, as they have the power to initiate the necessary survey, research and analysis of schemes for co-ordination and sequence. However, public policies are not made up entirely of facts; and it should be possible to outline the general principles to be adopted in framing a practical programme. In this skeleton programme, the attempt is only to sketch in rough outline the major issues, without endeavouring to shade in the details. These will have to be filled in later. We would have preferred the drawing up of a skeleton for the whole of India. But the data is meagre and the programme, therefore, refers to British India only as for that area alone are statistics and data, even though incomplete, available.

8. Owing to the deficiencies of information, we are dividing our report into two parts. The first, which we are submitting now, is to indicate the general principles and the broad lines of policy to be pursued from the point of view of Muslims who are spread all over the country. We have decided that there should not be too great delay in submitting our general recommendations, in so far as it is possible to formulate them with the materials at our disposal. The second part,[2] which we hope to submit as soon as we collect the data, will deal more fully and directly with the problems of the Pakistan areas.

9. The task before us is to lay the foundation on which the structure of planned economy, we hope, will be built. For conversion of the present extremely broad proposals into definite schemes, a Planning Commission for each Government will have to be set up. Men in different departments of Government, in the world of science, technicians, and businessmen of varied experience, should be brought together to collect the facts that underlie each kind of activity, and to advise and assist the Administration through the preparation, development and maintenance of comprehensive plans. For devising ways and means and organising the complementary efforts of putting the plans into action, the work will be entrusted to a Development Board. It is desirable that this Board be comprised largely of members of the Planning Commission.

10. The training of personnel is an essential preliminary to planning, and there is a very definite lack of technically trained administrative service to enable the state, whether to direct, supervise and guide planning, or to operate it. The question deserves serious consideration. The vast number of the men needed cannot be found unless they have

previously been trained, and it is important that immediate steps be taken to supply this most pressing need. The difficulty is formidable and it will be necessary for the first five or ten years to obtain the services of experts from outside. But the problem must be solved with courage and determination and should not be allowed to impose limits on the pace of development. Time is the important factor in an industrial revolution designed to plan away unemployment. There may not be full efficiency and errors may come to be made. But the next best thing of today is worth more than the best thing of tomorrow.

11. It is obvious that, for success to be achieved, full co-operation of the public should be enlisted. There may be difficulties in the way, arising from "rigidities of class distinction, rigidities of habits of thought, rigidities in business methods, rigidities of every kind which hinder planning". But if Governments enjoying popular support come into existence and the people themselves strive for progress, effective development can be realised in spite of any such obstruction. The presence of human incentives sufficiently strong to induce the average individual to take pains and give of his best is the decisive factor; and this is the postulate which underlies the recommendations we make.

II. PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES

12. It may be well here to set out the general lines of approach to the problem. Let us begin by explaining where we differ from some other planners. The idea in Great Britain is to increase the national wealth by making the rich richer; and that country is engaged in perfecting a system of social security through unemployment allowances. The system implies enforced idleness, and it cannot be conducive to self-respect for persons who are capable of contributing to the general welfare to live as a charge on the community. Nor can social order be maintained for long under such a process. It is only to a limited extent that the state can be an instrument for transferring income from the rich to the poor. Unemployment benefit is not productive use, and it is no remedy to replace demand for work by demand for maintenance.

13. In certain other advanced countries, the policy adopted was a thoroughgoing regimentation of every aspect of life to the organisation of the war potential. This entailed severe suffering; the standard of living in the Soviet Union as the result of the Five-Year Plan was actually lower in 1933 compared to that in 1928. In war, no doubt, the state is everything and the individual nothing; for the right to work comes to be substituted by the command to work. But this drastic repudiation of the overriding claims of freedom has its rational limitations.

To adopt it as an all-time measure is to destroy that sense of individual responsibility which is necessary for a people in order to achieve the maximum progress.

14. These policies, whatever merits they may possess, can have no bearing on the life of the masses in India. It is not normally the function of the state to undertake the expense of feeding, clothing or housing the people. Nor is it desirable to regiment the people and deprive them of liberty. What is needed is a constructive policy. The people are capable of contribution to the general welfare, and claim the right to work in order to obtain their physical sustenance, if nothing more. The organisation of society should be such as to enable those who are willing and anxious to work to find employment, and the responsibility of the state to take measures for this is the overriding motive of policy. "The right to work, adequately remunerated, and appropriate to the mental and physical capacity, training or attitude should be guaranteed" to modern man who is more afraid of unemployment than he is of death. No country which utilizes the people's power to work need be poor.

15. Every attempt has to be made not only to assure gainful occupation for all but to see that the profit derived is divided in accordance with the canons of distributive propriety. The material resources of the country are vast, and there is the heritage of scientific discoveries and inventions. These gifts are for the state to exploit in the interest of the strengthening of the standard of living of all the people, and not for a small fraction of the people for personal gain and fortune. Nature's formula is survival of the fittest; the objective of humanity is to make man fit to survive. Herein lies the justification of state intervention so as to maintain a balance between order and freedom.

16. It is necessary in this connection to stress the great importance of education. All men are not intelligent; some will always be unsuccessful if left to their own guidance. There are pioneers as well as plodders; men with large vision and men with limited vision. They must all be taught to put intelligence into work, in order to promote the development of the country. There will still be disparity in incomes because of the difference in the fertility of human intellect. Theoretical equality in distribution is unattainable, nor would it be desirable, even if it were possible, to attain it. Individual skill and enterprise have to be given their reward. At the same time, every effort should be made for equality of opportunity to all through education. The higher the general level of education, the less will there be the division between the rich and the poor.

17. The present gross inequalities in income are unjustifiable; and wages for labour can never be sufficient to satisfy the wants of the multitude. The state has to devise measures to right this situation, and its last resort is taxation with the object of providing social services, amenities, etc. The major problem is the eradication of anti-social profit motive, which comes in the way of the fullest possible use being made of the resources of production. The country has the manpower and can raise the technical skill and develop the organising capacity to exploit its resources. What is of importance is that co-operation must be made the rule of life, not competition the motive force.

18. The vast majority of the people are engaged in agriculture, and it is essential to focus attention on agriculture and restore it to health. This is not to say that we do not want to develop industry, but mechanized industry alone can never be powerful enough nor varied enough to make any serious impression on the life of the teeming millions. The success of any development depends on inducing a flow of investment sufficient to maintain full employment, purchasing power, and a steady improvement in the income structure—particularly in a sphere which provides the greatest scope for equitable distribution of wealth. Agriculture is the sphere which gives a high level of opportunity for a sound and profitable investment in human welfare and progress; and priority should be given to it.

19. The aim and object of a plan of development must be the progressive improvement in the standard of living of people. This standard is usually expressed through the average per capita income. But the actual advantage received by the masses may be different from what each man is supposed to get from the income of the country. Averages do not give a correct picture of the situation. Our inquiries go to show that what is available for the masses does not exceed 57% of the average per capita figure based on the aggregate income. This great difference in incomes is a menace to social order, and considerable levelling is necessary for a legitimate development reconcilable with proper protection of the interests of the public.

20. For the preparation of a programme of development, certain assumptions have to be made. As the outlays of capital are to be stated in terms of money, the first of the assumptions must be in regard to price level. It would be misleading to go by the value of money that prevails today. Nor would it serve any useful purpose to base figures on pre-war prices; wages, etc., will never go back to that extent, and it is not desirable that they should do so. All that may be said is that every effort should be made to gradually lower the present inflationary

prices; and it is envisaged that the price level will come to be stabilized at about 33.33 per cent above what it was before the war. On this basis, there is sufficient ground for holding that, at the end of the year 1945, the figure for income of British India may be put at Rs. three thousand and two hundred crore. This is the datum line to start from. Deducting the drain amounting to about Rs. two hundred crore by the "invisible" imports of Great Britain and foreign countries, it gives an average per capita income of Rs. 96 for a population of three hundred fourteen million, which means only Rs. fifty five for the poorer elements.

21. The population is very large and the poverty is appalling; the condition of the masses is almost at its lowest level. For "freedom from want," a doubling of their standard of living will not suffice, and it will have to be raised to at least three times. On this basis, we should aim at a rate of increase of six per cent per annum (compound) in the national income for a period extending to twenty years. After careful examination, we have come to the conclusion that these figures represent the maximum acceleration and the minimum time. The national income will, at the end of the year 1965, rise to Rs. ten thousand two hundred and sixty-three crore, or, per capita two and three-fourth times as much for a population of three hundred and ninety million. In the interest of social justice, every endeavour has to be made for lesser disparity in incomes than what prevails now; and it is reasonable to hope, from the adoption of the measures recommended, that the percentage of per capita income available for the masses will increase from fifty-seven to seventy-four. This raises their income from rupees fifty-five to one hundred and ninety six or three and a half times.

It may be asked why not raise the progressive rate of increase and prescribe a shorter limit of time than twenty years. The answer to this lies in the fact that the period of capital equipment can only be shortened by a high rate of investment on productive undertakings, which must necessarily be at the expense of social services. Our objective should be to improve social conditions while creating earning power; to concentrate on one aspect and forget the other is to create an indefensible salient. Viewed from another angle, any such policy as to regard each member of the community merely as a part of the mechanism of production and not as a consumer will bar the road to progress by involving hardships.

22. We are now in a position to give an indication of what is proposed to be achieved. The picture must necessarily be rough, because we have not reliable statistical material for the income distribution that prevails today; and it is obvious that the figures for the future must be

largely a matter of conjecture and by no means a matter of simple calculation. Now, if we classify the occupational structure under the three heads—(1) small cultivators (2) industry and big cultivators and (3) services, the distribution that prevails at present is probably somewhat as follows:

Head	*Per cent*	*Millions of workers*	*Earning per worker* Rs.
Small cultivators	60	82.2	125
Industry and large cultivators	22	30.2	219
Services	18	24.7	531
Total number of workers	100	137.1	-----

The rate per worker under class 3 (services) is relatively very high. Interest and rent mainly account for the disparity in incomes and give rise to the standard of wretchedness of the majority of the people, a large proportion of whom are regarded as 'untouchable'. There is a considerable degree of 'exploitation', and this state of affairs should be remedied urgently. On the expiry of the twenty years of the Plan, the situation, as the result of the measures recommended, is likely to be:

Head	*Per cent*	*Millions of workers*	*Earning per worker* Rs.
Small cultivators	45	76.7	445
Industry and large Cultivators	32	54.5	678
Services	23	39.2	805
Total number of workers	100	170.4	-----

III. PROBLEMS OF EMPLOYMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION

23. The war has created serious problems, and it is the duty of everyone to visualize them and to be prepared for a development policy based on social improvement. Production has been affected and serious unemployment will manifest itself after the war. The damage done to the apparatus of production will need to be repaired. Profiteering has become the rule of the trade, and all economic values have come to be upset. Inflation has caused a destruction of savings, giving rise to abnormally high prices; and a fall in prices will bring about a further shift in distribution of wealth. The country will be confronted with a slump, and it is necessary to safeguard it from the evil effects

resulting therefrom. All this might prove difficult of adjustment. But the war has given an impetus to a world movement directed towards improvement of the conditions for a higher and a fuller life. It has created an environment peculiarly favourable for development; and it has evolved an effective machinery of controls which is capable of being used for the good of the country.

24. The need for devising far-reaching plans for rebuilding has become pressing. Reconstruction implies a better utilisation of the resources and a more effective employment of physical and moral forces. The natural resources are large, but their very largeness imposes a corresponding obligation to utilise them in the best way for the common welfare. The population is immense, is increasing rapidly, and will still further increase, if the death rate is offset by the health measures which will be undertaken. To support it, the only effective means is to make the population productive. There must be deliberate planning for greater employment.

25. The size of the population is a basic issue in planning. The problem of a gainful employment has been intensified by the lack of an all-round co-ordinated development. The occupational structure is not balanced; and the contrast between the incomes of the three sections of the community—Agriculture, Industry and Services—is great. The working population engaged in agriculture has been increasing from 64 per cent to 72 per cent in the last half century. The steady drift towards dependence on land continues. There is a possibility of improvement in this situation through occupations subsidiary to agriculture, through public works, etc. But for pressure on the land to be relieved, the unequipoised distribution should be rectified. This can only be done by bringing about a transfer of the excessive pópulation to industry, trade and other occupations and professions.

An outlet of vital importance is the mineral wealth of the country and this has not so far received sufficient attention. The mineral wealth belongs to the community; the development of mining and the production of finished products should be taken up as public enterprise. Its exploitation should be such as to ensure maximum utilization with minimum waste, as minerals are a wasting asset. The Geological Survey Department must carry out a thorough and complete investigation of the resources in all parts of the country, nearly two-thirds of which still remains to be accurately surveyed. A large number of geologists will be needed and arrangement should be made for suitable training facilities.

26. There is no lack of labour, and economic welfare demands that

labour be kept usefully employed. To achieve the goal of stable employment is what the people value as the *sine qua non* of their existence. We are living in an age when it is possible to supply a large part of the needs of the people, and there is no reason why this should not be done. At present there is no full employment and the productivity of labour is poor. It is necessary to remedy these deficiencies so that no tangible resources may remain undeveloped. There are scientific discoveries and inventions to help in this task. During the war, they have been put in practice, and commercial arts improved which are capable of promoting the general welfare.

27. People are still clinging tenaciously to methods which were used long before power and machinery entered the world. It is not realised that the way to liberty, the way to equality of opportunity, lies through the replacement of muscular energy by mechanical energy, and the use of the machine as substitute for the hand. "It is true that the machine has sometimes been used by those who owned it, not to liberate men but to exploit them". This cannot be accepted by society as right; man should be the master of the machine and not be made its slave. But the basis of modern-day industrial organisation is mechanical energy. Modern nations expend far more energy than the combined muscular ability of their populations and beasts of burden. The need of the public is cheap and reliable power supply widely distributed and available for everybody. The economic development of every industrial country has followed the exploitation of its power resources.

The machine is only an incident in the application of power; and its function "is to liberate man from brute burdens, and release his energies to the building of his intellectual and spiritual powers". Hard work, the least productive sort of labour, is for machine, not for human beings. Nevertheless in a country where there are many hands to do work, the use of machinery should not be so extensive as to oust human labour. India's major need is not substituting the machine for the hand-worker; and a proper balance should be kept between higher per capita output and larger employment.

28. The productivity of labour is being exploited by the shrewder man who lives on the community and not in it. Even if the entrepreneur is not a capitalist himself, he is under the thumb of capitalists. Money is regarded as the life-blood of business, and instead of being a commodity has become a power. It is controlled not by mankind as a part of the service instrument of humanity but by a group of money-brokers; and its main purpose had become the production of payments for the

professional financiers. Money is made for man and not man for money, just as productivity is to be increased for man, and not at the cost of man. Financing for what one can get out of it in money, without a thought to the welfare of the people, removes the last academic justification for competitive enterprise.

Production should be for the use of the community and not for the private profit of the few who command the instrument of production. The resources of the country belong to the people, the labour is provided by the people and it is the public who subscribe to the business by purchasing the commodities manufactured. One or more men may have developed an idea, but it is the support of the people that translates it into reality. A great industry progresses by the unified thought and energy of many men. There is therefore no right to charge the public with interest on what it contributes by its own exertions. The profits of business are due, not only to the managerial brains, but also to the business itself, and to the people whose contributions make the business as a going concern. Partnership of service with the people is an essential principle. Industry cannot be left to be operated by the grant of a charter of 'self-government' or by the permission of 'dead' money.

29. If maximum social welfare is to be achieved, we must discover the foundations of a new equilibrium. Capitalism, with its principle of *laissez-faire*, is a method of exploiting the inertia of the multitude, and it has failed. The tide is set towards increasing public control and increasing socialisation. Even in Great Britain, the principles of socialism are already in being, and to some extent embodied in certain of the great public utility corporations like the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Electricity Commission, the London Passenger Transport Board, the Financing Corporation of Industries Ltd., and the Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation Ltd. It has become necessary to suppress monopolistic practices, whether of producing firms or labour organizations, in order to assure the necessary mobility of all factors of production. Definite policies have to be laid down in respect of materials of which a country has a virtual monopoly, or of which she has a supply in excess of requirements.

While the capitalist's claim to be trustee of public interest cannot be accepted, yet the exercise of individual enterprise and initiative has an important contribution to make and there must be no drying up of this incentive to progress. Each type of organisation should be applied to problems for which it is appropriate. There are great social movements going on under the surface which are common to both socialism

and capitalism, in spite of all their differences and their conflicts; and it is not possible to draw a rigid line to suit every case. All that may be said is that state intervention and individual enterprise are both extreme types of economic organisation and that a new way has to be found which would be superior to either. In determining this, the guiding points are: full employment, adequate wages, and reasonable prices.

30. It is preposterous to expect that the state should make the plan and not carry it faithfully into action. Joint stock enterprise was evolved when industrial activity had outgrown the capacities of individuals. Unrestricted, this partnership of the few has led to exploitation; and, if industry is to be for public good equitably distributing the wealth, state intervention is unavoidable. Industry is a social function carried out in the interests of all and must be regulated so as to progressively eliminate the element of private profit. Basic raw materials cannot be the subject of private ownership. There are two ways in which the state can regulate—(1) ownership or control, and, (2) management.

31. The degree of participation of the state in economic life must necessarily vary in different countries and under the varying conditions prevailing from time to time. At present, if the state is to prevent large scale and protracted unemployment, that participation should be of a high order. Enterprise connected with the exploitation of minerals, with defence, public utilities and social services should be state-owned. So must also be those enterprises which are likely to endanger the interests of the community through the creation of monopolies. Industries not vital to the existence of community may be left to be organised by private agency; but these should be controlled and required to conform to the Plan.

There is an increasing realisation that private enterprise has been behaving in an anti-social manner and that rigid control should be exercised over it, if it is to continue. The old order has had its day in India and is showing tendency towards dissolution. The institution of the managing agency system for controlling and operating industrial concerns is of a crude type; and the record of failures is depressing. It has introduced into the industrial structure the elements of vested interests, monopolies and private profit, thereby blocking the machinery for utilising the wealth of the country in the interest of mankind. This exploitation to the disadvantage and injury of the community by individuals or groups should not be allowed to be perpetuated or intensified. Even an established industry may need to be taken over to assure that it does not come into conflict with the interest of the people.

The province of Bengal affords a very striking illustration of the evil effects of want of control by the state. Bengal is a highly industrialised area and yet the capital invested has no social value for her people. Her poverty is appalling and the shock of the war, combined with the inflationary policy of the Government, has brought about the collapse of her people by giving the business communities still greater opportunities for exploitation. In agriculture, she is being exploited from within by the landlord. In industry, she is bled white by foreigners—whether coming from outside India or from other parts of India. The money of Bengal does not stick to the palms that sweat it out. Salvation lies in the elimination of the Zamindari system and in state ownership of the more vital industrial production.

32. As regards the agency for management in state-owned industries, it is suggested that public corporations be set up with duties and responsibilities defined and their broad lines of policy open to discussion. This would ensure public ownership and control, and avoid the inefficiency which crops in from state management. An autonomous body, like the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States of America is what is required. The T.V.A. is a "corporation clothed with the power of Government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise."

These corporations will render important service through research and training. The promotion of the material interests of a country depends to a great extent upon the furtherance of scientific research and well planned instrumentalities for systemic and vigorous study into things are required. State research institutes which will come to be established will be useful in their own way, but they are not an adequate substitute of institutions working in close association with the industries. Moreover, research should be properly organised and carried out on a national basis, and the results made available for all. Results obtained by private organisations or by individual effort are usually scattered and, therefore, not very useful.

IV PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY: AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

33. Agriculture constitutes the occupation of the great mass of the people and is "the most considerable and a key industry of India. It produces more than three-fourths of the material wealth of the country; supports more than four-fifth of the population; and is the basis of the most considerable industries". If land were closed against us, industry would be paralysed. No plan can succeed without first effecting improvement in the economic condition of the agricultural classes. One simply cannot afford a mood of irresponsible enthusiasm of playing

about with a gigantic industry like this, which is the foundation of the life of the people.

There is no necessary antithesis between agricultural and industrial development—industrialisation tends to raise rather than lower the agricultural output, while commercial progress everywhere follows that of agriculture. The two forms of productive activity are supplementary and complementary and must be carefully interrelated. Agricultural industry is falling into decay, and adequate measures must be taken to put our house in order as the first step.

34. The basis of a nation is the peasantry, and peasant proprietorship introduces a factor of stability in a country. Prosperity and contentment in order to develop the agricultural resources are however lacking, and primary producers everywhere are very badly off. Even in the United States of America, the farmers are the "hunger-marchers". In India starvation is never far from the thoughts of millions of peasants. The cultivators started with virgin land, and found that cultivation "is a part-time job in a world that asks of a living on the basis of a full-time job." They have been obliged to make the most of it through the process of exploitation; in their crops they have sold off their capital from failure to return to the land the proper elements necessary for its full fertility. "The process is mining rather than farming."

Illiterate, unorganised and unable to pull their weight the farmers get hardly a bare subsistence for their labour. They are selling the raw materials they produce below their cost, and the need is urgent for insurance against frequent and substantial fluctuations in the price level. For the efficiency of the land-worker to improve, the state has yet to realise its function as the agency for promoting the welfare of the community. It is no longer limited to "keeping the ring" while private enterprise develop the natural resources. Of the nation-building activities, agriculture is the most important, and agricultural service is, in its broadest sense, an essential service. It is the duty of the state to smoothen out the difficulties that beset the cultivator, to aid him to improve and equip his holding for full production, and to enable him to realise his fair share of the wealth he produces, by maintaining equilibrium in the price-cost structure.

35. There are many handicaps in the way of the actual cultivator. The most important of these is the existence of intermediaries of the type of Zamindars, *Talukdars*, etc. The British found the Zamindar a revenue payer and they made him a rent receiver, entirely for political considerations. Was this a real gain? The ultimate loss to the country, by the subordination of the interests of the millions to the interests of

the few, has been immeasurably greater than any gain to the exchequer. The permanent settlement laid down what the Government was to receive from the Zamindar, but no adequate protection against the Zamindar was given to the cultivator. It was a blank charter to exploit and oppress, and gave rise to a large increase in the number of landless labourers.

36. For peasant farming to be successful, the improvement must be first in the farmers themselves. This can only come through co-operation. The co-operative movement has not succeeded so far, because the sources of agricultural income are not very stable. Given the requisite stability and a certain amount of compulsion, there is no reason why co-operative farming should not succeed. Agriculture is the nursery of co-operation, and it is the appreciation of this fundamental fact that holds the key to economic success.

37. There is a great deal of confusion in the classification of the figures of land utilisation. One report of the Government of India says that the areas classed as 'culturable waste' and 'fallow' in India amount to 170 million acres, while in another place this figure is given as 250 million acres. Then it suggests that a part of the area classified as 'not available for cultivation' may also include land which it may be possible to put to use; while another report interpreting this area, which is for communal needs, as uncultivable waste, proposes that it should be utilised to grow agricultural forests. What seems probable is that for British India the area under 'culturable waste' is about 97 million acres and that under 'fallow' is 47 million acres. Now, with the enormous population and the strong land-hunger that prevails, it is not likely that very considerable areas are left for extension of cultivation. However, it is very necessary to have surveys made for a detailed land classification giving information as to the land suitable for profitable raising of crops and to set up a proper land development organisation for this purpose.

The matter is an important one, as it affords the best opportunity for the development of state collective farms. It will enable the state to become the possessor of large blocks of land, with a minimum of disturbance to the community. For agriculture to be conducted more scientifically and efficiently, an effort should be made for large scale methods in order to demonstrate to the cultivator the benefits that arise from the use of tractors and other modern machinery. Collectivisation lends itself suitably to grain cultivation, which, as experience has shown, cannot be left to be mainly dependent upon the primitive ploughs of an ignorant peasantry.

38. It is imperative that the maximum area possible for utilisation with advantage should be harnessed to the food production drive. The productive power of soils for raising of crops vary greatly and many of the most serious agricultural vexations may be traced to this unequal productive power. At present there is quite a large proportion of infertile lands upon which men, women and children have been toiling for years only to wear away their lives uselessly. Such lands which are submarginal or unsuited for crop production should be shifted to more appropriate uses, if the population is not to unsuccessfully eke out an existence under adverse conditions.

There need be no fear of land lying waste. Where soils are somewhat less productive, animal husbandry should be developed intensively and land which cannot be improved may be put under forest or grass or used for fuel reserves. There is at present an acute shortage of wood for fuel, ploughs, and small house-building. This need should be met near the villager's door-step as he cannot afford to pay the price of superior timber or of long haul. It is estimated that cattle manure to the extent of seventy million tons is now used as fuel annually—a loss of three hundred and fifty thousand tons of nitrogen. Agricultural forests properly distributed over the country not only save manure but would provide grazing and fodder for the cattle.

39. Scientific knowledge is constantly expanding, and research stations and experimental farms will have to be established. It may also be noted that the best experience of the agriculturists themselves, if widely diffused, would mean an immense advance, and being indigenous in origin and character, would be more likely to secure a favourable reception. We suggest running a model holding in every village of reasonable size. To serve as model the area should be about twenty acres, the cost not to exceed Rs. 7,000 and the conditions somewhat similar to those found in a village.

40. The growth of the country has been keyed to its irrigation development, and this relationship must be retained in the future. But we are nearing the end in the matter of dealing with snow-fed rivers and alluvial tracts. The simple water diversions are exhausted, and the unregulated flow of the rivers has become insufficient to meet the needs. There are problems to be faced combating the adverse forces of nature. Also there are obstacles created by man through territorial divisions of the country though these can always be got over by mutual agreement. It is necessary to caution against extreme views in regard to the quantity of water which admits of being utilized or the cost at which it can be made available. This is not to say that India has

reached its ultimate limit of feasible undertakings; but we must dispel any such erroneous impressions as the possibilities of expansion of irrigation by anything like hundred million acres in the next fifteen years, or at a cost of rupees fifty per acre.

The momentous problem of the future is the irrigation of the upland tracts, and this cannot be thought of on the analogy of the canals in the alluvial plains; upland tracts are not well adapted to distribution of water. Further, storage has become the crux of the matter, and the building of reservoirs is not, as is popularly supposed, always practicable from the physical and economic viewpoint. The programme of extension will be costly; and the range and intricate character of the physical facts involved in this great undertaking will call for effective planning on systematic and scientific lines.

Compared with the results achieved from flush irrigation of low bottom lands, it goes without saying that this system will be at a great disadvantage. But it is of a superior class, and the results can also be higher. The upland areas with soils richer in mineral plant food, a longer growing season, continuous daily sunshine, and facilities for drainage, are better suited for high-priced crops and diversified farming; while the whole cost of storage need not be charged to irrigation, as water can usually serve other purposes as well. It would be necessary to explore possibilities of multiple use of the facilities provided by storage involving combination among supply for irrigation, dietetic purposes, power, navigation, flood control, sanitation and even recreational features. Some of these by-products will greatly reduce the swollen burden—particularly power, which normally is an income-producing factor of great significance.

41. Along with the importance of stabilizing the year-round flow of the streams, the question of the economical application of water needs attention. The Indian cultivator usually drowns rather than irrigates his land, with the result that crops and land both suffer from a surplus of water. There is not simply a loss of water, but a far greater loss takes place by the removal of soluble substances from the soil which are an important part of plant food or by the bringing up to surface of excessive alkali. The productivity diminishes and the land gets thrown out of cultivation by being 'water-logged' or becoming 'salted'. Over-irrigation is a grave danger facing the development of the country. We have reached the stage where we cannot squander water unconcernedly, and it is important to recognize the management of irrigation systems as a distinct profession, for which men are to be trained by a systematic course of observation and study. Water is an essential element of life,

and the problem before us is to use the minimum quantity that is required. It may mean a little more labour to the cultivator, but this is more than compensated by the larger yields obtainable from controlled application of moisture. It is not realised that on a supply of 75 per cent of the water ordinarily utilized by cultivators, the outturn obtainable is 150 per cent of what is now returned, or even more.

The management of irrigation works has to be brought into harmony with the requirements of today. The capital investment required per acre for future works will be very large. With costly works accumulating interest charges remorselessly, an inadequate arrangement for the use of the water made available, is economically intolerable. The cultivator needs capital for preparing the land for irrigation, for livestock and other requirements; he must also have money until his crop is sold. These usually mean an outlay on his part of about 60 per cent of the investment incurred by the state. He cannot reasonably be expected to produce the full capital necessary for a fair start, nor are there any loanable funds available for the purpose. It is thus not possible for him to take advantage from the earliest possible moment and bring forward the time of full production. The state must come to his rescue.

42. Irrigation under 'other sources' admits of considerable expansion in the high rainfall regions and the submountainous tracts. Tanks are another useful source of irrigation; and they are of special value during breaks in the rains. There are possibilities also of expanding the well-irrigated area. Under this form of irrigation, which is adapted to individual effort, water is used sparingly; and wells as an adjunct to canals add materially to their duty. These classes of works are, however, mostly for private enterprise, and their extension depends on the strength of the resources of the people. Every assistance should be given to private enterprise to develop these works, if progress is to be expedited.

43. As yet only to a small degree has agriculture been realised as an industry. There is no organisation, and the wealth produced goes mainly to the money-lenders and the middlemen; little or nothing of the year's income is left for making improvements, for purchasing implements, tools and machinery, work stock, milk animals, seeds and fertilizer, etc. Added to this is the great struggle with the elements of nature which requires steady watchfulness against disaster. There are large fluctuations in prices of produce, and the holding power in this industry of national importance is small. The farmer needs not only technical but financial aid as well. Loans in kind is the best form of assistance that can be given to agriculturists.

44. It is necessary to set up warehousing and marketing depots as a preliminary to the establishment of multipurpose co-operative societies. This has to be supplemented by suitable methods of preservation, such as cold storage, refrigerated transport, de-hydration, canning, processing, etc. Surplus stocks will have to be built up in years of plenty, and commodities given out in years of scarcity in order to prevent an undue fall in prices. Questions of levies of grain per acre cultivated, the price to be paid to the agriculturist, short-term and long-term loans to be given to him, will have to be considered. The fundamental idea is to secure increase in production and at the same time to guarantee an assured market for the primary producer at a price which will give him an adequate return for the labour and service he renders. No price control policy can succeed unless backed by the physical possession by the state of large stocks of reserves.

45. Co-operative societies and *panchayats* should be fostered to the utmost extent if the money-lender is ever to be eliminated. These institutions are the means for the betterment of the life of the rural masses, and no effort should be spared to take the movement into the heart of the village. So far it has only touched the problem of credit and it is important to link it up with production, marketing, distribution, handicrafts, subsidiary to agriculture, etc. It is necessary to ensure that the surplus harvest, in excess of the actual needs of the cultivator, comes into the warehouses. This should be the essential condition for the loans advanced to the cultivator.

46. The success of peasant agriculture whose basic unit is the owner-occupied family farm, is bound up with the development of livestock production, as it is in these forms of enterprise that the small unit has an advantage. It is the centre of his agricultural system; the farmer sells part of his crop directly and the rest he sells through the animals. India is the richest country in respect of number of animals but a considerable proportion is useless and burdensome. The work turn out and the produce per animal are both miserably poor. The state should undertake the maintenance of breeding stations for producing high class pedigree cattle for distribution.

Much more attention should be paid to animal husbandry as an important department. Research in all its branches and in dairy produce should be encouraged. Milk is an essential article of diet, and the profitable production of milk product is a great desideratum. But good animals require to be well fed, and proper provision should be made for fodder, controlled grazing, silage, throwing open of forest areas where feasible, and legislative insistence, where practicable, on

the cultivator setting a part of his holding for fodder crops. There are some one hundred and eighty-five million cattle in the country but only sixty million are useful, a number wholly inadequate for intensive farming; the remainder are uneconomical and constitute a serious drain on the fodder supply.

This is not to suggest a drastic policy of cattle slaughter. Cattle are particular sufferers in years of scarcity; and the evil effects of their dying off and so restricting cultivation may be felt for a generation. They are infertile animals having usually one calf a year, and it is consequently difficult to make good the loss rapidly. The problem is one of balancing the loss in production from keeping too many animals against the future loss which would result from too great a reduction in the stock; and the solution lies, not only in guarding against the increase of useless animals, but in keeping a reserve of suitable cattle for distribution throughout the villages. Considering that the income from livestock products is said to amount to about one-third of the agricultural income as a whole, this is a profitable investment.

47. Attention is also needed in regard to sheep, goats, poultry, bee-keeping, and particularly, fisheries. Fish is cheap food for the people and there are great possibilities of development of fish products, fish oil, fish manure, shell products, etc. It is estimated that the catch of fish amounts to eight hundred thousand tons a year. With proper organisation, this can easily be trebled. The main problem is that of freeing the fishermen from the hands of middlemen. Capital, arrangements for rapid transport, provision of cold storage and facilities in the shape of nets, boats, etc. will need to be provided.

48. The amount of capital to be utilised for purpose of development of agriculture must necessarily be large. But there should be no hesitation in incurring that outlay. Investment in agriculture pays a handsome return to the country—larger than that from mechanized industry or other undertakings. The provision to be made is estimated as under:

I. *Outlay*	*Crores of Rupees*
Soil conservation and afforestation	200
Land reclamation and drainage	250
Flood abatement and protection	100
Irrigation—reservoirs and canals	500
Minor (grant-in-aid)	50
Warehousing and marketing centres (30,000)	475
State farms	150
Experimental farms (1,000) and research stations (50)	25

Model holdings (4,60,000)		300
Animal husbandry—grazing, lands, health, breeding, milk, etc.		175
Foodstuff and fish industries		175
Miscellaneous		100
	Total	2,500
Recurring expenses (for 20 years)		700
	Total	3,200
II. Working capital		1,200
	Total	4,400

INDUSTRY

49. We have been laying emphasis on the vital necessity of concentrating, in the initial stages, on the development of agriculture. Without it, the living condition of the masses cannot be improved, and the lack of purchasing power in the rural areas will be a bar to the full growth of mechanised industry. However, the world has advanced, and India with its large population cannot remain almost entirely dependent upon an agricultural economy. Man is not now satisfied with the fruits of agriculture alone; most articles that were once considered luxuries have become necessities of life. We are importing large quantities of consumer goods, and over 80 per cent of these can be manufactured within the country. Only, the desire for speeding up the pace of industrialisation must not be allowed to outrun judgement. If the fundamental consideration that applies to mechanization is that production must be regulated mainly in relation to the demand for home consumption, the natural regulator is the purchasing power of the population. This condition satisfied, with our large population and potentialities to a great extent unexploited, there is no reason why India should remain a purely agricultural country on a subsistence economy. There is a limit to the value of agriculture in the promotion of material prosperity and when that limit is approached, as it will soon be, the rate of development of industries should far exceed that of agriculture.

50. The main deficiency in industrial development is the absence of cheap mechanical power supply at prices within the means of all. We are living in a power age, and everywhere man is searching for more and more power to enable him to exploit the vast resources of raw materials. Along with food and clothing, power has become one of the most important necessities of life; and any success in the economic upbuilding of the country and in promoting the welfare of its inhabitants must depend in large measure on the use we make of the energies of nature in the service of man.

Power can now be made plentiful almost anywhere. The development of long distance transmission provided the key to the problem. In 1910, S.Z. Deferranti, the pioneer of alternating current high voltage supply, expounded the 'all-electric idea', and the electric motor has become the most economical means of applying power. Nothing could encourage mechanization on a large scale as electrification. In the United States of America, the development of the electric utilities ranks fifth among the industries. In Canada, the capital investment on hydro-electric undertakings is twelve hundred fifty million dollars or more than that of any other single manufacturing industry. Russia can show a utilisation of five hundred to six hundred units per head. In the United Kingdom, the generating capacity increased by seven million kilowatts between the years 1925 and 1940. In India at present the consumption of electricity is only ten units per head.

The state should adopt a definite policy in regard to electrification by the construction of rural lines, and make it possible for any person within the area of supply of electricity to demand and get it on reasonable terms. Electricity should be developed, transmitted and sold without much profit, the state being satisfied with a low over-all return. Serious efforts will have to be made to stimulate the growth of demand through the medium of cheap rates. Good pioneer work will have to be done by propaganda, education and free demonstration; and special facilities will have to be given before the advantages are appreciated. For the development of the market, railway electrification appears to be a very attractive proposition as railway transmission lines will serve also for bulk supplies to urban and rural centres.

51. In agriculture, more than half the cost of production is for power and labour, and mechanisation should be stimulated. The process will not be rapid at first because of want of capital and technical skill. There are, however, certain directions in which there is great scope. One of these is the lifting of water from wells, pumping from canals for the irrigation of tracts not commanded by gravity or for putting to use water returned to the drainage lines from the gravity irrigated areas. Irrigation pumping is very successful where there is concentration of load and large supply of water, and has the advantage of water being utilised with great care and the minimum loss and wastage. The problem of reclamation of waterlogged areas, or the prevention of low-lying tracts in irrigated areas from being waterlogged, affords another opportunity for utilisation of power.

52. Manufacture is the indispensable complement of agriculture, as it is necessary to tide over the time-lag between agricultural production

and consumption. The seasonal unemployment has to be met by the provision of subsidiary industries to supplement the farm work. With the large abundance of labour in India and a low capital intensivity [*sic*], the fullest possible development of small scale and cottage industries is called for. In many countries small-scale industries play an important part in the productive activities, and employ a large per cent of the industrial establishments. It is evident that the greater productivity of large-scale industries is partly due to their indirect subsidisation by way of social expenditure in towns by the state, the municipalities, etc. A comprehensive scheme for the establishment of industrial co-operatives should be worked out. In this connection the Chinese model should be carefully examined. Cottage industry is an integral part of national economy, and research should be undertaken in manufacturing processes which may be suitable for this industry. It is very desirable to redress the balance between rural and urban life.

The importance of cottage industries is likely to be underrated both in regard to the value of out-turn as well as its social utility. India was famous for its handicrafts until competition from machine-made goods drove the products from the markets. There are even now opportunities for a considerable number of subsidiary industries; and the more possibility of finding an alternative employment for a very large number of people is an attractive proposition. These industries, however, cannot develop if they have to compete against big factories. It will be necessary to protect them against the stress of competition. All possible measures should be taken to strengthen the economic basis of the cottage industries, and support given so as to fit them into the agrarian economy.

53. Industry must be distributed through the country not only to obtain the lowest costs but also to distribute the benefits among the people who produce. "The world has proceeded from hand work in the home to hand work in the shop, to power work in the shop; and now we may be around to power work in the home". We must put industries as far as possible where they can be worked to the best advantage and not take the man to work, uprooting him from his home. The means of production should be disseminated in the hands of a larger number of people than the two million or so now employed in organised industry. Modern methods give grounds for hope that even in highly industrialised countries the small producer may survive and prosper alongside his larger rival.

As a guiding principle it may be laid down that every encouragement should be given for whatever consumer goods can be manufactured

locally by small units. Size is purely an incident to a policy of manufacturing, and there can be no use in building a great plant with the utmost care, "if the plant may be made idle or the plans thrown out by some force, the control of which is in other or perhaps unfriendly hands". From one point of view the small producer can weather depressions better; he has little or no overhead charges. There is no doubt the consideration that in some cases the unit may become too small to be economical; but this can be decided for each industry by a qualified authority. A large plant is not necessarily always economical: a small plant making only one part is, with cheap power, more economical than a large plant making all the parts.

54. Nevertheless a large number of essential industries, particularly for the purposes of defence or public utility, must inevitably be on a large scale. So must also be heavy engineering industries for the manufacture of machinery of all kinds, heavy forgings, boilers, machine tools, locomotives, railway carriages, and wagons, engines, etc. Such key industries are the foundation of all planning and the absence of capital goods industry would constitute a serious deficiency in industrial development. A greatly expanded production of capital goods at the expense of consumer goods would, however, be disastrous. The problem before the country is one of co-ordinated growth in both directions, and the avoidance, as far as possible, of conflicts between small-scale and large-scale industry. We feel that by judicious adjustment it will be possible to establish a mutually beneficial co-ordination in such a manner as to provide for legitimate expansion of both the constituent parts.

The type of industrialisation we visualise for India is along different lines to what took place in the U.S.S.R. The objective is to satisfy the very large demand of the community and to satisfy it in such a way as to ensure the masses being benefited. For this, development of cottage industries as a labour-absorbing enterprise and decentralisation of other consumer goods industries are essential; and emphasis is laid on these as the immediate objective. The proposition is not to neglect the production of capital goods and plants for heavy industry. It is no doubt important to secure a sufficient number of concentrated loads in order to make cheap and abundant power available over the country-side. But that desire must not be carried so far as to lead to an undue tempo of development. The programme is for twenty years and does not exhaust all wealth producing activity.

55. The amount of capital proposed to be invested for industrial

development is rupees five thousand and four hundred crore, distributed as under:

I. *Outlay*		*Crores of rupees*
Power industry		1,000
Extractive industry		800
Capital goods industry		1,000
Consumer goods industry		1,400
Cottage industry		200
	Total	4,400
II. Working capital		
Mechanised industry		700
Cottage industry		300
	Total	5,400

V. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT

56. The greater the volume of employment and the higher the standard of living, the heavier the traffic will be. Industry, trade and the general user require cheap, efficient and rapid transportation; and this need must be met as one of the first essentials of reconstruction. There has been slow, continuous dilapidation of the transportation system, and, when the plan comes into operation, the inadequacy will be felt. With industrialisation, the demand for exchange of industrial and commercial messages will increase, and the greater will also be the need for extensive communication facilities.

57. Many problems of communication engineering are peculiar to this country, and their solution can only be obtained by carrying out investigations in the country itself. There is the uneconomic routing of the Indian railway system which was constructed more for administrative co-ordination than for the country's needs. Then there has been the emergence of distributing centres at the cost of industrial zones. Their importance lies in their being storage depots for the foreign manufactures exchanged for the raw products received from the hinterland.

58. The view is sometimes held that the true income of the cultivator is dependent on the efficiency of roads, and it is suggested that the development of roads, particularly district and village roads, however important is somewhat over-emphasised. In the United States of America, road extensions were given prominence after the country had industrially advanced. In India, we have also to consider that carting is a subsidiary occupation to the small cultivator; and the zeal for road making must not be such as to deprive him of this source of income. We have not sufficient capital available and money is more

areas particularly, no improvement is possible until the women are enlightened through education; and training centres should be provided for women social workers.

72. The expenditure proposed on education is as follows:

Head	*Crores of rupees*
Pre-primary and primary	500
Lower and higher secondary including vocational	400
University—including professional educational and research work	120
Technical education	150
Training of teachers	40
Adult education and training centres for women	40
Total	1,250

HEALTH

73. The health of a nation is the index and barometer of its economic security or decay. In India very little has been done for the relief of suffering and maintenance of health—efforts have been confined primarily to the military and secondarily to the urban population. Adequate medical assistance, sanitary reform and village planning are still unknown over extensive rural areas. Mortality figures are very high and the country is exposed to outbreaks of epidemic diseases. For a rational health policy it is necessary to investigate every phase of the problem of health, curative as well as preventive. Industrial urbanization in a tropical country particularly demands a very great improvement in the hygienic conditions.

Public health is largely dependent upon food and nutrition and an environment which creates man's capacity to resist disease. There may be normal nutrition without normal health but there cannot be normal health without normal nutrition. Bacteria find a host where body resistance has been lowered. It is reported that there is an average annual mortality of 3.75 million from fever—Malaria is responsible for much ill health and inefficiency. A great deal has to be done towards reduction in the rate of infantile mortality, mortality from tuberculosis, etc., and towards adequate provision of dietetic water supply, drainage and disposal of waste.

74. The present methods are expensive and it seems possible to effect some economy through *Ayurvedic,* Homoeopathic and *Unani*

practitioners and home-made drugs. We estimate the expenditure on health services as under:

Head	*Crores of rupees*
Water supply and sanitation	200
Nutrition (including protective foods)	75
Disease prevention and anti-epidemic measures	200
Hospitals	150
Village dispensaries	100
Maternity and child welfare	75
Specialised institutions	100
Total	900

HOUSING

75. The extreme poverty of the masses is reflected in the disgraceful condition of the houses in the rural areas and the slums in towns. The accommodation provided is generally too small, and frequently human beings are herded together with animals. The task of housing the poor is gigantic and no country has been able to solve the problem successfully. A good deal is said about planning, locating industries away from congested localities, making the employers responsible for housing the labour and so on; but that only touches the fringe of the problem.

76. A correct approach to the question is required. It is clear that housing cannot be regarded as public utility service and undertaken by the state. In the matter of maintenance of houses particularly, it is not a practicable proposition to divest the people of their primary responsibility, and look after millions of small units scattered all over the country; the state will be spending quite two rupees for work which the individual can get done for one rupee.

The form in which the state can help is to make arrangements for financing the housing programme, where necessary, by loan; to give advice or assistance in matters of village sanitation and skilled labour and to provide building materials at minimum prices. Housing and planning societies should be instituted and encouraged; and the active co-operation of the village *panchayats* should be enlisted to make the best use of local initiative and interests. In very deserving cases a grant-in-aid may be added. For such grant-in-aid and for building clubs, cinemas, etc., a sum of Rs. three hundred crore is provided.

DEFENCE

77. Every country must be prepared to defend herself against aggression from outside. It may be that we shall be left in peace for some time after this war, but to neglect the defence of the freedom of a

country is as little warranted as to neglect the internal order. Defence arrangements take time, and this step in the building up of national life, cannot be postponed, if we wish to be self-governing. Military training infuses discipline and has a beneficial effect on physique and character. Besides, the experience acquired by the present personnel of the fighting forces should not be allowed to be wasted. Then again, an abrupt scrapping of the manpower machinery developed during the war will give rise to dislocations. We have to consider seriously whether it is not desirable to retain a reasonable strength of these fighting forces.

78. A sum of rupees fourteen hundred crore is provided for the preparation of the country for self-defence. This may not be an economic need but it is a vital need which can no longer be postponed.

VII. TRADE AND COMMERCE

79. A sound policy would be that imports should ordinarily be confined to indispensable commodities not possible to produce within a country, and exports restricted to products in which a particular country may happen to have a special advantage. If a country produces goods in excess of her wants the question of exporting the surplus arises; and it becomes necessary for that country to take the risk involved. At present, however, trade is not built upon these considerations, and resort is had to tariffs, quotas, exchange control, bilateral agreements, etc. Conflicts arise, and trade is the means by which depressions are spread from one country to another. We have had experience of this after the First World War and must take effective steps to counteract the forces giving rise to such depressions. The situation after this war will be still more serious, and there is likelihood of endeavours being made to pass on the risks and difficulties to others.

80. During the war mechanical industries have expanded and manufacturing processes have been simplified. The British Government have been making purchases from this country on a vast scale, the value of which is now over rupees twelve hundred crore. There are also the questions of fuller employment of our resources and of raising the country's income. To adapt all these factors to changing competitive conditions will present an extremely difficult problem. Export of semi or fully manufactured goods would be inevitable for establishment of an equilibrium in the balances of accounts. Before the war, India had to maintain year after year a heavy balance of exports over imports to pay towards service and debt charges, profits on foreign investments, and

invisible imports. With her changed position now as a creditor country, her export trade is likely to diminish.

81. The import of capital goods will be both desirable and necessary in the early post-war period; for some years India must rely on foreign countries for machinery and machine parts. A certain volume of essential consumer goods, which cannot be manufactured in India, may also have to be imported. But preference should be given to the purchase of reproductive commodities. India cannot afford to buy goods not vital to the building up of her economy, nor can she adapt her commercial policy to the permitting of large purchases of luxury goods. She must conserve her foreign exchange resources, and in fact will have to augment them by borrowing substantial amounts of capital in foreign markets.

82. The post-war trade problems, which are under the consideration of the leading Allied Governments, are no doubt envisaged on the basis of promoting fuller employment. But all nations do not stand on the same level of economic development; nor is the assumption sound that the more trade countries have the fuller employment for all will be found. A backward country like India, while not desiring isolation from international arrangements, will need to make adjustments to meet her peculiar wants. There is no intention to run counter to the interests of a multilateral system of trade, the objective of which is to increase wealth and purchasing power and to reduce incidence of employment in the world at large. First things however come first and should be kept first. India's primary obligation is the raising of the income and the standard of living of her own people.

83. In an agricultural country like India, which depends mainly on selling its natural products, it is important to prevent wide fluctuations in prices. Instability of prices brings instability into every phase of economic life. What we want is stable prices and the power to take advantage of them. Confidence in the ability of Government to meet its obligation by means other than resort to the printing press, has been undermined, and there is danger of a runaway price inflation at some stage after the end of the war. It is necessary to take precautions against the chaos that is likely to ensue.

84. The Fabian Society[3] in its evidence before Sir William Beveridge[4] maintained, "that a country has every right to raise its money income sufficiently to maintain full employment and to vary its exchanges and import policy in conformity with that fundamental purpose." This is the only sound policy to pursue, and some form of trade control by the state, particularly on imports, will be found inevitable. Foreign

trade cannot be left entirely in private hands. It is a public monopoly, and no room should be left for dumping, or for goods a country cannot afford to buy.

85. The service of internal trade will have also to be organised to secure adequate and sufficient consumption within the country. To economise energy, it is important "to do away with every avoidable act of exchange of commodities or services." The need for transport, insurance, financial facilities and middlemen's services should be minimised, and profiteering prevented. Only then will consumer goods be available in adequate quantities to the people at reasonable prices. An early stimulation of demand for durable goods, both by the state for reconstruction purpose and by the people, is desirable; but private channels of trade may present difficulties. If so, price control will need to be exercised all over the country. We feel that this will be the best policy to pursue for some time after the war until the price mechanism comes to be restored.

VIII. FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROGRAMME

86. The financial plan must be kept in step with the development that is contemplated. The programme involves an expenditure of rupees fifteen thousand seven hundred and fifty crore in a period of twenty years. This amount is to be obtained in addition to the revenue ordinarily obtainable from taxation of about rupees four hundred crore per annum, which is required to run the 'Administration'. Economies may be effected in several directions, but in view of uncertainties it is considered desirable to leave this amount untouched. In fact the programme provides for its own planning, organisation and the extra demands of administration which will need to be borne. The figures are based on a price level 33 1/3 per cent above what prevailed before the war.

87. The rate of increase assumed for income, viz. six per cent per annum is by no means low; an appreciably higher rate will entail hardship and suffering on the people. Worked out for periods of five years, the figures for income in crores of rupees per annum are:

	1st Quinquennium	*2nd Quinquennium*	*3rd Quinquennium*	*4th Quinquennium*
Income at the end of five years	4,282	5,731	7,669	10,263
Average during the five years	3,608	4,828	6,461	8,646

The sources of public revenues will have to be examined. Broadly it is here suggested that the taxation be raised to fourteen per cent on

income in the first quinquennium, fifteen per cent in the second, sixteen per cent in the third and seventeen per cent in the fourth. This gives the following amounts per annum for revenue from taxation, in crores of rupees:

	1st Quinquennium	*2nd Quinquennium*	*3rd Quinquennium*	*4th Quinquennium*
Revenue at the end of five years	642	917	1,304	1,642
Average during the five years	505	724	1,034	1,470

This is about the limit for taxation, if agricultural prices are to be maintained at a reasonable level.

88. As stated above, for financing the requirements of the plan it is proposed to take into account all increases in taxation over and above the initial sum of rupees four hundred crore per annum. The increases will amount to rupees five hundred and twenty five crore, rupees one thousand six hundred and twenty crore, rupees three thousand one hundred and seventy crore and rupees five thousand three hundred and fifty crore, respectively, in the first, the second, the third and the fourth quinquennium. There will further be loanable funds available for investment from the savings in the country. With these two large sources of finance, with our capital balances, and resort to a certain amount of borrowing from foreign countries, there should be no serious difficulty in securing rupees fifteen thousand seven hundred and fifty crore. We give below the amounts obtainable in crores of rupees:

Source of Finance	*1st 5 Year Plan*	*2nd 5 Year Plan*	*3rd 5 Year Plan*	*4th 5 Year Plan*	*Total amount*
Surplus revenue from taxation	525	1,620	3,170	5,350	10,665
Capital Balances	350	400	450	-	1,200
Internal loans	675	725	775	825	3,000
External loans	400	400	200	-	1,000
Return from investment	-50	105	280	550	885

Total	1,900	3,250	4,875	6,725	16,750
Deduct repayment foreign loans	-	100	325	575	1,000
Available	1,900	3,150	4,550	6,150	15,750

The allocations under the several heads of development for the four quinquennial may be scheduled as under:

Head	*Ist 5 Year Plan*	*2nd 5 Year Plan*	*3rd 5 Year Plan*	*4th 5 Year Plan*	*Total Amount*
Planning organisation & Administration	125	125	125	125	500
Agriculture & Animal Husbandry	700	1,050	1,400	1,250	4,400
Industry	525	950	1,475	2,450	5,400
Communications & transport	125	300	450	725	1,600
Education	125	225	350	550	1,250
Health	75	125	250	450	900
Housing	25	75	100	100	300
Defence	200	300	400	500	1,400
Total	1,900	3,150	4,550	6,150	15,750

89. The amounts allotted for productive undertakings are what are estimated to be required for the postulated increase of income. Outlay on Agriculture and Cottage Industries gives the highest return to the country. There is a tendency to put this return at 120 per cent, but our studies show that a rupee per rupee of investment is all that may reasonably be expected. This is the net value of the products. Manufacturing industries in general give less than half this rate of return. Nevertheless they must be undertaken. For the promotion of material prosperity there has to be a balance between the various activities, viz. agriculture, industry and communications in conformity with the stage of reconstruction. Too intensive a development in any one direction at the expense of the other should be avoided.

90. Explanation is hardly needed for the large sum of Rs. twelve hundred crore provided as 'Working Capital' under Agriculture. Agriculture is far and away the largest industry in its direct impact on the life of the greatest number of people in India. It has however been following the way of aimless drift. There is no organization in this industry, and the wealth produced goes mainly to the money-lenders and the middlemen. Rent and interest alone take up about a third. Much of what remains has to be dumped upon the

market with little considerations to the price. Capital equipment is as much essential for agricultural production as in other industries; and it is of the utmost importance that the state should provide, under proper safeguards, the help that is needed to enable the cultivator not only to produce more but to retain the wealth he produces. The provision is by no means too large, even if payments be made by the issue of bonds for solving the problems of landlordism, indebtedness and morcellement [*sic*].

91. There will be dependence on foreign countries for machinery and services of experts, and finance for their payment is indispensable. This can be found from the sterling securities in the possession of the Reserve Bank, the payments due from Great Britain, and the favourable balance of trade of the country, supplemented by a certain amount of borrowing from abroad. The full amount of the sterling assets cannot be appropriated, and some reserves should be kept for the protection of the currency—whether in the form of sterling or of gold. But the resources will be sufficient to meet the obligations without impairing the credit of the country in foreign capital markets. It is envisaged that, from the execution of the plan, the future savings will not come to be mortgaged; the foreign loans are proposed to be paid off within the period.

92. The proposals do not involve a serious reduction in real consumption. If the essential requirements of the large number of people are to be satisfied and a high level of production has to be maintained, as much as possible of the increased income should be allowed for their consumption. A meagre per capita income does not permit of capacity to save at a liberal rate. Owing to the war a large amount of money has found its way into a few hands and there has been currency hoarding; but in future the volume of savings will automatically be restricted by the coming into operation of the plan. A large surplus will not be available for the purpose of investments, and any extortion through created money will impose a severe strain, as its incidence can only be on the consumer. Internal loans are accordingly limited to an aggregate sum of rupees three thousand crore.

93. A heavy outlay is proposed for the first five-year plan, and an effort should be made for early progress. There should be adequate investment in this period on productive undertakings so as to accelerate progress on social services in the later years. The need for development is urgent and fairly large sums can be expended on agriculture and purchase of plant for industries. The possibility of distress arising from widespread unemployment has also to be prevented. Too much concentration in the later periods would only lead to delay and might even cause a set-back. When sufficient finance can be made available, there is no

reason why work which is to be done today should be postponed for tomorrow. The example of Soviet Russia shows that the economies of a country can be built up remarkably rapidly, if all the resources, human and natural, are effectively harnessed to the needs of reconstruction.

IX. FOUNDATION LAID FOR SOCIAL AND OTHER SERVICES

94. Many people, holding the theory that the essence of planning is a simultaneous advance in all sectors, proceed to lay down norms for each sector. We have said that there can be no meaning in fixing norms or standards where there can be no such limits. The potential wants of a community can never be satisfied within twenty years or any longer period that may be prescribed. They will go on increasing as time progresses; the world is not static and no plan can or should be a cast-iron frame. For well-coordinated progress it is necessary not only to appreciate the main points of weakness in the economy but to appraise their relative importance as well. Planning hinges round the examination of this question of priority.

The objective of the plan may be divided under two heads: (a) the elimination of poverty, and (b) the provision of social and other services. As India is situated today, the crucial problem is to concentrate on the former, while providing for the latter to the extent the country cannot afford to wait. It is only this policy that can ensure a satisfactory rise in the standard of living of the people. Solving the problem of poverty is a condition precedent to the provision of service-rendering items on an adequate scale. These services can only be satisfactorily provided for when the revenue producing activities are able to bear the expenses; besides a limit is imposed on their expansion by the lack of trained staff. They will gather momentum as time advances, and their progress should be judged by extending the plan over a longer period.

95. A rough forecast may here be made of the position that will be reached after the planning stage of 20 years comes to an end. It will not then be necessary to maintain the rate of increase of 6 per cent in the country's income; as the plan develops and production is increased, industrial expansion, trade and other services will absorb large numbers of people. We shall assume that this will be eased to 4 per cent in the next quinquennium; also that the rate of taxation will be brought down from 17 to 16 per cent. The amounts obtainable will be, in crores of rupees:

Head	*Crores of rupees*
Surplus revenue from taxation	6,995
Internal loans	825
Return from investments	930
Total	8,750

The stage is set for social and other services which can now develop

at a much faster pace, as will be seen from the following:

Head	*Crores of rupees*
Planning organisation & administration	125
Agriculture and animal husbandry	1,000
Industry	2,700
Communication and transport	1,250
Education	1,800
Health	750
Housing	125
Defence	1,000
Total	8,750

96. The allotments can go on increasing still further as time progresses. This should satisfy the most ardent advocate of public expenditure for the benefit of the poorer classes. Education, for instance, can reach the target of the Sargent Scheme[5] in a little more than half the time. In saying this, it is not intended to imply that we should be content with an expenditure on education of rupees eleven per head of population. As time advances, the country will need more and more—perhaps rupees thirty five per head in forty years time from now. The living conditions of the people have been improved, and an increasing surplus has been produced in the economy sufficient to accelerate the pace of cultural progress by great strides.

[1]Appendix II. 51.

[2]Not traceable.

[3]Formed by Fabians such as Sidney & Beatrice Webb and George Bernard Shaw, aiming to build socialism by gradual reform. The Society supported the British Labour Party which was committed to socialistic reform

[4]British economist, and for many years Director of London School of Economics, prepared a report in 1942 which led to the introduction of the national insurance scheme in Britain by the Labour Government which came to power in 1945.

[5]Refers to a Memorandum by J. P. Sargent, Educational Adviser, on Post-War Educational Development in India, 1943.

II. 56

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 208/15-6

[*Extract*]

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
23 July 1945

PLANNING COMMITTEE

If this letter had not already got into good lengths I would have liked to give you some details of what happened at the last meeting of the Planning Committee[1] and how it was dissolved in a huff by the Chairman. Good sense prevailed ultimately and we passed a resolution under which, the report drafted by the Chairman was sent to you and another drafting committee appointed to prepare the final report. We, who opposed the adoption of the Chairman's draft report did so mainly on the ground that its one consistent postulate was a United India and that at best it could be considered as one of a series of report (although a very good one) that it is now the fashion to produce on post-war reconstruction. We want to collect facts and figures with particular reference to the Pakistan areas and collate them with those already produced. This is no easy task as such figures specially in reference to communal equations are not readily available. My nephew Hamza Alavi who stood first class first in economics at last year's examination, is now in Bombay working away at the various libraries and will go wherever it will be necessary to do so to collect more materials. He is doing this at my request and on my behalf, to assist me and has not been asked by the Committee to do so.

In a month or two's time, possibly after Ramzan , our drafting Committee will meet and prepare a fresh draft for submission to the main committee.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
HATIM. A. ALAVI

[1]See II. 54

II. 57

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/310-4

PERSONAL

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
28 August 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was very anxious to meet you in order to inform you about certain important developments in connection with the work of the All India Muslim League Planning Committee and was thinking of proceeding to Bombay for the purpose about the middle of August 1945. I was, however, unable to do so owing to my protracted illness. I am still confined to bed and am thinking of proceeding to Lucknow for medical treatment.[1] I am, therefore, obliged to submit this long letter to you.

Unfortunately, there are ideological differences of a fundamental character amongst the members of the Planning Committee. These differences were first noticed at Calcutta in the course of our third meeting held in January last. The Chairman presented to the Committee a memorandum dealing with the financial aspects of the Plan which had yet to be prepared. The memorandum was prepared on an all India basis. This by implication conceded the unity of India, and thus struck at the very root of the Pakistan idea. In spite of some members pointing it out to the Chairman, he pressed for the adoption of the memorandum by the Planning Committee. A serious split seemed to be inevitable. The crisis was, however, averted by the Chairman offering to prepare another memorandum in the light of the discussion for submission to the Planning Committee at its next meeting. After this, the members who had objected to the all India basis of the Chairman's memorandum hoped that there would be no further difficulty so far as the Pakistan ideal was concerned.

But this hope was not to be realised. The Chairman prepared another memorandum for the Bombay meeting. It was informally revealed that Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung, Syed Arifuddin Sahib and Mr. Hasham Premji had all helped the Chairman in the preparation of the memorandum and were thus committed to it. It was intended to be more comprehensive in character and was styled by the Chairman as Programme of Economic Development, but its basis was still an all India one. There was not the slightest reference to the economic problems of Pakistan as such. Nor was there any indication that, even on an all

India basis, the economic interests of the Muslims had been at all kept in mind. There was nothing to show that this programme would be in any way more beneficial to the Muslims than an alternative programme that may be put forward by an *Akhand* Hindustan organization.

This memorandum had been circulated to the members who had therefore time to study it and understand its various implications. When it came up for consideration, Mr. Alavi raised the question at the very outset as to whether the Chairman's draft was to be considered as a memorandum or a report. The Chairman said that it was for the Committee to determine this question after its consideration. He was, however, very anxious that the Committee should straightaway proceed to a detailed consideration of the draft and that such general questions as to what was to be ultimately done with it, should be deferred to a later stage of the meeting. Out of respect for his wishes, the members agreed to consider and examine the details of the draft. This took about two days. Then the draft as a whole was taken up for consideration, and the question of its all India character was raised. The Chairman pressed that his draft should be accepted as Part One of the Report and should be submitted to you immediately, and that Part Two of the Report dealing with the Pakistan areas could be prepared subsequently. This was not acceptable to some of the members who thought that the acceptance by the Committee of the Chairman's draft as Part I of the report, which conceded the unity of India, would do infinite harm to the interests of Indian Muslims. The discussion became very heated and at times rather unpleasant. The Committee was very sharply divided on this issue. The Chairman, Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung, Syed Arifuddin Sahib, Mr. Hasham Premji and Mr. Mohsin Ali, were for the acceptance of the Chairman's draft as Part One of the Report. Mr. Shahabuddin, Mr. Hatim Alavi, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, Dr. Zakir Husain Khan, Mr. M. L. Qureshi and myself were opposed to it. As a majority of the members was against the acceptance of the draft, the Chairman was greatly displeased and abruptly dissolved the meeting.

This happened when you were at Simla in connection with the Wavell Plan. We were being shadowed by press representatives at that time. It was feared that any leakage of the proceedings of our meeting, including its abrupt dissolution by the Chairman, at that critical moment, would be extremely detrimental to the Pakistan issue. So we decided to have a compromise with the Chairman. Dr. Zakir Husain proved helpful in persuading the Chairman not to insist on the Committee's acceptance of his draft as Part One of the Report. A meeting of the Committee was again summoned and the following

two resolutions were unanimously passed:

i. Resolved that pending the preparation of a comprehensive report in the light of the reports of sub-committees and the data collected, the Chairman's memorandum with the modifications made by the Committee be forwarded to the Quaid-i-Azam.

ii. Resolved that the following sub-committee be appointed to prepare and draft comprehensive report for submission to the Planning Committee after taking into consideration the reports of the various sub-committees and the statistical data collected for the Planning Committee:

1. Chairman
2. Mr. Alavi
3. Dr. Zakir Husain
4. Secretary
5. Joint Secretary

Resolved further that the draft report should include:

a. An examination of the economic position of the Pakistan areas.
b. The distribution of assets and liabilities of the present Central Government between Pakistan and Hindustan.
c. A structural plan of economic development of Pakistan as a sovereign state.
d. Measures necessary for safeguarding the economic interests of Muslims residing in the Hindustan area, and for the promotion of their economic well being.
e. Interim measures necessary for the promotion of the economic interests of Muslims all over India under the existing constitution (till the establishment of Pakistan) and for the creation of conditions which are pre-requisite for the successful execution of the economic plan.

Resolution No.1 did not commit the Planning Committee to anything beyond forwarding the Chairman's memorandum to you. Resolution No. 2 lays down the scope of the report.

The Chairman and other members from Hyderabad may be great well-wishers of the Muslims, but it appears that they have not got a correct appreciation of the problems facing Muslims in British India, nor do they realize that the establishment of Pakistan as a sovereign state is a question of life and death for Indian Muslims. Moreover, it seems that they have, to some extent at any rate, misunderstood the terms of reference of the Planning Committee. If, however, you tell them, preferably in a personal talk, that the scope of the report, as laid down in Resolution No.2. passed at Bombay, correctly represents the terms of reference of the Committee, it is likely that they would come

round to our way of thinking.

As you will see, a sub-committee, consisting of the Chairman, Mr. Alavi, Dr. Zakir Husain, Mr. Qureshi and myself has been appointed to draft the report. Dr. Zakir Husain is very busy these days on account of the jubilee celebrations of the Jamia Millia to be held shortly. He has, however promised to examine the report critically when it is ready and make his own suggestions. The Chairman and Mr. Alavi are rather busy and may not be able to give us much help, at least in the early stages of the drafting of the report. Mr. M. L. Qureshi, our Honorary Joint Secretary, who is an economist, is taking leave from the college so that he may be able to devote all his time to the work of the Committee. I shall also, as soon as I am fit to work, devote all my time to the work of drafting the main report. A good deal of statistical information has already been collected and I hope that, in the course of two months or so, we may be able to prepare a draft report for submission to the drafting sub-committee.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the proceedings of the Planning Committee meeting held at Bombay.[2] Ten copies of the Chairman's memorandum have already been despatched per separate cover.[3]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A.B.A. HALEEM

[1] Haleem informed Jinnah from Lucknow that he had since recovered from illness and would resume work of preparing the main report of the Committee from the middle of October. He requested a further allocation of rupees five thousand for the work. See *SHC*, AIML 106 Not printed
[2] See Khalid Shamsul Hasan, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam's Unrealized Dream*, Karachi, Appendix 4, 50-4
[3] See F. 1092/309, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 58

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/110

CONFIDENTIAL

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
8 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

There are certain questions connected with the preliminary draft of the report of the Planning Committee which I should like to discuss with you and I shall be obliged if you will kindly spare an hour or so of your valuable time as soon as possible. I can run up to Delhi on any

date which may be convenient for you.

With reference to the distribution of portfolios in the interim government between the League and the Congress, I venture to make the following suggestions:

We should try to get the portfolios of Finance and failing that of Planning and Development together with Agriculture (Plan irrigation). If we hold these portfolios we shall be in a position to develop the Pakistan areas economically during the interim period. In fact in my humble opinion these portfolios are vital for safeguarding our interests. Industries and Supplies comes next in order of importance from our point of view as it can be utilized for the purpose of improving the economic condition of our people. The portfolio of Defence should also be placed at your disposal and given to a member of the Muslim League organization together with Education, if possible.

With best regards,

Your sincerely,
A.B.A. HALEEM

II. 59

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/111-111 (a)

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
PLANNING COMMITTEE,
ALIGARH,
14 June 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah

Please refer to my last letter.· I shall feel obliged if you will kindly spare some time for me on any date which may be convenient for you. There are certain implications of the preliminary draft of the Planning Committee Report which I should like to discuss with you. I am leaving today on a tour of the Aligarh district in connection with League work and shall return on Sunday, the 15th. I can run up to Delhi on Monday, Tuesday or any subsequent day.

I have been reading in the papers about the antics of the Congress leaders. In my humble opinion , in view of the intrinsic importance of the matter as well as the expectations roused amongst our people, we cannot afford to make any compromise on the question of League-Congress parity in the interim government. A compromise on this issue is likely to

cause very considerable and wide spread disappointment and depression amongst Muslims, high and low.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A.B.A. HALEEM

[1]No II.58.

II. 60

M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem

SHC, AIML/113

22 June 1946

Dear Mr. Haleem,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and I am sorry that I cannot apply my mind to the work of the Planning Committee. It is only after I am free from the present negotiations that are going on in connection with the British Cabinet Mission's proposals, that I may be able to have a talk with you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

No. II. 59.

Glossary

'Aali Janab	Respected Sir
Aameen	So be it (said at the end of a prayer)
Ackhan	A long coat with a number of buttons in front
'Alaihi Tawakkaltu wa Ilaihi Uneeb	"In Him I trust, And to Him I turn". *Al Qur'an,* XLII. 10
'Allama	A pre-eminent religious or other scholar
'Amil	A functionary
Amir-i-Millat	Leader of the nation
Anna	The sixteenth part of a rupee (now defunct)
Assalaamo 'Alaikum	Peace be upon you
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you
Bania	Shopkeeper; grocer; merchant
Bayt al-Maal	State treasury
Behisht	Paradise
Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim	In the name of *Allah,* the Beneficent, the Merciful
Bidi	Rolled betel leaf with shredded tobacco for smoking
Chowkidar	Watchman
Chuhis	Children with stunted heads consecrated to the shrine of Shah Dola in Gujrat, Pakistan
Darshan	Physical appearance before an audience; vision
Dars-i-Qur'an	Lessons in the holy *Qur'an*
Fakhr-i-Qaum	Pride of the nation
Gup	Gossip
Gurdwara	Sikh temple
Hakeem	Physician; sage; philosopher
Hajj	Pilgrimage to Makkah
Hari	Cultivator
Hazrat	Venerable
Hooka	Hubble-bubble
Hukumat-i-Illahiya	Kingdom of God
Iftikhar-i-Millat	Pride of the nation
'Id	Muslim festival
Jagirdar	Landlord; holder of a *jagir*
Jagirdari	Feudalism
Jiddat	Innovation

Jirga	Council of tribal elders
'Ilaqa	Region
Insha Allah	God willing
Jama'at	An organised body of people
Janab	Sir
Jihad	A crusade or holy war
Jihadi	Of, or relating to, a crusade
Jum'a	Friday
Ka'ba	The House of *Allah* in Makkah
Kalima'	Affirmation of Muslim faith
Kali Mata	Goddess of destruction in Hindu mythology
Kisaan	Farmer
Khalifa	Caliph
Kharif	Autumnal crops
Khilafat	Caliphate
Kumbhar/Kumhar	Potter
Lumberdar	Village headman
Madrassa	A seminary or school
Maharaj	Supreme lord
Majha	Central Punjab before the partition
Mandi	Market
Masih ul-Mulk	A title for the pre-eminent physician of the country
Maulana	Muslim theologian; title of respect accorded to Muslim judges; heads of religious orders and persons of great learning
Millat	Nation
Mofussil	Countryside
Mohalla	A part of town; locality
Mohtaram	Respectable
Mujahid-i-Azam	The great crusader
Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim	We praise *Allah* and invoke His blessings for the noble Prophet (PBUH)
Namaz	Prayer prescribed for Muslims
Paan	Betel-leaf
Panjsura	Collection of five specific chapters of the holy *Qur'an*
Payam	Message
Pesh Imam	One who leads the prayers
Pukka	Settled; durable
Purdah	Veil

Qabaristan	Graveyard or cemetery
Qaumi Nishan	National emblem or symbol
Qazi	A judge
Quaid-i-Millat	Leader of the nation
Raddi	Rubbish; waste-paper
Ramazan	Month of fasting for the Muslims
Roza	Fast
Sajjada Nashin	A successor to a Muslim saint in charge of his shrine and endowments
Salaam	Greetings
Salar	Commander
Salar-i-Azam	Supreme commander
Salar-i-Suba	Provincial commander
Sanghas	Hindu religious/political organisations
Sarasvati	Hindu goddess of the arts and learning
Sardar	Chieftain
Sari	An unstitched female dress draped round the body
Shaheed-i-Millat	Martyr to the nation
Shamiana	Canopy
Shaukat-i-Pakistan	Splendour, or glory, of Pakistan
Sher-i-Bengal	Lion of Bengal
Shari'at	Islamic code of law
Swaraj	Independence
Taluka	Estate
Tehsil	Revenue sub-division of a district
Tehsildar	Officer in charge of a *Tehsil*
'Ulama	Muslim religious scholars
Wakf	Trust
Wassalaam	And peace be upon you
Yateemkhana	Orphanage
Zaildar	Headman who assists in revenue collection and crime detection
Zindabad	Live long
Zohar	Midday (prayer)

INDEX OF PERSONS

FOR THE PERIOD 1 OCTOBER 1943 TO 31 JULY 1944

The References are to Page Numbers

Abbasi, M. A. Rauf 396, 471
Abdul Azeez Basha 489
Abdul Azeez, K. V. 101, 113
Abdul Aziz 463
Abdul Aziz, Member AIML Planning Committee 691, 696
Abdul Aziz bin Abdur Rahman Al-Faisal Al-Saud, King of Saudi Arabia 641
Abdul Aziz, Mian 348, 698-700
Abdul Basith 145-6, 149
Abdul Gaffar, Qazi 509
Abdul Ghafoor, Ch. 634
Abdul Ghani 83
Abdul Hakim Khan 297
Abdul Hameed Khan, MLA Madras 458, 479
Abdul Hamid 290, 431, 445
Abdul Hamid Khan 664
Abdul Hamid, Sufi, MLA Punjab 133-4
Abdul Haq 571
Abdul Haq, Moulvi 160
Abdul Haye, Mian, Minister Punjab 133-4, 325
Abdul Karim 403
Abdul Karim, Ch. 52
Abdul Karim, Haji 472
Abdul Khadar, M. 25
Abdul Latif 474
Abdul Majid, Sheikh 22, 412, 511
Abdul Naseer Khan 84
Abdul Qaiyum 405
Abdul Rab, Mian, MLA Punjab 134
Abdul Rahim, Ch., MLA Punjab (Gurdaspur) 134
Abdul Rahman Khan, Mohammad 496, 505
Abdul Rahman, Sh. 537
Abdul Rauf, Hakim 468
Abdul Wahid 462
Abdulakhyar 587
Abdulkarim, M. H. 294
Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, President Jammu & Kashmir National Conference 327, 379
Abdur Rafi, Sh. 108
Abdur Rahman Khan 68
Abdur Rashid 57
Abdur Rashid, Sheikh 635
Abul Hasan Ali Syed 593
Adamjee, Haji Dawood 200, 270, 699
Adham, Mohammad Ishaque 221
Aftab Husain 633
Afzal Husain, Mian 655, 665, 679, 681, 691, 697-8
Agha Badruddin Ahmed 407
Ahmad Ali Khan, Mir 634
Ahmad Ashraf 532
Ahmad Mohiuddin 593
Ahmad Sadiq, Sh. 63
Ahmad Saeed 346, 357, 410, 466-7, 470, 586
Ahmad Shafi 160, 430, 445, 678
Ahmad Shah, E. 19, 21, 25
Ahmad Yar, Ch., MLA Punjab 134
Ahmad, Fasih-ud-Din 322
Ahmad, Jamilud Din 17, 26-7, 112, 148, 388,651, 656
Ahmad, M. M. 633
Ahmad, Mohammad Imam 700
Ahmed Alladin 676
Ahmed Basha 440
Ahmed Mirza 658, 661
Aizaz Rasul, Begum Qudsia Syed 466, 532, 634, 638
Aizaz Rasul, Syed 320, 466, 532, 561
Ajmal Khan, Hakim 172, 325, 326
Ajmeri, Abdul Karim 618
Akbar Ali, Pir, MLA Punjab 134, 329, 335, 338, 368
Akbar Khan 524
Akhtar Hussain 284
Alavi, Hatim A. 295, 444, 492, 585, 647, 691, 699, 706-7, 747, 749
Ale Ali Naqvi 632
Ali Akbar, Ch., MLA Punjab 134
Ali M. Khan 524
Ali Murad Khan, Mir 93-4
Ali Raza, Ebrahim Yusuf Zainul 293, 642,
Ali Zaheer, Syed 595
Allah Bukhsh, Nawab, MLA Punjab 134

Allah Bux, S. 509
Allah Dino Shah, Syed 408
Allah Ditta 4
Allana, G. 407, 584
Allarakha, A. H. 572
Amar Nath, Pandit 258
Amery, Leopold S. 601, 640
Amin Ahmad 481
Amin-ud-Din, Mian 655
Amir Ali, Syed 567
Amir Mohammad Khan 86
Amir-ud-Din, Mian, MLA Punjab 134, 654
Amjad Ali Shah, Syed, MLA Punjab 133-4, 301, 668
Anjum, Zahid Husain 610
Ansari, Mukhtar Ahmad 502
Anwar Hussain 351, 390, 407, 420
Arifuddin, Syed 145, 658, 661, 691, 696, 698-700, 748
Arundale, George S. 255, 302, 497
Asghar Ali, Ch., MLA Punjab 134
Ashiq Husain, Minister Punjab 134, 432
Ashraf, K. M. 355
Aslam, K. M. 662-3
Astori, Mujahid 379
Ata Ullah, Syed 347, 369
Ataullah 46
Ataullah, Sh. 698, 700, 707
Atma Singh 512
Atri, S. K. 353
Aurangzeb Khan, Sardar Muhammad, Prime Minister NWFP 62, 87, 152, 301, 335, 339, 559
Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam 467, 574
Aziz Ahmad 532
Aziz Ahmad, M. 632, 637
Aziz Kashmiri 365, 395
Aziz-ul-Haq 182, 318, 380, 456
Azizur Rehman, Mir 698-701

Badruddin 408
Badrudduja, Syed 314
Badshah Gul 516
Bahadur Khan 508
Baig, Mirza Yaqub 29
Bailey, Gerald 480
Bakadar Shah, Pir 585
Bakht Jamal Khan 168
Baldev Singh Sardar, Minister Punjab 31, 280, 314, 614
Baluch 698
Bannerjee, Krishna Chandra 11
Bari, M. A. 366, 410
Barkat Ali, Malik, MLA Punjab 103
Barnardo, John Thomas 173
Basheer-ud-Din Mahmood, Mirza 213
Bashir Ahmad, Mian 355, 615, 654
Bashir Ahmed 254
Bashir Bukhsh, Khawaja 654
Bashir, S.M. 667, 692, 697, 699
Bashiruddin 323
Basith, A. A. 468
Basith, M.A. 678
Bazaz, Prem Nath 374, 392, 434-5, 441, 503-4
Beg, M. Umar Draz 289, 380
Besant, Mrs Annie 483
Beveridge, William 740
Bhopal, Nawab of (Hamidullah Khan) 647, 672
Birla, Ghanshyam Das 497, 703
Birla, Jugal Kishore 703
Bonaparte, Napoleon 127
Borgia, Cesare 57
Borgia, Rodrigio 57
Brelvi, S.A. 345
Brown, James 371
Bugti, Abdur Rahman 132
Burhan-ul Haque, Mufti Mohammad 50, 245, 495, 505
Burny, Muhammad Elias 652, 691, 699, 707
Bustin, F. W. 276
Butt, M. Rafi 192, 277, 290, 311, 360-1, 426, 531, 560, 655, 657, 659, 664, 691, 696, 698-700
Butt, Mahmudul Husan 273
Butt, Taqi 531

Casey, R.G., Governor Bengal 281, 554, 610
Chaiwala, Mahomed Ali 161, 166
Chamanlal, Diwan 614
Chandio, Mahomed Yusuf, MLA Sind 408
Chandrachood, K. Y. 8
Changez, A. R. 460, 537

Chatterjee, N.C. 314
Chaudhury, Abdul Matin, MLA Assam 47
Chhatari, Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan 402, 681, 687
Chhotu Ram, Minister Punjab 31, 152, 155, 230, 240, 244, 278, 280, 314, 324, 453, 580, 614
Chinoy, Sultan Meherally 252, 280, 291-2, 383
Chiragh Din 224
Chishti, K. A. 182, 309, 423
Chopra, Ram Nath 421
Choughulay, Alimiasahib 223
Chundrigar, Ismail Ibrahim 680, 682-3
Churchill, Winston S. 7, 151, 202, 403, 643
Cripps, Richard Stafford 452, 569

Dalal, Ardeshir 493
Dalmia, Ram Krishna 172, 253
Dang, Satyapal 355
Daoodi, Sultan Ahmad 397
Dar, Mohammad Yusuf 462
Dar, Zahurul Hasan 274
Daudpota, Umar bin Mohammad 635
Daultana, Mian Allah Yar Khan, MLA Punjab 133-4, 432, 455
Daultana, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan, Secretary Punjab ML, MLA Punjab 135, 175, 266, 375, 391, 432, 455, 482, 611, 615
Daum, Earl C. 174
Dayanand Mul Shankar Sarswati, Swami 275
Deferranti, S.I. 729
Dehlavi, Sikandar 252, 280, 291-2
Desai, Amratrai C. 36
Desai, Bhulabhai 264
Din Mohammad 462
Dinal Khan 93
Dinshaw, H.N.E. 483, 502
Dipchand 147
Dohadwala, Karimbhoy Mahomedbhoy 293
Dossam, G. A. 641
Dost Mohammad 85
Dutt, Krishan Gopal 614
Dwarkadas, Jamnadas 36

Ebrahim, Hassanali P. 293, 627, 683-4
Elyas, Maulana Shah Mohammad 572

Faiyaz Ali 135
Faiz Mohamed Khan, Mir 93-4
Faiz Mohammad Khan, Rai, MLA Punjab 134, 317,
Faiz Mohammad, Sh., MLA Punjab 133-4
Faqir Chand, Chaudhri 243
Faqir Husain, Ch., MLA Punjab 134
Farabi, M. A. Hafeez Khan 451
Farman Ali, MLA Punjab 134
Farooqi, Abdul Jabbar 698
Faruqi, Burhan Ahmad 637, 630
Fateh Khan, Raja, MLA Punjab 134
Fateh Mohammad, Mian, MLA Punjab 134
Fateh Sher, Malik, MLA Punjab 134
Fatima Begum 185
Fazal Din, Ch., MLA Punjab 134
Fazal Ilahi, Sh. 478
Fazal Karim Bukhsh, Mian, MLA Punjab 134
Fazalullah, Kazi 407, 585
Fazl-i-Husain, Mian 244, 452
Fazlul Huq, Abul Kasem, MLA Bengal 200, 306, 351, 614, 661
Fazlul Qadir, Chaudhry, Secretary Bengal ML 85
Fazlullah, M. 173
Fazlur Rahman, Hafiz 636
Fazlur Rahman, MLA Bengal 54, 232, 675
Fazul Mohammad, Khan 68
Feroz Din 259
Feroz-ud-Din, Miss Khadijah Begum 464, 634, 638
Ferozeuddin, M. 224

Gabol, Allah Bakhsh K. 406
Gaekwad, Maharani of Baroda 446
Gaekwad, Pratapsinhia Rao, Ruler of Baroda 246, 293, 446
Gandhi, Devadas 49
Gandhi, Kasturbai 500
Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand 14, 33, 36, 50, 57, 71, 123, 153, 165, 220,

226, 255, 266-7, 325, 348, 374, 389, 396, 404, 429, 435, 458, 467, 474, 481, 483, 492, 494, 500, 511, 518, 521, 523, 527-8, 555, 591-2, 598, 600, 614, 617-8, 623, 626-7
Gazdar, Mahomed Hashim, MLA Sind 261, 263, 296, 322, 352, 374, 386, 406, 411, 469, 483, 494, 502, 509, 539, 585, 619
Gazi, Mohammad Yusuf 604
Gharib Nawaz, Khawaja 573
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja, MLA Punjab 133-4, 179, 325, 611
Ghazanfarullah, MLA UP 533, 667
Ghulam Abbas, Ch., President Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference 327, 374
Ghulam Ali 424
Ghulam Gilani 259
Ghulam Mohamed 274
Ghulam Mohammad Choudhry 44
Ghulam Mohammad Khan 573, 576
Ghulam Mohammad Nasim 394
Ghulam Mohammed 146, 232, 280, 291, 294, 303, 347, 359, 377, 385, 667, 674-6, 686
Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, M., MLA Punjab 134
Ghulam Murtaza Shah, Syed 408
Ghulam Nabi H. Taufiq 419
Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Agha 584, 406-7
Ghulam Nabi Qazi 632
Ghulam Qadir, MLA Punjab 134, 498, 534
Ghulam Rasul, Ch., MLA Punjab 134
Ghulam Samad, Khawaja, MLA Punjab 134
Gilani, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Khalid 247, 490, 498, 534, 544, 611
Gokhale, Gopal Krishna 436
Gopala Ratnam, K. V. 497
Gopichand 614
Gregory 281
Gul Mohammad, M. 153
Gupta, Lala Ram Ratan 242
Gurchani, S. Mohammad Hasan, MLA Punjab 135
Gurmani, Mushtaq Ahmad 135, 139, 433, 455, 655
Habib Ullah, Malik, MLA Punjab 134
Habib, Mohamed Ali 680, 683-4
Habibullah, Inam 107
Habibur Rahman 346
Hadi, S. A. 220
Hafiz, M. A. 407, 585
Hafizur Rahman, Mian 529
Haibat Khan, MLA Punjab 134
Haidar, K.F. 672, 699-700
Haider Khan, M. 699
Hakani, Moulvi Abdul Hayee 407, 409, 583
Hakim Din, Khawaja 284
Hakim Mehtabuddin 632
Hakim, Mehtabuddin 630
Haleem, A. B. A., Secretary AIML Planning Committee 67, 241, 445, 632, 638, 644, 668, 680, 682, 688-92, 696, 701, 707, 748, 751-3
Hamid Ullah, 67
Hamid, A. 103, 185, 196, 373, 576
Hamid, I.A. 700
Hamid, K.A. 699
Haneef, S. M. 429
Hanif, M. 600
Haqqi, S. M. Haq 486, 564
Hardy, Thomas 257
Hari Singh (Ruler of Kashmir) 79, 589
Harkishan Lal, Lala 523
Haroon, Abdoola 105, 510
Haroon, Lady Nusrat Abdoola 470
Haroon, Mahmood Abdoola 584
Haroon, Yusuf Abdoola, MLA Central 22-3, 106, 176, 184, 195, 295, 263-4, 374, 411, 413, 445, 469, 510, 539
Harya, Barkat Bibi 465
Hasan, Mohammad Said 655
Hasanali Khan 531
Hasham Ismail 1
Hashim Ali Khan 508
Hashim Ali Khan, Mrs 508
Hashimi, Syed 160, 166
Hashmi, S. A. Rashid 175
Hasnain Kazmi 151, 189, 448
Hassamuddin, Sheikh 607
Hassan Bakhsh Shah, Syed 408
Hassan, Dr 698
Hassan, Sayed Sakhi 197
Hassanbux 585

Hazrat Gul 514, 515, 534
Herbert, John Arthur 640
Hidayatullah, Anwar Hussain 584
Hidayatullah, Ghulam Hussain, Prime Minister Sind 23, 203, 206, 279, 301, 313, 322-3, 370, 406, 414, 494, 510, 539, 548, 552, 559, 577, 620-2
Hiraj, Sardar Wali Mohammad, MLA Punjab 135
Horniman, B. G. 36
Hoshang 143
Hossain Imam 177, 175, 554
Hothi, Hassanali 296
Hotiana, Mian Sultan Mahmud, MLA Punjab 133, 135
Huntingdon, Francis John Clarence Hastings 174
Husain Sabir, Sh. 287
Husain, M. A. 344, 369
Hussain, M. Khalil 28
Hutchings, Robert Howell 281
Hutheesing, Raja 649
Hyder M.J. 634
Hyder, L.K. 671, 691, 696-7, 699, 707
Hyder, Mrs M.J. 634
Hyder, Nizamuddeen 140, 533
Hyderabad, Nizam of (Mir Osman Ali Khan) 345, 372, 387, 402, 441, 686-8
Hyderi, M.S.A. 320
Hydri, Akbar Nazarally Muhammad 402, 453

Ibadat Yar Khan 276
Ibn-i-Hasan, Syed 636
Ibne Saud, King *see* under Abdul Aziz
Ibrahim, H. Ahmed 301
Ibrahim, S. M. 63
Ibrahim, Seth Mohamed Ishaq 572
Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian 614
Iftikharullah, M. 203
Ihtashul Hasan 572
Ikram Qamar 108
Illahi Bakhsh, Pir, MLA Sind 263, 313, 370-1, 406, 414, 447
Ilyas, Mukhi 99
Inamdar, Hashim Ali 605
Inamullah Khan 362, 457
Inayat Ali 482
Inayatullah, Prof. 285
Iqbal Masud 83
Iqbal, Allama Mohammad 248, 260, 307, 362, 388, 451, 457, 462
Ishaq, M. 636
Ismail Khan, Nawab M. 9, 24, 32, 39, 47, 53, 66-7, 90, 111, 113, 115-6, 124, 136, 148, 169, 178, 212, 217, 261, 328, 343, 482, 494, 531, 540, 562, 578, 632
Ismail, Khawaja M. 285
Ismail, S. M. 282-3
Ismail, Seth Haji Hasham 114, 127
Ispahani, Mirza Abol Hassan, MLA Bengal 5, 6, 24, 29, 31-2, 39, 45, 49, 61, 72-3, 75, 95, 172, 200, 209, 215, 228, 232, 252, 269, 279, 291, 294, 302, 314, 347, 377, 382-3, 385, 485, 639, 659-60, 663, 666, 669, 673, 675, 679, 690
Ispahani, Mirza Ahmad 2, 13, 95, 117, 145, 211, 231, 270, 281, 303, 360, 493, 639, 650, 659-60, 663, 665-6, 669, 673, 679, 691, 698-700
Iyyangar, Gopalaswami 439

Jafar Ali, Ch., MLA Punjab 134
Jaffar Ali, Miss Qamar Jahan 638
Jaffar Khan, Sardar Mohammed 584-5
Jafferey, S. Abu Tahir 341
Jafri, Mohammad Ali 83
Jain, Naresh Kumar 257
Jamal Khan, Nawab, Minister Punjab 135, 432
Jamal Mian Farangi Mahli 62, 87, 110, 125, 201, 532, 561
Jamali, Mir Jaffar Khan 407, 409
Jamali, Tufail Ahmed 345
Jamil Ahmed 186
Jamil, Secretary All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bombay 252
Jasjit Singh 446
Jatoi, Serai Imambaksh Khan Sahib 585
Jawaid, A. A. 226
Jayakar, Mukhund Ramrao 151, 458
Jenkins, Evan 202
Jinnah, Miss Fatima 46, 175, 191, 200, 205, 232, 348-9, 364-5, 377, 433, 446-7, 456, 477, 484, 488, 494, 507, 512, 524, 553, 579-80, 653, 659, 661, 664, 668, 670, 675, 685

Jinnah, Mrs Ruttie 460
Jogendra Singh 497
Josh, Sohan Singh 615
Josh, Sultan Hyder 26
Jung, Ahsan Yar 691, 696, 698-700, 748
Jung, Ali Nawaz, Chairman AIML Planning Committee 90, 602, 644, 668, 670, 673, 677, 680, 681-2, 685, 686-8, 691, 693, 696, 698-9, 707
Jung, Begum Bahadur Yar 495, 499, 508, 512, 530
Jung, Nawab Mohammad Bahadur Yar Khan 177, 183, 226, 334, 341, 354, 494, 499, 512, 518, 529, 553, 582, 593-4, 606, 618, 631, 653
Jung, Nazir Yar 473
Jung, Zain Yar 343, 345-6, 372

Kailash Chandra 225, 228
Kamal, Mohammad Ali 58
Karamali 382
Karamat Ali, Sh., MLA Punjab 108, 134, 285
Kareemurraza 532
Kartar Singh, Giani 614
Kashmiri, Sufi Shah Nazar Husain 387, 403
Katrak, Kavasji H. 143, 147, 176, 184
Katrak, Sohrab K. 195
Khairi, Dr 341
Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Chaudhry, MLA UP 12, 56, 62, 115, 181, 192, 304, 422, 531, 667
Khan, A. A. 295-6, 322, 407, 411, 619
Khan, A. G. 669
Khan, A. G., Gurdaspur Muslim League 226
Khan, A. H. 297
Khan, J. R. 549
Khan, R. A. 459
Khare, N. B. 331, 629
Khawaja, Razi R. 209
Kheiri, Ahmad Wahab 26
Khoury, Bechara el 52
Khuhro, Mohammad Ayub, Minister Sind 23, 203, 206, 411, 414, 510-1, 539, 551, 622
Khurshid Rao, M. 337
Khwaja, A. M. 607
Kifayatullah, Mufti Mohammad 346, 471
Killidar, Mahomed Moosa 293
Kotwal M.N. 147, 176
Kureshi, V. M. 450

Laik Ali, Mir 95, 116-7, 145, 149, 201, 311, 347, 359-62, 425-6, 446, 601, 658, 661, 668, 670, 673, 677, 681, 686, 692, 699
Lajjya Ram, Lala 456, 579
Lal Badshah, Pir Mohy-ud-Din, MLA Punjab 134
Lari, Zahirul Hasan 531-2, 644
Latif Saeed 462
Latif, Haji Ebrahim 104, 127
Latifi, M. Hassan 213
Lehuraux, A. 126-7
Liaquat Ali Khan, Ashraf 349
Liaquat Ali Khan, Begum Ra'na 349, 365, 558
Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary AIML, MLA Central 13, 24, 32, 39, 48, 66, 90, 92, 110, 112, 124, 128, 170-1, 207, 212, 217-8, 313, 349, 392, 400-1, 433, 456, 484, 524, 526, 529, 534-5, 550, 564, 579, 602, 613, 651, 653, 656
Linlithgow, Victor Alexander John Hope, Marquess of, former Viceroy & Governor-General 76-9, 91, 202, 639, 671
Lloyd, Allan 602
Lobo, J. A. 411, 550
Lodi, Abdul Majid Khan 214
Lumley, Laurence Roger 639

Machiavelli, Niccolo 57
Mahaboob, Saaid 308
Maharaj Singh 77, 405
Mahbub Hasan, Syed 309, 423, 442
Mahmood Alam, S. 421
Mahmood Hasan 129, 383, 394, 523
Mahmood-ul-Hasan Siddiqi, Secretary All India States ML 594
Mahmoodabad, Raja Muhammad Amir Ahmed Khan 532, 541, 561-2
Mahmud Husain, Vice Chancellor Dacca University 68, 633
Mahomed Akbar, Kazi 583

Mahomed Ali 345, 372
Mahomed Ali Shah, Syed, MLA Sind 407
Mahomed Khan 412
Mahomed Zaman Shah 407
Majeed, A. 499
Majiduddin, Syed 700
Malang Ahmad Badsha 691, 696, 700
Malaviya, Pandit Madanmohan 458
Malhi, Nasir Ahmad 261, 284, 611
Malik 698
Malik, Hussain M. 136
Mamdot, Iftikhar Husain Khan, President Punjab Provincial ML, MLA Punjab 7, 35, 53, 62, 71, 89, 92, 108-9, 134, 154, 205, 220, 238, 250, 261, 266, 304, 332, 391, 396, 399, 432, 455, 527, 558, 579, 611, 672
Mamnoon Hasan 4
Maneka, Nur Ahmed, MLA Punjab 135
Mangat Ram 631
Maniar, Mahomedali S. 161, 293
Manzar Alam 321, 450
Manzoor Hasan 233
Maqbool Ali, Mrs 508
Maqbool Mahmood, Mir, MLA Punjab 133-4, 325
Maratab Ali, Syed 191, 223, 254, 538, 655, 664
Mardani, Midrarullah 514-6, 534
Marfani, Y. A. 326
Mari, Mohammad Usman 585
Mashhadi, H. B. 604
Mashriqi, Allama Inayatullah Khan 14, 216-8, 257, 404, 452, 474, 500-01, 522, 622-3
Maskati, A.A. 683
Maskati, A. E. 293
Masud Ahmed, Hakim 378
Masud Beg Mirza 608
Matin 306
Maudoodi, Syed Abul A'la 341, 462
Maxwell, Reginald 262, 265
Mazzini, Giuseppe 57
Mecklai, Aziz A. 294
Meerathi, Begum Meher Bano Saadullah Khan 114
Mehdi Hasan 563
Mehta, Chunilal 11
Mehta, Jumnadas 141
Milton, John 158
Mir Waiz, Maulana *see* Mohammad Usuf Shah
Misra, Jagannath 581
Mohamed Ali, Begum Amjadi 634
Mohamed Ali Jauhar, Maulana 325
Mohamed Ali, C. 333-4
Mohamed Ali, Kazi 605
Mohamed Hussain 572
Mohamed Jan, S. 314
Mohamed Yakub 251
Mohammad Akbar Khan 298
Mohammad Akram, Raja, MLA Punjab 134
Mohammad Alam, Sh., MLA Punjab 82, 91, 135, 204
Mohammad Ali 631
Mohammad Ali, Mir 388
Mohammad Amin 551
Mohammad Amin, Sh., MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Ashfaq 12
Mohammad Ashraf, Ch., MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Ayub Khan, Arbab 34
Mohammad Azam, Sardar, MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Aziz Ahmad 625
Mohammad Babar Mirza 636-7
Mohammad Din 88, 108
Mohammad Farooq 668
Mohammad Ghias, Sh., 109
Mohammad Hassan 585
Mohammad Husain, Ch., MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Husain, Sardar, MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Isa, Qazi 12, 62, 115, 181, 304
Mohammad Ismail 585
Mohammad Mohsin 600
Mohammad Nawaz Khan, Sardar, MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Qasim 600
Mohammad Qasim, Ch., MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Saadat Ali, MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Sadiq 85

Mohammad Sami 667
Mohammad Sarfraz Khan, Ch., MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Sarfraz, Raja, MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Siddique, Khawaja 664
Mohammad Sidik Khan, Agha 585
Mohammad Usuf Shah, Maulana Mir Waiz 363, 377, 418, 421
Mohammad Yamin Khan 330
Mohammad Yasin Khan, Ch., MLA Punjab 135
Mohammad Yusuf Khan, MLA Punjab 135
Mohammed Abdul Aziz 570-1
Mohammed Abdullah, Hafiz 330
Mohammed Ali, Chaudhri 471, 645
Mohammed Asghar 163, 167, 605
Mohani, S. Fazl-ul-Hasan Hasrat 462, 521, 562
Mohideen, S. M. 429
Mohsin Ali, Sheikh Dawood 647, 668, 672, 697-8, 700, 749
Mohy-ud-Din, M. Badr, MLA Punjab 134
Mohyuddin 698
Moinul Haq, Syed 635
Monohar Lal 314
Moolchand Chhatamal 147, 195
Mosheer, S. 599
Motamedi, M. 545
Mozaffar, M. 520
Mubarik Ali Shah, Syed, MLA Punjab 134
Mubin, Mohammed Ali 699
Mudaliar, P. Balasubaramania 33, 312, 379-80
Mudaliar, W. T. Krishnaswamy 312
Muhammad Ali 251, 608
Muhammad Ashraf, Sh. 111, 128, 244, 248, 272, 400-01, 428, 506
Muhammad Aziz Khan (Nawab of Toru) 544
Muhammad Ishrat Husain 633
Muhammad Sardar, Hakim 171
Muhammad Yamin 428
Mukherjee, (Mookerjee) Shyama Prasad 6, 200, 281, 315, 402, 555
Munadi 520
Munawar-ud-Dın 387
Munawwar Ali, Mrs 508
Munir Khan 495
Munjee, Cassamally 360, 362
Munshi Ram 57
Murid Hussain, S. 284
Murtaza Ahmad Khan 253, 391
Mushtaq Ali Khan, Kunwar 533
Mustafa Kamal 485
Mustafa Kemal Ataturk 626
Muzaffar Khan 213
Muzaffar Khan, Malik, MLA Punjab 135

Nadvi, Syed Sulaiman 68
Nahas Pasha, M. 52
Naicker, G. M. 331
Naidu, Mrs Sarojini 265, 331, 355, 641
Nairang, Mir Ghulam Bhik 330
Nambiar, M. Padmanabhan 25
Naoroji, Dadabhoy 158
Napier, Charles 93
Naqvi, M. 700
Naqvi, Syed Ale Ali 633
Naseer Ahmed, Mian 664
Nasir Ali 284
Nasir Mahmud, S. 55
Nasir-ud-Din Shah, Pir, MLA Punjab 135
Nasir-ud-Dın, Ch., MLA Punjab 65, 135
Nasrullah Khan, Rana, MLA Punjab 135, 317
Nasrullah, Mahomed 318-9
Naumani, Abdul Qadir Khan 183
Nawazish Ali, Syed, MLA Punjab 135
Nazeer Ahmad Mahmood 108
Nazimuddin, Khwaja, Prime Minister Bengal 12, 59, 85, 115, 231, 233, 301, 484, 554, 674, 676, 682
Nazir Ahmad 341, 354, 402
Nazir Ahmed Malik 665, 669
Nazir Ahmed Khan 505
Nazir Hussain 335, 367
Nehru, Kamala 500
Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal 150, 159, 647, 649
Nichols, Beverley 119
Nisarullah 667
Nishtar, Sardar Abdur Rab, Minister NWFP 691, 696-9

Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan *see* Hyderabad
Nizamani, Khan Mahomed 583
Nizami, Abdul Hameed 132, 307, 368, 487, 536
Noon, Firoz Khan 18-9, 21, 25, 350, 493, 566
Noon, Malik Akbar Hayat 550
Noon, Sirdar Khan, MLA Punjab 135
Nooruddin, Khwaja 280, 294
Nur Mahomed Ahmed 293
Nurur Rahman 215, 252, 270, 293

Obaidullah, Malik 259
Omar Hayat Malik 636
Osmani, Abdul Wahab 230, 244, 332

Padampat Singhania 703
Pagaro, Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah 23
Panna Lal, Lala 258
Panni, Masud Ali Khan 554
Parwaz, Iltaf Hussain 339
Patiala, Ruler of 246
Paul, Izz-ud-Din 189
Purshottamdas Thakurdas 703
Petit, Dinshaw 36
Petit, Miss Ruttie *see* Jinnah, Mrs Ruttie
Pir Mahomed 295-6
Pir Muhammad, MLA Pujnab 135
Pirbux, Nabibux 1, 114
Pirzada, Mohammad Tayyib Shah 574
Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin 45, 148, 261, 645, 648, 657
Pitt, William the Great (Younger) 159
Poddar, Anandi Lal 315
Pope, Mrs Amina 634
Pothan Joseph 2, 13, 276, 313, 383, 400-1
Prasad, Rajendra 283
Prem, D. R. 626
Premji, Mohammed Hasham 362, 426, 680, 683-4, 691, 696, 698-700, 748
President, Jami'at-i-Ahrar Hind 598
Prosad, Angat 137

Qadari, Sheikh Niaz Ali 168, 187, 211
Qadri, Mohammed Afzal Husain 53, 64, 67, 90, 632, 637
Qamar Jahan, Miss 634
Qizilbash, Sardar Muzaffar Ali, MLA Punjab 135, 193, 197
Quadir, M.A. 701
Quaseem, S. M. 375
Quereshi, F. M. I. 138, 143-4, 147, 176
Quraishi 92
Quraishi Mohammad Yusuf 409
Quraishi, Makhdum Murid Hussain 242, 480
Qureshi, A.S. 691, 697
Qureshi, Anwar Iqbal 691, 699-700, 707
Qureshi, Colonel 700
Qureshi, Dur Mohammad 81
Qureshi, Hasrat 391
Qureshi, Ishtiaq Husain 635
Qureshi, M. Zia 341
Qureshi, M.L. 692, 699-700, 707, 749
Qureshi, Niamatullah 86, 184, 195, 408
Qureshi, S. A. Rahman 275

Rabb Navaz Khan 38, 71, 75, 83, 188, 198, 250, 271
Radhakrishnan Sarvepalli 497
Radharai 137
Raghib Ahsan, Syed 466-7, 470, 554
Rahim Khan, A. 382
Rahimtoola, Habib Ibrahim 252, 280, 283, 291-3, 350, 383, 431, 446, 507, 683
Rahman, A. 633
Rahman Ali 207
Rahman Shah 155
Rahmatullah 259
Rahmatullah 333
Rahmatullah, A. Farooq 603
Rajagopalachari, Chakravarti 8, 57, 225, 264, 266, 300, 458, 497, 511, 518, 528, 530, 546, 555, 569, 581, 591, 600, 617
Rallia Ram, A. L. 404, 358
Rallia Ram, B. L. 405
Raman, C. V. 497
Raman, M. 312
Ramarau, R. V. M. S. 430, 447
Rameshawar Rai 137
Ramphal 625
Rao Abdul Hameed Khan 533
Rashdi, Ali Muhummed 22
Rashid Ali Khan 57, 71, 118, 199, 227, 328, 525, 527, 565
Rashid, A., Justice 517

Rashid, M. A. 303, 367
Rashid, Said A. 10
Rau, B. N., Prime Minister Kashmir 68, 385, 419, 489, 535, 538, 590
Ravoof, A. A. 422, 439-40, 459
Raza Shah, Makhdum 432
Raza-i-Karim, A.Z.M. 330, 393, 427
Razik, M. M. 556
Rehman, Colonel A. 700
Rehman, K.A. 700
Resident, Gwalior 322
Riad Solh 52
Riasat Ali, MLA Punjab 135
Riaz Ahmed Khan 422, 449
Rizavi, S. M. Qasim 177
Rizvi, Begum Firdaus 569
Rizvi, Ibne Hasan 68
Rizwanullah 532, 541, 561, 578
Roerich, Nicholas 497
Rommel, Erwin 639
Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, President United States 7, 245
Ross Masud 453
Rouf, S. A. 192
Rowlands, Archibald 645
Roy, B. C. 73, 172, 314
Roy, M. N. 141
Rutherford, Thomas 640

Saadulla, Sayed Muhammad, Prime Minister Assam 47, 303, 367
Sadikally 585
Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh, MLA Punjab 63, 135, 179, 655, 664
Sadullah Khan, MLA NWFP 34
Saeeda Begum 26
Said Ahmad 236, 512, 537
Saif ud Din Saif 274
Sait, Haji Abdul Sattar Haji Essak 43
Sait, Mohamed Yousuf 333
Saiyid, Matlub-ul-Hasan 26, 111-2, 128-9, 374, 448, 468, 513, 545
Sajjad Zaheer, Syed 616
Sakhi Hasan, S. 595
Saksena, Babu Ram 519
Salamatullah, Colonel 700
Salik, Abdul Majid 256, 274
Salimullah 698
Salma Tasadduque Husain, Begum 220
Sami Ahmad 424
Samin Jan 62
Samun, Mian Ali Mahomed 585
Sanyal, Prasanta 355
Sapru, Tej Bahadur 150, 458, 497
Saraf, S.L. 457
Saran, Raghunandan 171
Sarfaraz Khan, Ch. 284
Sastri, V.S. Srinivasa 33, 150
Sathu ,Pandit Jagan Nath 503-4
Sattar Muhammad 259
Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar, President Hindu Mahasabha 72-3, 265
Sayed, G. M. (Ghulam Murtaza Shah), MLA, President Sind ML 23, 203, 206, 262, 313, 322, 352, 386, 404, 406, 411, 417, 469, 510-1, 539, 546, 548, 551, 559, 580, 582, 620-1, 648
Sayyid, M. A. 406
Seetpur, Syed Mohammad Hasan, MLA Punjab 135
Sehrai, H. M. Amin-ud-Din 182
Sequera, Photographer 129
Shafa'at Ahmad Khan 493
Shafi Ali Khan, Ch., MLA Punjab 135
Shafi, Lady (Begum Amirunnisa Mian Muhammad) 517
Shafi, S.M. 700
Shah Alam Khan 633
Shah Allah Bakhsh 522-3
Shah Daula 464
Shah Nawaz, Begum Jahan Ara 347-8, 377
Shah, Colonel Jalal M. 700
Shah, Ikbal Ali 566
Shah, K. T. 521-2, 649
Shah, S. A. Rauf 239
Shah, Saleh Mahomed 408
Shah, Sayed Ghulam Hyder 407, 585
Shah, Sayed Khair, MLA Sind 406
Shah, Sayed Pir Muhammad 586
Shah, Syed Khalilur Rahman 155
Shahab-ud-Din Chaudhari, Speaker Punjab Legislative Assembly 135
Shahabuddin, Khwaja, Minister Bengal 211, 231, 233, 554, 673-4, 676, 691, 698, 749
Shahadat Khan, Rai, MLA Punjab 135
Shahmir Khan 407
Shaik Daud 479

Shaikh, A. F. 141
Shaikh, Abdul Kader 684
Shaikh, Naseer Ahmad 223, 254, 286, 513, 560
Shairzaman Khan, M. 533
Shakespeare, William 158
Shakir 381
Shambunath, Lala 477
Shamshad 570
Shamsul Hasan, Syed 58, 187
Shamsul Hassan, Khalid 680, 707
Sharfuddin, Mukhdum 599
Sharma, M. S. M. 482, 502
Shaukat Hyat Khan, Sardar, MLA Punjab 89, 133, 135, 155, 226, 324, 340, 342, 408, 455, 491, 537, 610, 630
Shaw, George Bernard 746
Sheik Mohamed, K. S. A. 593
Sheikh Amir 495
Shelley, Precy Bysshe 158
Shelly, Mary 57
Sherwani, Haroon Khan 67, 635
Sherwani, Sirdar Khan 108
Shoukat Ali 532
Shourie, S. L. 609
Shraddhananda, Swami 57
Shuaib Qureshi 647, 700
Shuja Uddin, Khalifa 67
Siddiqi, A. H. 371, 443
Siddiqi, Abdul Alim 636
Siddiqi, Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem 461, 518, 553, 594
Siddiqi, Razi Uddin 632, 636
Siddiqi, Wahidul Haq 634
Siddique, Hafiz Mohammad 667
Siddiqui, Abdur Rahman 294, 653
Siddiqui, Mrs N. 638
Siddiqui, Razi Uddin 67
Sikandar Hayat Khan, Sardar 15, 545
Sikander Dehlavi 292, 383
Singh, J. J. 219
Sinha, Sacchidananda 497
Slaughter, Colonel 359, 425, 602
Sohan Singh 591
Sonavala, Ghulam Husein 293
Sondhi, M. 183
Soomro, Allahbux Muhammad 44, 57, 206, 262, 413
Soomro, Ubedullah 585
Srivastava, J.P. 281
Sufi, G. M. 633
Sufi, Mohammed Din 208
Suhrawardy, Huseyn Shaheed, Minister Bengal 2, 61, 85, 238, 554
Suleri, Zia-ud-Din Ahmad 627
Sultan Ahmed 281
Swatantra, Teja Singh 615

Taleyar Khan 141
Talib Husain, Khan, MLA Punjab 135
Talpur, Mir Bundeh Ali, MLA Sind 23
Talpur, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, MLA Sind 406-7, 548, 692, 697-8, 749
Tareen, Mohammad Amin Khan 74
Tariq, A. M. 409
Teja Singh 591
Thariani, A. 318-20
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar 626
Timur, M. 517
Tiwana, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Prime Minister Punjab 3, 31, 35, 48, 53, 64, 71, 103, 133-4, 204, 220, 226, 241, 314, 324, 351, 408, 453, 455, 496, 519, 579, 611
Tiwana, Malik Umar Hayat Khan 241, 668
Toosy, Mohammad Sharif 163, 181, 284, 290
Topa 462
Toru, Nawab of *see* Muhammad Aziz Khan
Torulata 287
Tour du Pin, Marquis de la 126
Trivedi, Kantilal A. 56
Tungekar, Abdul Majid 294
Turner, John 30, 37, 42, 45, 61

Udit Gopal 129
Umar Khan 376
Umashanker 505
Uppal, Mohammed Sharif 194
Usmani, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad 346

Vaidyanathan, P. P. 331
Vakil, Vazalali 376
Vali Khan, H. A. 40
Vankatarammiya, K. S. 497

Vashno Dass, Lala 258
Vazirani, Nichaldas C., Minister Sind 44, 552
Vedaratnam, S. 624
Vice-Chancellor Patna University 283
Vidyarthi, Ganesh Shankar 57
Vijaya Anand 149, 165
Vilayatiram 496
Vohra, C. S. 454

Wadhwani, Hemandas, MLA Sind 8
Wadud, K. A. 268, 394
Waheed Ahmad 7, 13, 17, 51, 56, 92, 128, 140, 156, 165-6, 168, 177, 197, 202, 240, 250, 260, 346, 492, 535, 550, 653-4
Wahiduddin 136
Wajid Ali Shah, Syed 301, 364, 477
Wali Mohammad 636, 653, 691, 699
Wali, J. N. 506
Wali-ul-Islam, Haji 387
Waljee, Hussein A. 294
Wani, Mohmed Sultan 142
Wasan, Ghulam Muhammed Khan 511
Wavell, Archibald Percival, Viceroy & Governor-General 7, 76, 91, 93, 164, 167, 239, 281, 448, 458, 492, 643
Wazir Hussain, Syed 567
Webb, Beatrice 746
Webb, Sidney 746
Wilayat Ali Khan 278
Wilayat Hussain 432
Wilayat Shah, Pir 325
Williams, N. T. 49
Willingdon, Marquis, former Viceroy & Governor-General 36
Wing, Willis Kingsley 229, 384
Wolpert, Stanley 17
Wrench, Evelyn 125, 158

Yakub Sardar 137
Yusaf Khan 259
Yusuf, Nawab Mohammad 653
Yusuf, S. M. 636
Yusufi, K.A.K. 165, 642

Zafar Ali Khan 54, 83
Zafar Hussain, Sh. 109
Zafarul Hasan, S. 67, 632, 635-6
Zaghlol Pasha 436
Zahid Husain 146
Zahoor Ahmed 532
Zahur Ahmed 260
Zaidi Photographer 129
Zaidi, Syed Bashir Husain, Chief Minister, Rampur State 691, 697-8
Zaidi, Z. H. 8, 200, 253, 642
Zainulabadin, S. 329, 338
Zakeria Wally Mahomed 294
Zaki Uddin 67, 632-3
Zakir Ali, Syed 61, 115-6, 169, 212
Zakir Husain Khan 326, 668, 700, 706-7, 749
Zaman, M. 43
Zaman, M. B. 308
Ziaud Din, M. 34
Ziauddin Ahmed, Vice Chancellor Muslim University Aligarh 506, 653
Ziaul Haq 578
Zohra Syed, Miss 634
Zulfikar Ali Khan 107, 284

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The References are to Page Numbers

A Muslim's Inner Voice 168, 211
Afghan(istan) 121, Consulate 448
Agricultural Cooperation in India 140
Ahmadiyya Movement 213, 251-2, 257, 285, 329, 335, 339, 451, 608
Ahrars *see* Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, Hind
Ajmer 10, 573
Akali Dal 278, 593, 614, 630
Aligarh 66, 84, 174, 214, 483, 626, 665, 671
Aligarh Magazine 422, 449
All India Anti-Satyarath Prakash Conference 183
All India Azad Muslim Majlis 597-8, 607
All India Congress Committee 574, 576
All India Council of Indian Christians 358, 405
All India Hindu Mahasabha 8, 123, 149, 209, 215, 230, 246, 265, 278, 341, 381, 493, 593, 606, 614, 618, 621
All India Law Conference 473
All India Momin Conference 598
All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry 75, 252, 280, 481
All India Muslim Educational Conference 26, 70, 220
All India Muslim League 8, 15, 20, 22, 39, 45, 56, 59, 70, 92-3, 118, 141, 153, 155, 179-80, 192, 194, 198, 203, 207, 209, 212, 216-7, 226, 228, 236, 250, 256, 267-8, 289, 295, 306, 310, 324, 329, 332-3, 335, 337-9, 347, 350-1, 354-7, 362, 366, 368-9, 395-6, 403, 410, 418, 434, 439, 442, 445, 451, 453, 455, 460, 463, 475, 479-81, 486, 500-1, 504-6, 514-6, 525, 527, 529, 534, 536, 551, 555-6, 564, 566-7, 569, 573, 583, 586, 595, 606, 608, 617, 625-6, 630, 646, 650, 684, 752
Annual Sessions
  Allahabad (21st session, 1930) 457, 541, 561, (29th, 1942) 541
  Delhi (30th session, 1943) 112, 136
  Karachi (31st session, 1943) 41, 102-3, 111, 148, 183, 198, 275, 302, 413, 653, 690
  Madras (28th session, 1941) 301
Central Parliamentary Board 540, 554, 559, 577
Civil Defence Committee 13, 115, 124
Committee of Action 115, 124, 131, 154, 161, 169, 190, 217, 241, 282, 323, 326, 388, 392, 399, 455, 488, 491, 534, 564, 578, 620, 632, 652-3, 662
Council 82, 510, 600-1, 605-6, 689
Council Sessions
  Delhi (1943) 32, 48
  Lahore (1944) 510, 526, 537, 559, 576, 579, 605, 627, 689
Education Committee 53, 65, 90, 241, 632
Flag 334
Fund 46, 644
Planning Committee 145, 172, 211, 222, 233, 236, 270, 292, 303, 430, 445-6, 644, 647, 650-6, 658-60, 663-4, 666, 671-2, 676, 678-83, 688-90, 693, 696, 702, 708, 747-48, 751-53
Resolutions
  Karachi (1943) 275, 645, 650, 679, 708
  Lahore (1940) 128, 573, 618
Women's Sub-Committee 107
Working Committee 32, 40, 43, 45, 47-8, 76, 136, 167, 169, 178, 304, 407, 510, 518, 559, 574, 576, 580, 598, 601, 606-8, 615, 622, 646-7, 689
  Working Committee Resolution Bombay (1940) 550
All India Muslim Railway Employees Association 196
All India Muslim Students Federation 43, 102, 130, 355, 391, 420, 581, 626
All India Muslim Students Union 40
All India Muslim Womens Conference 464
All India Nationalist Muslim Majlis 389
All India Shia Political Conference 595, 598
All India States Muslim League 334, 583, 594
All India Students Federation 355, 581
All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference 142, 327, 374, 379, 410, 418, 424, 438, 478, 537
All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference 142, 418, 435, 438
All Parties Convention 493
Alliance Francaise 126

Alliance Press 294, 484
Al-Meezan Corporation 359-60, 362, 377, 425-6, 602
Al-Wahid 414, 511
Amrita Bazar Patrika 24, 281
Anjuman Dursul Islam 575
Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam 498, 535
Anjuman Hizbullah 387, 403
Anjuman Relief Committee 85
Anjuman-i-Hilal-i-Ahmar 51
Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam 213
Anjuman-i-Islam Bombay 141
Anjuman-i-Islam Gwalior 321, 451
Anjuman-i-Islamia 284, 299
Anjuman-i-Ittehad 462, 519, 553
Anjuman-i-Nou Nihalan-e-Islam 489
Anjuman-i-Rafiqul-Islam 4
Anjuman-i-Talim-ul-Qur'an 175
Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu 571
Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Tijarat 316
Anjuman-i-Usmania 259
Anjuman-i-Watan 598
Anti-Segregation Council 331
Arya Kumar Sammaj 275
Arya Samaj Movement 57, 630-1
Assam 69, 264, 343
  Government 30
  Legislative Assembly 47, 306
  Line System 304
  Muslim Association 30
  Provincial Muslim League 47, 192, 303, 306, 367, 468
Associated Press of India 29, 37, 39, 45, 61, 128, 281, 520
Auqaf Act, proposal for 662

Bahadur Yar Jung Memorial Fund 500
  Physical Association 593
Baluchistan 69
Bantva 288
Belgium 164
Bengal 9-10, 12, 24, 29, 30-2, 36, 48, 59, 73, 269, 305, 343
  Famine 2, 8, 59, 643
  Famine Relief Fund 54, 104, 639, 642, also *see* Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund
  Government 5-6, 12, 39-40, 61, 238, 269, 281, 555, 642
  Hindu Mahasabha 314
  Legislative Assembly 2, 200, 215, 232, 484, 675
  Muslim Relief Fund *see* Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund
  Muslim Students League 351, 391
  Provincial Muslim League 30, 42, 85, 209, 238, 314, 357, 383, 389, 393, 453, 603,
  Secondary Education Bill 554
  Students Joint Relief Board 355
Berar *see* under Central Provinces
Bhagavad Gita 265
Bhutan 164
Bihar 12
  Independent Muslim Party 598
  Provincial Muslim League 282-3, 599
Bijapur Pardanashin Relief Committee 1
Bombay 36, 104, 343, 351, 448
  Government 162
  Muslim Chamber of Commerce 252, 280, 292, 383
  Provincial Muslim League 629
  Provincial Muslim League Civil Defence Committee 114, 127
  Provincial Muslim League Working Committee 629
Bombay Chronicle 37, 344
Bombay Sentinel 344
Botawala Charities 1
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) 627, 718
  Cabinet Mission 645, 753
  Electricity Commission 718
  Government 8, 14, 93, 96, 202, 208, 245-6, 253, 265, 288, 359, 643, 739
  Industrial & Commercial Finance Corporation 718
  Labour Party 746
Burma & Malaya Evacuees 594
Burma-Shell Company 415

Calcutta 12, 748
  Corporation 228, 314
  High Court 305

Muslim Chamber of Commerce 12, 22, 24, 39, 54, 74, 648, 703
Relief Committee 74, 641
Relief Fund 12, 22, 39
Canada 164
Cawnpore 151
Central Bank of India 483
Central Provinces & (Berar) 50, 220
Government 51, 163, 496
High School Education Board 50
Provincial Muslim League 50, 207
Ceylon 164
Chirakkal Taluk Students Conference 25
Civil & Military Gazette 52, 276, 525, 528
Civil Disobedience, Quit India Movement 137
Commonwealth 150
Communist Party of India 273, 403, 593, 614, 616
Congress, Indian National 22, 50, 54, 123, 131, 152, 154, 192, 209, 230, 257, 265, 267, 278, 283, 314, 348, 358, 389, 396, 404, 435, 452, 458, 492, 494, 514-6, 525, 527, 554-5, 561, 568, 573, 593, 596, 606, 617, 630-1, 649, 751
National Planning Committee 648-9, 678
Council of State 428
Criminal Investigation Department (CID) 411

Daily Gazette 261, 264, 352, 374, 620
Dar-ul-Adab 388
Dawn 2, 13, 52, 129, 140, 171-2, 186, 192, 209, 268, 287, 303, 325, 337-8, 344, 382-3, 389-90, 394, 401, 497, 523, 529, 531, 550, 554, 572, 588, 652, 656
Deccan Times 417, 439-40
Dictionary of National Biography 57
Durban Educational & Cultural Conference 520, 563-4

East India 554
Eastern Times 17, 52, 163, 185, 196, 268, 284, 290, 311, 373, 430, 577
Economic Planning *see* All India Muslim League Planning Committee
Egypt 52
Ehsan 253, 613
Elements of Rural Replanning 222
Emergence of Pakistan, The 471
Encyclopaedia Britannica 173
Encyclopaedia Quaid-i-Azam 610
Eqdam 529
Exchange Bank 311

Fabian Society 740, 746
Federal Court of India 2, 151
Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry 172, 215, 252, 269, 291, 383, 472, 481, 703
Financing Corporation of Industries 719
Flagstaff House Karachi 176, 195
Foundations of Pakistan 148, 261, 645, 648, 657
France 126, 164
Frontier Crimes Regulations 298

Germany 121, 164
Government of India 6-7, 18, 30, 52, 90, 106, 157, 262, 318, 340, 602, 628-9, 640
Food Department 60
Government of India Act (1935) 408, 555
Gram Sudhar ke bare mein do do baten 533
Grow More Food Campaign 305

Haj pilgrimage 627, 629
Hamdard 374, 392, 435, 503-4
Hamlet 260
Haque 396, 471
Hindustan Press 524
Hindustan Times 3, 49, 331
Holland 164
Home Rule League 36-7, 57
Hurs 235
Hyderabad Deccan 518, 552, 633
Government 677

Immortal Years, The 159
Independent India 141
India League 524

India Relief Committee Birmingham 626
India's Future Constitutional Problem 26-7
Indian (Central) Legislative Assembly 105, 156, 176, 180, 239, 242, 265, 330, 389
Muslim League Party 297
Indian Association Birmingham 626
Indian Daily Mail 280
Indian Historical Records Commission 126
Indian History Congress 126
Indian Nation 282
Indian States 240
Gwalior 246, 450, 588
Khairpur 94
Indian Trade Mission 146
Inqilab 253, 257, 275
International News Service 371
Iqbal Day 312, 388, 461
Iqbal Namah 46
Iqbal Rezay 461
Iqbal Society 312
Iqbal's Way Out 457
Iran 452
Ireland 120, 340

Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind 202, 357, 410, 413, 466, 471, 515, 587, 598
Jamal-i-Kashmir 519
Jamia Millia Islamia 325, 668
Japan 639
Jat Mahasabha 278, 613
Jiddat 289, 380
Jinnah Educational Board 186
Jinnah of Pakistan 17
Jinnah Sports Club 223
Jinnah-Gandhi Talks 268
Jugantar 24, 32, 39
Justice Party 333

Karachi 100-1, 104, 176, 195, 352, 620
Kashmir 55, 76-8, 80, 91-2, 142, 247, 293, 301, 327, 353, 360, 365-6, 400, 405, 437, 451, 462, 478
Kasturba (Gandhi National) Memorial Fund 484, 494
Kazak refugees 336
Keesing's Contemporary Archives 52
Khaksar Movement 13-4, 216-7, 257, 348, 413, 452, 475, 522-3, 623, 630
Khilafat Movement 648
Khudai Khidmatgars 598
Khwaja Durgah Committee 330
Khyber Mail 52
Kisan Sabha 493, 614
Krishak Proja Party 598, 661
Kumbhar Jama'at 100

Lahore Improvement Trust 99
Lebanon 51, 164
Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah 112, 244, 272
Liberal Federation 278, 493
Liberator 624
Lincoln's Inn London 159
Line System Assam 304

M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 8, 200, 253, 384, 642
Madras 113
Mahabeer Dal 631
Mahabharata 265
Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam Hind 55, 257, 284-5, 341, 346, 357, 413, 471, 542, 561, 598, 603, 608, 614, 630
Majlis-i-Ittehadul-Muslimeen 355
Malabar 113
Malabar Hill Bombay 343
Manshoor 529
Meet Mr. Jinnah 440
Memon Club Dhoraji 315
Milap 514-5, 517
Mizan 593
Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study 112, 129
Moplahs 102, 113
Muslim Chamber of Commerce *see* under Calcutta
Muslim Educational Society Navsari 419
Muslim Gujrat 520
Muslim Labour Federation 274
Muslim League, District & Local Units
Abiraman 479
Aligarh 323
Anantapur, Madras 333

Calcutta 209, 228, 498
Chittagong 85
Dadu 585
Dehra Dun 482
Delhi 136, 356
East Khandesh 499
Gujranwala 234, 578
Gujrat 170
Guntur 308
Gurdaspur 224, 226
Hardoi 487, 565
Hazara 336, 339
Hoshiarpur 108
Jacobabad 585
Jubbulpore 50, 207, 245, 495, 504-5
Karachi 286, 295, 352, 585, 619-20
Lahore 188, 193-4, 199, 227, 336, 526-7, 565, 570
Larkana 585
Malabar 102
Mardan 570
Mianwali 299
Mirpur Khas 44
Murree 490-1
Muttra 533
Muzaffarnagar 533
Nankana Sahib 632
Nabisar Road 44
Panipat 342
Quilandy 43
Rawalpindi 194, 247-8, 544
Rohtak 323
Sialkot 55, 285, 328
Sukkur 585
Tanjore 301, 422
Thatta Isa 630
Warburton 630
Muslim League, London Branch 131, 566-7
Muslim League, Provincial Branches *see* under the respective provinces
Muslim Majlis 314
Muslim National Guards 130, 136, 262-3, 550, 605
Muslim Standard 568
Muslim Students Federation
Aligarh 626
Bantva 288
Bombay 351
Cawnpore 151
Hoshiarpur 110
Jullundur 308
Lahore 214
Rawalpindi 248, 461, 510, 537, 611
Sialkot 346
Muslim Students Union
Cocanda 40
Srinagar 551
Muslims in India, A Biographical Dictionary 257, 326
Muslims of British India 257

National Muslim Association 429
National Peace Council 480
National War Front 317, 613
Nationalism in Conflict in India 58, 164
Nation's Voice, The 7, 13, 17, 51, 56, 92, 112, 128, 140, 156, 165-6, 168, 177, 197, 202, 240, 250, 260, 346, 377, 492, 535, 550, 597, 627, 653-4
Nawa-i-Waqt 132, 307, 368, 487-8, 536, 613
Nepal 164
Nizam State Railways 359
North West Frontier Province (NWFP) 41, 62, 298, 534, 570, 573, 620
Ministry 34, 155
Muslim League 34, 87, 169
Muslim League Council 34
Provincial Congress Committee 576
North Western Railway Muslim Employees Association 183, 196
Norway 164

Orient Press 374

Paisa Akhbar 196
Pakistan Weekly 456
Pakistan 645, 648, 662, 693, 747
Pakistan and Muslim India 58, 165
Pakistan Day 198, 227, 245, 247
Palestine 164, 202, 210, 245-6, 288, 304, 452
White Paper on 246
Payam 411, 509
Privy Council 151, 158
Punjab 36, 38, 247, 317

Government 7, 31, 154-5, 226, 235, 298, 324, 347, 404, 488, 638
High Court 176, 299
Legislative Assembly 35, 63-4, 175, 179, 204, 210, 219, 231, 250, 317, 342, 375, 546
Muslim Chamber of Commerce 190, 223, 252, 269
Muslim League Assembly Party 64, 133, 170, 615
Muslim League Council 178, 433
Muslim Students Federation 175, 177, 182, 187, 189, 199, 227, 351
Muslim Women League 220
Provincial Muslim League 3, 31, 55, 71, 75, 82-3, 92, 108-9,132, 155, 163, 170, 178, 180, 205, 210, 234, 247, 250, 290, 317, 332, 342, 357, 383, 428, 527, 610
Provincial Muslim League (Sialkot Session 1944) 260, 284, 490
Provincial Muslim League Conference 199
Provincial Muslim League Council Session 432
Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board 546
Provincial Muslim League Working Committee 611
Shia Political Conference 197
Students Federation 355

Quaid-i-Azam Papers 376, 641-2
Quaid-i-Azam's Unrealised Dream 680, 707

Radical Democratic Party 141
Radical Humanist 141
Railway Board 156
Rajagopalachari formula 267, 511, 518, 528, 555, 591, 598, 608, 617-8, 623, 627
Rajput Conference 613
Rangoon-Penang Evacuees Association 594
Rao Committee 156
Red Crescent Society 336
Report on the finance & economics of Pakistan 645
Reuters 29, 37, 42, 45
River Indus 104
Roshni 395
Round Table Conference 120

Sanatan Dharam Sabha 630-1
Satyarath Prakash 103, 275, 433, 631
Scotland 164
Servants of Pakistan 603
Shahbaz 254, 514, 517
Shaheed Gunj Mosque 609-10
Shahi Mosque 348
Shamsul Hasan Collection 348
Shari'at Bill 176
Courts 471
Shuddhi Sabha 57
Sikandar-Jinnah Pact 136, 545, 612
Sind 22, 41, 44, 69, 81, 93, 104, 483, 540, 547, 620
Govt 44-5, 105-6, 235, 540, 551
Legislative Assembly 313, 510, 539, 547, 622
Sind Madressah 83, 443
Sind Muslim League Assembly Party 539, 548, 552
Sind Observer 352, 622
Sind Provincial Muslim League 263, 295, 322, 352, 386, 406, 411-2, 510-1, 539, 547-8, 580, 582, 617, 620-1,
Council 406, 413, 577-8, 580, 582
Parliamentary Board 386, 620
Working Committee 22, 412, 539, 546-8, 551, 580, 619, 621
Sind University Bill 313, 371
Societe de l' Histoire de l' Inde Francaise 126
Societies Registration Act (1860) 454
South Africa 641
Govt 331
Durban Educational & Cultural Conference 520, 563-4
Pretoria Agreement 331
Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah 112, 148, 486, 507, 652
Speeches of John Bright 122
Speeches, Statements & Messages of Quaid-i-Azam 165, 288, 642
Star 554
Star of India 200, 281, 484

Statesman 140, 268, 395, 655
Sufi 208
Sunday Observer 312, 380
Sunni Vohra Youngmen's Association, Charotar 454
Switzerland 164
Syria 164

Talks on Rural Development in India 533
Tennessee Valley Authority 720
The Times 126
Times of India 140, 549
Tragedy of Jinnah 211, 225
Transjordan 164
Tribal Areas 516
  Bajaur 514
  Charmung 514
  Jandul 514
  Mohmand 514
Tribes 11
  Jantia 11
  Khasi 11
  Oranons 11
  Sonthal 11
Tribune 52, 229
Two-Nation Theory 19

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) 731
Unionist Party (Punjab) 3, 31, 71, 271, 340, 432, 455, 491, 546, 604, 613
United Kingdom (UK) 121, 146, 154, 164, 187, 240, 340
  House of Commons 122, 634
  London Passenger Transport Board 719
  London School of Economics 746
  Privy Council 151, 158
United Nations Organisation (UNO) 6
United Press 281
United Provinces 9, 272, 533, 540, 561, 647
  Muslim League 321, 482, 466, 540-1, 561
  Council 532, 543, 559, 561, 580, 601, 627
  Parliamentary Board 531, 540
  Working Committee 531
  Muslim Students Federation 277
United States of America (USA) 125, 146, 164, 187, 240, 371
University(ies):
  Agra 289
  Aligarh Muslim 17, 27, 67, 96, 174, 186, 289, 506, 587, 680, 689-90
  Allahbad 289
  Annamalai 151
  Benares Hindu 289
  Dacca 232, 675
  Osmania 465, 473
  Patna 283
  Punjab 74, 203-4, 236, 465, 665
Urdu University, proposal for 571

Vatan 318
Versailles Treaty 121
Viceroy's Executive Council 20, 493
Viceroy-Gandhi Correspondence 492, 494
Vidya Mandir 50

War Cabinet 493, 640
Wardha Scheme 50, 90
Why Pakistan–And Why Not 521
World Wars I & II 452, 639, 739

Zakat tax, proposal for 662
Zamindar 391, 432, 613
Zamindara League 613

PCPPI—2857(04) QAPP—30-8-04—600.